TRUTH'S

ADVOCATE

AND

MONTHLY

Anti-Jackson Expositor.

BY AN ASSOCIATION OF INDIVIDUALS.

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TRUTH'S ADVOCATE
AND
MONTHLY ANTI-JACKSON EXPOSITOR.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, JANUARY, 1828.

ADDRESS.

It is usual, when a new work is announced, to make known the reasons which induce the publication, and the principles upon which it is to be conducted. With this usage, the Editors of the proposed work deem it their duty to comply.

It is now well understood, that before the present Administration of the National Government was arranged, when only the chief executive officer was chosen, and when no course of measures could possibly have been indicated, the elements of a malignant opposition were put in a train of combination. The nucleus was supplied by one of the defeated rival candidates. In the celebrated Swartwout letter was commenced that system of unjust accusation, dark insinuation, and low invective, which has been pursued and amplified with an unrelenting intensity to the present time. We *now* know, that the original motto of this combination was, "*We will put down the Administration, though pure as the angels that minister in heaven.*" We know, too, that its mode of warfare, and its instruments of attack have been, and continue to be, in undeviating accordance with such a motto.

As this opposition was partly organized, and put in action before the Administration had commenced, it necessarily follows that their destruction was resolved on, without regard to their acts. And as they had attempted no measures, there could be nothing to condemn; consequently there could exist no ground of accusation, but such as falsehood and calumny might supply. Thus, we see, that the *combination* organized to prostrate the Administration, is one of the most extraordinary experiments that ever was attempted. It is neither more nor less, than an effort of defeated aspirants for office, to prostrate their more successful rivals by pouring upon them torrents of obloquy and reproaches, unfounded in truth, and unsupported by any color of evidence.

In the progress of this combination, its aggregations have been of a most singular character. Elements not merely without any quality of adhesion, but even strongly repulsive, have become united, apparently in the closest amity. —It is well known, that to the early machinations of the arch-intriguer, Calhoun, and to the subsequent unlicensed and profligate assaults of the satellites of Gen. Jackson, the high-minded and estimable Crawford was libelled into discredit with his countrymen. His, is a striking example, of what may be effected by the daring of unmeasured detraction. And, strange fatuity! this man, once regarded as the very soul of honor, is now found in association with his foul defamers, his unprincipled destroyers. There is a monstruosity in connexions so unnatural, well calculated to terrify and confound the minds of upright men. It indicates an alarming destitution of the moral sense, most fatally confirmed by the conduct of the principal parties.

An individual of no common pretensions, deceiving himself with the vain fancy that he neither seeks nor declines office, and attempting to pass the same deception upon others, so far forgets what is due, even to appearances, as to become an active agent in giving circulation to a false charge of degrading profligacy, against his late competitor. Politicians, statesmen, jurists, men who occupy high stations, who possess various knowledge, reversing all established rules for ascertaining truth, lend the weight of their names, and the influence of their talents, to make plausible that which they admit can be sustained by no tangible proof. They practically adopt the detestable doctrines of the Inquisition, that accusation attaches guilt, which the accused must wipe away by testimony. Charges are made, which, without the clearest proof, honorable men should be

ashamed to utter, and when promptly contradicted, by the parties implicated, are justified on the monstrous position, that denial is not acquittal; but that the accused must establish his innocence. In proof of this, it is only necessary to suggest the calumny propagated by Gen. Jackson, upon the fabricated authority of Mr. Buchanan, and the more recent one, circulated against Mr. Adams and Webster by Mr. Coleman and Mr. Ritchie, without even a name to support it.

This mean and odious vice of lying, adopted by the chieftains, as of the very essence and vitality of the combination, extends to all its active members. A striking instance has recently occurred in our own state. An assemblage of men, who, as individuals, set some value upon their characters, have not been ashamed to make the following declaration:

"*Resolved*, That we regard Internal Improvements and Domestic Manufactures as two of the prime interests of the Union, and are gratified that *our favorite candidate, unlike his political opponent, is friendly to those great interests.*"

With the notorious fact before them, that the administration are the avowed advocates of the measures here approved; and the equally notorious fact, that Gen. Jackson is claimed both by the advocates and opposers of these measures, it is surely strange, that men should hazard declarations of this kind, and, at the same time, expect to escape the imputation of contemning truth.

With this untoward system of defamation on one hand, there is connected on the other, a system of adulation equally false, degrading, and deleterious. A mere mortal man, most distinctly marked by the weaknesses and vices that deform humanity, is set up and adorned with perfections almost divine. No one denies to him the character of honesty in his private contracts. Beyond this, truth can advance but little to recommend him. He has rendered public services, but each has been tarnished by some flagrant wrongs, perpetrated in the mere wantonness of power. An impartial exposition of his character, presents it full of blemishes and defects; uncultivated, undisciplined, marked by violent feelings and sudden impulses; insatiable of praise, implacable in enmity; distinguished for no intellectual excellence, but abounding in the same traits that secures immunity to the tiger of the desert, the bully of the race-field, and the tyrant of the tavern. For more than fifty years of his life, as a public man, he was known only as an ambitious pretender, who attempted to discharge the duties of different offices, and abandoned them all, under an acknowledged sense of his own incompetence. The glare of a brief, successful military career, has converted this mere common mortal, into a hero and a statesman. What others have acquired by years of close thought and deep reflection, by the toil and labor of actual experience, is attained by him, without either. He is set up like the brazen image of Nebuchadnezzar in the plains of Dura, to be worshipped by a whole people, and a refusal to pay him homage is accounted a most heinous crime.

It has ever been thus. The extremes of violence and obsequiousness run into each other. The bigot is an idolater, the idolater is a bigot and persecutor. We wonder that the Jews, who had witnessed the miracles of the living God, could be so besotted as to worship a molten calf, and we think this is a grossness of ignorance, into which we could not fall. Let us honestly ask ourselves, in how much we are wiser, or better, if we join to prostrate long tried, faithful, upright public men, by the *brutum fulmen* of bold falsehood and clamorous denunciation; or if we raise our voices to utter adulation, fulsome and false enough to nauseate and disgust any well organized mind.

Such is the state of our country: such the character of the efforts made to "*put down*" the wise and the worthy, and to exalt the unfit and the undeserving. Like every people that has preceded us, we are yielding ourselves victims to the blustering efforts of ambition, and to the subtle machinations of its tools and dupes. All primitive governments were, and must be republican. Despotism ever has originated, and always must originate in the dominion acquired by a military leader, over the feelings and affections of his

countrymen. All known monarchies have thus been founded, and we have hardly a case in history, where the first advances were as undisguised as those which are now passing before us. We sneer at danger, as idle and ridiculous. This confidence, this security, are as a panoply of strength, a shield and buckler for the assailants. We deride as idiots, or denounce as enemies, those who warn us of our danger. So did the Jews denounce their prophets—so do passion and prejudice ever regard the suggestions of caution and of forethought. Yet it is not less the duty of the patriot to sound the alarm, and proclaim the danger.

But this is not enough. The danger must not only be made known; it must be met and repelled. To contribute something to an object so important, the present work is proposed.

It is believed that there is yet a large majority of the good sense and the calm judgment of the American People uncontaminated with the mania of opposition. The infection has reached but few, except those who were predisposed to receive it; and now an effort should be made to arrest and stay its further progress. In a contest so important, even "*the weak can give some help.*" And no one can know but that it may be his part to stand "*between the living and the dead, and stay the plague.*"

In proportion as efforts are made to abuse and mislead the public mind, counteracting efforts become necessary to diffuse correct information. The torrents of misrepresentation and falsehood that flood the country, through the channels of the opposition presses, must be met, and rolled back to overwhelm their authors. It is a fatal truth, that calumny soars on the wings of an eagle, whilst correcting truth pursues her with the creep of a snail. Hence the necessity of every exertion at a crisis like the present, when falsehood is systematically disseminated in all the forms that disappointed ambition and hungry expectation can devise.

As one means of effecting the proper counteraction, it is proposed to collect, arrange, and condense monthly, the current facts necessary to communicate correct information on the various points that relate to the Presidential canvass. The falsehoods, calumnies, and misrepresentations, started by the combination, in every month, shall be presented, reviewed, exposed, and refuted, as they are got up: the authors ascertained, and subjected to the castigation they may deserve. In this department of the work, the necessary biographical sketches shall be drawn with a strict regard to truth, but with little attention to encomium.

As exaggerated eulogy is a part of the system of falsehood relied upon, and employed by the combination, to force their prominent chieftains into public esteem, it shall be an especial object of the work to make known their true characters. Neither the hero of Tennessee, nor his compeer of New York, will be considered a subject too high, nor the most despicable of the new converts of Ohio, a subject too low for animadversion. The audacity of the great and the profligacy of the little shall be alike exposed. Besides the avowed partizans, the notable crew of political *skinners*, who affect to occupy neutral ground, but who, like their predecessors of a former struggle, design to deceive and plunder all, shall receive their proper share of notice.

Great care shall be taken not to depart from the principal title of the work. Truth's Advocate should disseminate nothing but truth; and nothing of questionable veracity shall be promulgated as true. The most scrupulous pains shall be taken to secure full confidence in whatever is stated as fact. In this particular, it is determined that the most fastidious shall find no ground of objection. With respect to the style and manner of writing, it would be idle to give any pledge. In this, as in other cases, taste is not to be disputed. At present, the public appetite, in literature and political matter, is a good deal satisfied with strong viands. A high mixture of cayenne is received with exquisite relish: it is consequently inferred that a vigorous style, well interspersed with epithets, will be the most acceptable.

The work will be free from the restraints of advertising custom and governmental patronage. It depends up-

on no jobs, and fears the loss of no customers. It will owe no obligations, and be subject to no accusation of ingratitude. Truth, therefore, can be and shall be plainly spoken. To do so puts no man's bread in jeopardy.—Whether it be spoken of the wisdom of the President in holding it a public duty to retain men in office, who aid in defaming his character, and contribute what they may to undermine his administration: whether it relate to the head of a department on the fence, or to one of his deputies in the mire; or whether it concern a veteran defamer, or a reckless noviciate; a foreign or a native renegado, the writer will have nothing to consult but the moral sense of the community, and the adaptation of his "*phrases to the matter.*"

These proposals are submitted to those, and to those only, who believe that the suggestions here made are founded in truth, and who are willing to give effective aid to the proposed work, from a conviction that it is necessary, and from a wish that it should succeed. Such are requested to devote a small portion of their means to defray the expenses, and a modicum of their time to give it circulation.

The Editors, though they do not choose to blazon their names to the public, intend to evade no fair responsibility. They are not "*stipendiary advocates,*" but are "*principled partizans;*" stimulated to action by a deep sense of the duty, which, as free citizens of the, as yet, only free government on earth, they owe to honorable public functionaries grossly calumniated; to the character of their country; to themselves, and to their children.

VIEW

OF GEN. JACKSON'S DOMESTIC RELATIONS,

IN REFERENCE TO HIS FITNESS

FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

There is no subject connected with the Presidential canvass, upon which the supporters of Gen. Jackson have evinced more political generalship, than that which stands at the head of this article. They have asserted, with a species of deafening fury, that to touch it, was a violation of all the charities and all the decencies of life. They have thrown out upon every one who was not confounded into silence by their denunciations, torrent after torrent of opprobrium, evidently intended to overwhelm with the noise of their reproaches, all whom they could not gag by intimidation. I have marked the employment of these means and their effects: and I have been alike unmoved by the violence of one party, or the shivering moderation of many amongst the other. My own judgment has long been clearly satisfied, that it was an affair in which the National character, the National interest, and the National morals, were all deeply involved, and that, therefore, it was a proper subject of public investigation, and exposure. This, it was my determination should, at a proper time, take place. In my judgment, that time is now, and I proceed upon my own responsibility, and without consultation with a single individual, to the performance of what I deem a solemn duty.

Whatever may be thought or said of other offices, every candid man must agree that the office of President necessarily brings the immediate family of the officer, into direct connexion

with the public. It is impossible to separate them from public observation. If the President be a married man, his wife at least, must share the distinction of the station he occupies. If she does not, the reason will be sought after. If she does, her qualification for the station, her character, and standing, her personal defects, or excellencies, must all be drawn out, and made subjects of remark, and will be commended, caricatured or ridiculed, as they may furnish occasion.

It has so happened, in other countries, as well as in our own, that highly gifted men have associated themselves, in the connubial relation, with ignorant and vulgar women. This association never fails to lessen our respect for the individual. We feel that it impeaches his taste, his judgment, or his moral conceptions. Whilst, however, it would not operate to deter us from employing him as a lawyer, or a mechanic, or confiding in his judgment as a merchant, it would assuredly indispose us to engage him as our clergyman, or to select him as the guardian of our daughters. And for this plain reason, that it would involve an intimate intercourse, where there was nothing of example or precept to recommend it.

Every prudent and discreet person, entrusted with the charge of a family, holds it a duty to examine well the female character where they cultivate acquaintance. If the female family head be destitute of the characteristics and accomplishments which adorn the station she moves in, it never fails to produce an unfavorable effect upon her connexions. A talented husband, or great wealth, may insure her a cold endurance, but they can do no more. This law of society is more irrevocable than any law of the Medes and Persians. It is founded in the pure morals, exquisite sensibility, and pervading influence of the female sex, in every Christian country. An attempt to subvert it, an effort to inculcate the doctrine, that an enquiry into the character of a man's wife, for the purpose of regulating intercourse with his family, is an unhallowed invasion of the domestic sanctuary, can never be successful. This enquiry must and will be made in all cases, where the station or the employments of the husband necessarily places his wife in connexion with society. Such being the relation in which the wife of a President is placed, the character and the interest of the nation must be more or less affected by her capacity, or incapacity to acquit herself with credit, in the elevation to which she is called. If she be weak and vulgar, she cannot escape becoming a theme for ridicule, a portion of which, and its consequent contempt, must attach to her husband, and to the people that have selected him for their chief ruler. If she be intelligent and accomplished, the influence of her talents, her virtues, and her manners, must inevitably reflect a mild and benignant lustre upon all around her, and upon all connected with her. When, then, in our country, a man is suggested as a candidate for the Presidency, the fathers and husbands, the matrons and the maidens of the land, have a deep stake in knowing the character of his wife; and if she be a weak and vulgar woman, for that reason alone, his pretensions should be passed by. But if a stain be cast on her, which, in general cases, excludes the unfortunate subject from society altogether, then the investigation and enquiry becomes doubly indispensable. It applies not only to the propriety of permitting her to occupy the station proposed, but it touches also the character and qualifications of the husband.

I am far from insisting that whispers and surmises, insinuations and suspicions, whether of ancient or recent origin, are sufficient reasons for making these investigations. Present correct conduct, and the possession of countenance and respect from reputable persons, should be received to silence all these. But when the stigma is affixed by legislative acts and judicial records, the case is widely different. It then calls for enquiry; and there is no escape from the conclusion. We must see a degraded female placed at the head of the female society of the nation, or we must proclaim and urge the fact as a ground for excluding her husband.

The case of Gen. Jackson and his wife, is, in every respect, an uncommon one. Wherever he was known, public rumor had circulated suspicions as to the correctness of his matrimonial alliance, long before he was dreamed of as a man, in whose connubial connexions the nation could have any possible interest. It was no case of mere surmise against an unmarried female, arising out of possible indiscretion, and resting upon a peculiar freedom of manners too little regardful of the restraints of society. On the contrary, it involved an accusation of the most exceptionable character, extending to the gentleman as well as to the lady, and resting for proof, upon a legislative act, and the record of a court of justice. It was an accusation of gross adultery, in which outrage upon the rights of the husband was urged against Gen. Jackson, and desertion from her husband to the arms of a paramour, was charged against the wife. Such were the charges; such the evidence upon which they rested. Whether true or false, necessarily became a matter of public concern, from the fact, that the parties accused were presented as candidates for the most conspicuous station in our country, in which the accused female must be placed at the head of the female society of the land. Were she innocent of the crimes alleged against her, their long circulation, the strong evidence to sustain them, and the serious manner in which they affected the present claims of her husband, conduced to call for investigation. An upright and an honorable man, confident of the purity of his wife, and sensible that he occupied a station which connected that purity with the character of his country, would have rejoiced at an opportunity to repel a long endured calumny. He would have seen, in a call for inquiry and investigation, no spirit but that of manly patriotism. He would have regarded the man who moved it, as the friend of himself and of the country, and he would have met it, rejoicing as one who has found a pearl of great price. It has not been so received; it has not been so met. Why it has not, there can be but one opinion.

Mrs. Jackson was the wife of Lewis Robards, of Mercer county, Kentucky, then a component part of the Commonwealth of Virginia. In December, 1790, Lewis Robards applied to the Legislature of Virginia, charging his wife with adultery, and for that cause praying a divorce. Such proof was offered as induced the Legislature to act upon the charge. A law was passed directing a judicial investigation, and providing that if it were found true, Lewis Robards should stand divorced from his wife. These proceedings were instituted and prosecuted to final trial. In September, 1793, twelve men, constituting a jury, after hearing proof, declared upon their oaths, that Mrs. Robards was guilty of the adultery charged upon her, and Lewis Robards obtained the divorce prayed for. The law of Virginia, and the record of the Kentucky court are inserted at the end of this review, so as to place the matters beyond all dispute.

This fact being thus established, the question fairly presents itself to a Christian and moral people, ought a convicted adulteress, and her paramour husband to be placed in the highest offices of this free and Christian land? It is useless to answer with ranting vituperation. It is a plain and a fair question; one which every citizen has a right to ask: one which no citizen should be denounced for asking. Was the offence committed? Can lapse of time eradicate its contamination? Party prejudice, party passion, may answer as they please. Those who value good character, and the institutions, and moral sentiments that preserve it, can give but one answer.

An answer has been attempted, not by denying the fact of the adultery, but by admitting, and attempting to excuse it. This vindication is the work of able men: it has been skilfully adapted to the sympathies and the passions of the multitude, totally disregarding all moral feeling and just intelligence. It shall be reviewed and exposed, not by appeals to passion and vulgar prejudice, but by submitting such a commentary as is applicable to every case similarly circumstanced.

The Nashville committee commence

their vindication by noticing an allegation against the chastity of Mrs. Jackson, which none had before objected against her, in any tangible form. A number of witnesses are brought forward, who testify that her husband was jealous of her before she was acquainted with Gen. Jackson. Judge Overton is made to name the individual of whom her husband was jealous, and to state that some of the facts transpired under his own observation. I am unable to perceive how these facts can be deemed elucidatory of Mrs. Jackson's good conduct. But I rely nothing upon them as proof against her. I would be the last man to impeach a lady's chastity, upon the single circumstance of her husband's jealousy; yet every man must admit, that that jealousy is very odd evidence to bring forward in support of her character. And when a second fit of jealously turns out to be well founded, it is singular enough to allege the first to excuse it. Such, however, is the case before us.

Judge Overton professes to be conuzant of all the facts implicating the conduct of Gen. Jackson and Mrs. Robards at their early acquaintance, and also, many of the facts that relate to Mrs. Robards, and her husband. He comes forward as the apologist of them both, at this time; and it may be fairly assumed, that he makes the best case for them. His statement is also published at the close of this article, and I shall make it the basis of my exposition.

Judge Overton lived in the family of Robards's mother, with Robards and his wife, in 1787 and in 1788. They lived unhappily, in consequence of his jealousy; and in the fall or summer of 1787, Mrs. Robards's brother, at the request of Robards, who had said, he did not intend to live with her any longer, removed her to her mother's in Tennessee, leaving Robards in Kentucky. This removal "was said to be a final separation at the instance of Robards." The whole family held Mrs. Robards blameless.

After her departure, the elder Mrs. Robards spoke to Judge Overton, who was about to settle in Tennessee, to interest himself to "get her son Lewis, and daughter-in-law Rachel, to live happily together." He conversed with Robards, who expressed regret for what had passed, acquitted his wife of all impropriety, and joined in requesting the Judge's good offices to restore harmony, and this the Judge undertook, in consequence of Robard's assurance, that he would give up "all nonsensical notions about jealousy."

In March, 1789, Judge Overton was at Mrs. Donalson's, mother of Mrs. Robards, in Tennessee, where he and Gen. Jackson about that time became boarders. The Judge "frequently conversed with Mrs. Robards, on the subject of living happily with her husband," and she assured him of her disposition to do so. He communicated this to Robards and his mother, and received their thanks, and Robards and his wife became re-united in 1788, or 1789. In the arrangement for re-union, Robards agreed to reside in Tennessee, and for a time at Mrs. Donalson's. "Not many months elapsed before Robards became jealous of Jackson," and his upbraidings reached the ear of the Judge, who remonstrated with him, but to no effect. The Judge then informed Jackson, who determined to remonstrate with Robards. This resulted in a quarrel, and Jackson left the house to board elsewhere. "Robards remained several months with his wife, and then went to Kentucky in company with Mr. Thomas Crutcher." There came a report, that "*Robards intended to come and take his wife to Kentucky.*" After this, again Mrs. Donalson told the Judge, "her daughter intended to go down the River to Natchez, to some of their friends, IN ORDER TO KEEP OUT OF THE WAY OF ROBARDS, as she said he had threatened to haunt her." Jackson became greatly distressed, and made the judge his confident, communicating "*his intentions of going to Natchez with Col. Stark, with whom Mrs. Robards was to descend the river, saying that she had no friend or relation to go with her, and assist in preventing Mr. Stark, his family and Mrs. Robard's from being massacred by the Indians.*" He went accordingly, and returned in May, 1791. About or shortly after this time, information was received, that a divorce had been granted, upon the ap-

plication of Robards. The Judge remarks: "THIS APPLICATION HAD BEEN ANTICIPATED BY ME." Jackson returned to Natchez in the summer of 1791; and in the fall, brought Mrs. Robard back as his wife. The General never knew that there was no divorce until after the decree was pronounced, when the judge informed him of it, and advised a second marriage, which was solemnized in January, 1793.

Such is the palliatory narration of a partial friend. It is an insult to common sense, to say, that it does not place the seduction and adultery, in as prominent and reprehensible a light, as it is placed by the legislative and judicial proceedings themselves. Jackson avows his attachment to a married woman, and his determination to travel with her as her protector, in a journey undertaken avowedly, to "*keep out of the way of her husband.*" The apology for this journey, is, that her husband threatened to take her to Kentucky. Jackson united himself as a husband to this same married woman, upon the mere report of a divorce, and lived with her between two and three years, in open adultery. For this, the plea of ignorance is advanced: as if the perpetrator of an acknowledged enormity, which nothing but the knowledge of facts could palliate, might be permitted to justify himself upon the plea of ignorance.

In the whole course of my life, I have never witnessed a defence, even of the lowest criminal by the meanest pettifoger, of such a demoralizing and profligate tendency, as the one here attempted. It is maintained that a convicted and avowed adulteress shall be permitted to say, that, the unfounded and unjust accusations of her husband were the occasions of her crime, and constitute her apology. Assuming an innocence, negatived by every part of the transaction, as the very ground of the defence, making strong and almost irresistible presumptions of guilt, an excuse for its undisguised consummation."

The affection of Robards for his wife, and his anxiety to enjoy her company, in peace, is evident from all the statements furnished. Judge Overton affirms this, in terms, and he states clearly, that after Jackson left the house of Mrs. Donalson, "*Robards remained several months with his wife, and then went to Kentucky, in company with Mr. Thomas Crutcher.*" Mr. Crutcher relates the parting of Robards and his wife, when this journey was taken, and he also relates their conduct after Jackson had left Mrs. Donalson's. He says:

"Captain Robards continued to live with Mr. Donalson without interruption, as long as he remained in the country. I have seen Mr. and Mrs. Robards together at Nashville, and have seen them together at Col. Hay's, where they have staid days and nights."

Of the parting he says:

"When I was ready to set out on my journey, I went by Mrs. Donalson's for Captain Robards; on my arrival I found Mrs. Robards and her mother busily engaged in packing up his clothes and provisions. I suppose it was about an hour before Capt. Robards was ready to start. When we were ready to start, Capt. Robards, with much apparent friendship, took his leave of Mrs. Donalson, *and his wife, walking to the gate with him, in a very tender and affectionate manner took her leave of him.*"

Thus the parties lived, and thus they separated, after Jackson left Mrs. Donalson, which Overton says was several months. Robard's jealousy subsided, when the object was no longer in association with his wife. Let us enquire what he was subsequently guilty of, that should justify a wife in abjuring his authority and society.

On this journey he said to Mr. Crutcher, that, "he be damned if he would ever be seen in Cumberland again;" Mr. Crutcher replied "the *friends of Mrs. Robards would not like, and perhaps would not* CONSENT *for her to go back to Kentucky to live.*" "*He said, he did not care what they liked or disliked, he should do what he thought proper.*"

Most men, I believe, act pretty much upon this principle. But few certainly deem it necessary to consult "*the likes or the dislikes*" of their wives' friends, as to their place of residence. And surely no man, who values our institutions, and the social intercourse founded upon them, can contend that a jealous tem-

per in a husband, and an unwillingness to reside where he may prefer, can justify a wife in placing herself "*beyond his reach*," in the society of a person towards whom he has once expressed a feeling of jealousy. Yet these are the only reasons adduced in vindication of the conduct of Mrs. Robards.

Mr. Crutcher tells us, "it was reported, however, that he *threatened to come and take his wife to Kentucky, and compel her to live there*. She, as well as all her friends, was much opposed to this, and *in order to place herself beyond his reach*, as I understood at the time, determined to descend the river in company with Col. Stark's family, and under his protection to Natchez."

We have the same information from Overton. Both concur in stating that Mrs. Robards made her journey to Natchez, to avoid her husband, and in disregard of the duty which required her to accompany him to Kentucky. There is no essential difference in the case, whether she left her husband's own house, or that of her mother, where he left her in kindness, and in contemplation of meeting her again in the same spirit. The facts of the case, as exhibited by Overton, in connexion with Crutcher, when divested of the strong opinions which the gentlemen themselves give, present a case of very gross misconduct in both parties; and such as the record evidence would naturally lead us to expect.

Among the curious anomalies which this vindication presents, it is not the least singular, that its authors boldly assume and assert, what their own witnesses and authentic records prove to be impossible. They say:

"At the time when Mr. Robards separated from his wife, applied for a divorce, obtained it, and Gen. Jackson married her, when all the facts were fresh and distinct, public opinion was formed, and the contemporaneous judgment of the society in which those persons resided, came to a clear and decisive result in their favor."

Of the twelve persons whose statements accompany the vindication, two only, Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Bowen, venture to make this assertion. Even Judge Overton is careful not to say quite so much. Judge M'Nary speaks of "*irreproachable character*," and Gen. Jackson's *incapacity* to do certain things, but still, he stops short of the fact, that the "*distinct public opinion*" was formed and expressed in their favor.

This could not possibly be the case. Robards applied for the divorce. The Legislature of Virginia would not pass a law, upon such a subject, without some evidence of its propriety. Were the facts such as to justify Mrs. Robards and Gen. Jackson, Robards never could have thought of a divorce.—Judge Overton has inadvertently furnished pretty good proof of this. He says, he had himself *anticipated* that Robards would apply for a divorce. Whatever he may say NOW, it is very clear he did not THEN anticipate such an application in behalf of Robards, without a supposition that he had some cause for it. The idea would be absurd. Robards had confessed the injustice of his first suspicions, and he had become reconciled to his wife, after his second fit of jealousy, had parted from her in tenderness, and wished her to come and reside with him in Kentucky. These were the events of the summer of 1790, as the committee would have us believe. No impropriety had then, it is pretended, taken place on the part of Mrs. Robards. She had not then, as the witnesses say, descended the river with Jackson; yet Judge Overton "ANTICIPATED" that Robards would apply for a divorce! Nay, he evidently intimates his "ANTICIPATION" that the application would be successful; and this is done for the purpose of explaining why the fact of the divorce was taken upon trust. Though not much in point for this purpose, it is a strong intimation of what were the real facts. The Judge knew that Robards had just ground to apply for a divorce; hence, he "anticipated" both the application and success.

Gen. Breckenridge is also brought out to contradict the record, and to prove that the passage of the law was predicated upon no proof against Mrs. Robards. He is absurd enough to say:

"I was a young man at the time, and the deep impression made on my mind was the novelty and importance of the

case, combined with the interest which I felt in behalf of the female concerned, remain with great distinctness.

"Mr. Robards was represented to be a man of vile, wild habits and harsh temper, and his wife lovely and blameless in her disposition and deportment, and so cruelly treated by her husband, as to make a separation necessary to her happiness. It was under impressions produced by a state of facts like these, that I voted for a judicial enquiry on the subject, which I have understood eventuated in a divorce."

Before we can credit this statement, we must believe that the Legislature of Virginia received an application from a man of vile habits and harsh temper, accusing a lovely and blameless wife, whom he had cruelly treated, of adultery, and praying to be divorced from her on that account; that with a full knowledge of his vileness and her worth and innocence, and with a strong conviction that separation was necessary to her happiness, they enacted a law authorizing a judicial enquiry, whether she had or had not committed adultery!! This law, enacted because a separation was necessary to her happiness, did not allow a separation unless she was judicially found guilty of adultery!!! and of this the framers of the law believed her innocent. When a man of sense utters such absurdities as these, we know he does not speak the truth. His assertions are in direct contradiction to our common sense. They prove his readiness to stultify himself to support Gen. Jackson, and they prove nothing further.

It is useless to insist that, in a case where a single man has avowed his affection for another man's wife, (for the admission to Judge Overton "that he was the most *unhappy* of men, in having been *innocently* and unintentionally the cause of the loss of peace and happiness of Mrs. Robards, whom he believed to be a fine woman," amounts to neither more or less,) and who accompanies that wife in a long journey to "keep out of her husband's way," and "place herself beyond his reach;" and where the *unhappy* swain and the "*fine woman*" live in union as man and wife, and their conduct is made the subject of legislative and judicial investigation, resulting in a conviction of adultery; it is useless, I say, to assert, in such a case, that the contemporaneous judgment of society was in their favor, and that there "did not exist an injurious suspicion as to their previous conduct." The assertion is a libel upon all society, where female chastity is valued, or connubial fidelity regarded; as well as an idle contradiction of the record evidence in the cause.

It is alleged as an apology, that "thirty-seven years of domestic peace and useful virtue, have given a sanction, which must operate upon every candid and generous mind with irresistible power." This is a persuasive and plausible appeal, it addresses itself to our kindest sympathies, and were it a case for the indulgence of sympathy, would be almost incontrovertible. In most cases of female aberration, there are very many extenuating circumstances, by which sympathy in one sex, and both sympathy and gallantry in the other, would be almost persuaded to forgive the offender. It is because of this, that a stern, uncompromising judgment of censure is universally past. The unfortunate is resolved to have fallen never to rise again, unless all memory of her fall can be obliterated. So great are the temptations, so numerous and so seducing the approaches to the commission of the offence in question, nothing short of utter and irremediable disgrace is sufficient to hold it in proper check. Can forty years of exemplary virtue restore the wretched Elsie D. Whipple to the station she has lost in society? Would not we be startled at the bare suggestion, that forty years hence she might be placed as the wife of our President, at the head of the females of our country? There is no record proof of her adultery, and no evidence to charge her with further crime, but the assertions of a most abandoned villain. The cases are not analogous, but the principle is the same: and however painful it may be felt, the more recent one is a decisive illustration of the unsoundness of the apology in question.

That oblivion had not cast her shade upon the offence of Mrs. Jackson, is-

most notorious; nor has it, in the canvass for the Presidency, been raked up from a comparative forgetfulness, to be used for the purpose of prejudicing her husband. From the period of the transactions themselves, the subject has never ceased to circulate, and supply a theme of conversation, wherever Gen. Jackson was known. Of this, the vindication itself gives one decisive item of proof, in the letter from A. Foster, to Caleb Atwater, written in reply to enquiries with respect to it, in 1824. Had public opinion, at the time, been as is now represented, the fact itself would have furnished no aliment for tittle-tattle, and might have been forgotten.

In the view here presented of the case, upon the facts stated by the vindicating committee themselves, no intelligent mind is permitted to doubt, that Mrs. Jackson was unfaithful to her marriage vow with Robards. No man of the world can believe that she would have been guilty of the great indiscretion of flying beyond the reach of her husband, with a man charged to be her paramour, were she innocent of the charge. Her conduct, his conduct in the flight, in the alleged marriage, in the illegal union, in the subsequent legal marriage, furnish presumptions of guilt, which admit of no explanation consistent with correctness and duty. It would be as rational to give credit to asseverations of innocence, had they been found at midnight, undressed, in the same bed. In that case there would be proof of a single indiscretion, whilst in the real case there is a succession of corroborative facts, which could not, in any probability, take place, were the parties innocent.

It has been urged, that the effect of the record is invalidated by the fact, that the proceedings were *ex parte*.—But with what propriety can General Jackson, or any one of his advocates advance this argument? The transcript does not show when the judicial proceedings were first instituted. But Judge Overton places the first union of Gen. Jackson and Mrs. Robards, in the summer of 1791. When they assumed the open relation of husband and wife, it was an illegal and criminal act. It is asserted, that they supposed it to be legal. They were upon their own assumptions, greatly mistaken.—How was it practicable to effect such a state of things, as to make it lawful for them to continue in the relation of husband and wife? The answer admits of no dispute. It could be in no way effected, but by permitting Robards to obtain a divorce. It is no where pretended that Mrs. Robards could apply for a divorce with any hope of success. Robards could only obtain a divorce under the law, by proving the facts of desertion and adultery upon his wife. Gen. Jackson and Mrs. Robards, therefore, voluntarily, and for the gratification of their own appetites, placed themselves in a situation to render it necessary that Mrs. Robards should be convicted of desertion and adultery, in respect to Robards. To this conviction they must submit, or separate, or continue to live in open defiance of law and decency. It is absurd to suppose, that, in such a predicament, they could either of them desire that the application of Robards should be defeated. It is obvious to the meanest understanding, that they could scarcely do otherwise than pander to their own disgrace, or remain quiescent and hope for it.

We are told the first marriage took place, in confidence that the Legislature of Virginia had granted a divorce upon the application of Robards. He could not apply upon an allegation of his own misconduct. He must have charged some derilection of duty, some crime upon his wife, as the foundation of granting to him a divorce. He must have adduced some proof in support of his charge. The parties both knew this; and they married in 1791, if indeed, they did *then* marry at all, of which there is no proof, with a full knowledge that the capacity to do so, arose from a legislative conviction of crime against Mrs. Robards, and none other than adultery could be supposed.

Those, then, who believe that an adulteress, who has become, after a time, the legal wife of her paramour, is not a suitable person to be placed at the head of the female society of the United States, cannot with propriety

vote for General Jackson. Those who are of opinion that all enquiry, as to the character of a President's wife, is improper, and are therefore indifferent what her character may be; and those who conceive that a fallen female may be restored by subsequent good conduct, may conscientiously give General Jackson their support. But to ground themselves upon an affected belief, that the allegation of unchastity is not true, is to defy the lights of truth, and to close the understanding against conviction.

The state of facts, as the exposition I have made shows them to have existed, vitally affects General Jackson's pretensions to the Presidency, in many views, that relate principally to himself. They affect him as a man, as a husband, as a patriot; in each character evidencing his unfitness for the station to which he aspires.

They affect him as a man. His acquaintance with Mrs. Robards commenced in March, 1789. He was then a veritable stripling to cast the eyes of affection on another man's wife, and in less than two years secure her to himself. A gallant, gay Lothario, according to Mrs. Smith, who assures us, that "*his character and standing*" [twenty-two years old, and a few months in the country!!] "*added to his engaging and sprightly manners, were enough to inflame the mind of poor Robards.*" They certainly did inflame the mind of Mrs. Robards, and a perception of this would very naturally inflame that of her husband.

We learn from Judge Overton, the Pandarus of the play, that after Gen. Jackson and Mrs. Robards became acquainted, "not many months elapsed, before Robards became jealous of Jackson," but "*without the least ground.*"—This unfounded jealousy broke out in reproaches against Mrs. Robards, and violent altercation with Jackson, who, in consequence, changed his residence, to keep out of the way of giving offence. After this, Robards remained several months with his wife, and parted from her in apparent confidence and kindness, in the month of June, 1790. From the time of the altercation with Jackson, which must have taken place in the summer of 1789, we hear of no difficulties between Robards and his wife, until the fall of 1790, when his determination to remove his wife to Kentucky was made known. *Then* new troubles arose; THEN "*the whole affair gave Gen. Jackson great uneasiness:*" THEN he informed Judge Overton "*he was the most unhappy of men, in having innocently and unintentionally been the cause of the loss of the peace and happiness of Mrs. Robards, whom he believed to be a fine woman.*"

This disclosure is utterly irreconcileable with the whole case set up by the Nashville committee, of which Judge Overton is the main effective witness. It is an additional instance, to the thousands that have occurred, how very difficult it is to give a gloss to matters of fact, different from that which they naturally import. How, in the fall of 1790, was General Jackson "*innocently and unintentionally the cause of the loss of the peace and happiness of Mrs. Robards?*" I think it will puzzle Judge Overton, and the Nashville Committee to boot, to make a satisfactory explanation upon the facts they have adduced.

The jealousy of Robards in 1789, they say was unfounded. At that time, then, Mrs. Robards had conceived no affection for Gen. Jackson. It could not be the corroding canker of unhallowed attachment that destroyed her peace and happiness, of which attachment, Gen. Jackson was the innocent object. Robards had become reconciled to his wife, and there is no pretence that he had either deserted her, or was in the habit of upbraiding her, upon account of Jackson. Why, then, was she unhappy, and Jackson the cause of that unhappiness? Was it a continuance of the unfounded jealousy of Jackson that induced Robards to wish the removal of his wife? This does not appear; if it did, upon what common principle of action would it make Jackson "*the most unhappy of men?*" or wherefore should it cause "*the loss of the peace and happiness of Mrs. Robards?*" She, conscious of innocence, and devoted to the performance of conjugal duties, had no cause for a total "loss of peace," in the fact that her husband wished to remove her from the occa-

sional society of a man against whom he had entertained suspicions. On the contrary, such removal was pursuing the plain path of prudence and of duty, and was exactly that, which should have given confidence and comfort to the mind of an affectionate wife. Jackson having felt no attachment himself, conscious that the lady felt none, and doubly conscious no act of his had given cause for the jealousy of Robards, could have no reason to feel unhappy, or indulge regret. If there was no intercourse between Mrs. Robards and himself, but that of common politeness, he could have no knowledge of her "*loss of peace and happiness*," much less were it possible for him to know, that he was the occasion of it. After the ebullition of jealousy which had escaped Robards, every principle of prudence, of duty, of decent respect for themselves, and for the society in which they moved, forbade any intercourse but that of distant civility, between Gen. Jackson and Mrs Robards. Had such been the feelings and the conduct of the parties, there could have been no "*loss of peace*" on one side; no "*most unhappy of men*" on the other.

The avowal made, that Jackson was most unhappy, because he was innocently the cause of the "loss of the peace" of Mrs. Robards, inevitably asserts a state of facts totally different from that which the vindication attempts to make out. is includes the admission, that Mrs. Robards was attached to Jackson, that he reciprocated this attachment; that this mutual attachment had been mutually disclosed, and had deeply affected the peace and happiness of both. In such circumstances, it is possible that the grossest indulgence of this criminal attachment had not taken place? But when the parties so far forget what is due to themselves, and to the world, as to become partners in a journey avowedly to place the wife "*beyond the reach*" of her husband, it is an insult to our common sense, to talk of their virtue, or to tell us that the man is incapable of seducing his neighbor's wife.

Here then we find Gen. Jackson, in the first stages of his manhood, conceiving an attachment for his neighbor's wife, while a resident in the bosom of her family, and indulging that attachment so as to secure a reciprocation from its object. We find him accompanying her in a flight, to get beyond her husband's reach, finally giving occasion for a divorce, upon the broad ground of the wife's adultery, and afterwards making her the partner of his life, and probably mother of his children. Were an occurrence like this now to take place, no matter what was the conduct of the husband, how should we estimate the youthful hero of such an adventure?

Let us exclude Gen. Jackson's case from our recollection, until we reflect upon the proper answer to the inquiry here made.

To indulge an affection for a married woman, even in a man's own secret heart, is a great aberration from correctness; it is permitting unhallowed passion to obtain the mastery over reason and duty. To approach a married woman with a declaration of affection, is an indecent outrage. If she does not so feel and receive it, she is already more than half a participator. The outrage against society and the husband is not the less; and he who has the hardihood to make such an approach, would at once be regarded as a youth prepared to sacrifice his own duties, and the rights and happiness of others, to the gratification of his own appetites. When the rein is so given to indulgence, that it runs the whole race, and ends in divorce and marriage, the most favorable estimate we can make of the parties, is, that they are the mere creatures of passion, and the victims of its ungoverned predominance. We should draw the conclusion, that he whose career of appetite was not restrained by a regard for his obligations to society, nor by a dread of reproach, nor by an apprehension of vindictive, or retributive justice, could never be a safe depository of power over others. Such would be the natural inference in the case stated, and in Gen. Jackson's case, his whole life shows, that the deduction would be a correct one. Thus does this transaction vitally affect Gen. Jackson's pretensions to the Presidency. It does not stand an isolated

act of self-willed gratification, regardless of duty and of right, but it stands the first in a series of similar acts, extending over his whole life, and assimilated in principle, though not always in degree, with much of his conduct.

It touches him too, in the relation of husband.

Notwithstanding the criminality attending their courtship and marriage, the evidence is full and clear that, as Mrs. Jackson, the lady's conduct has been exemplary and irreproachable. There is no situation that imposes on a man higher and more responsible duties, than the relation of husband to a woman once known to have fallen from the virtue of chastity. If he were the original occasion of her fall, and conizant of all the circumstances, unites his character with hers, he owes her the most scrupulous delicacy of deportment, as well as the tenderest affections. She is a bruised and broken flower, which he alone can properly appreciate and cherish. To raise her to respectability, to obliterate the remembrance of her offences, to reconcile her to herself, to restore her peace of mind, should be the great effort of his life, to which his whole conduct should be directed. Unobtrusive retirement from the world, and respectful deference, for those with whom he associated, would be the plain course of a man who felt as he ought to feel, in such a predicament. He should do nothing, say nothing, place himself in no position which would bring his wife before the public. To act otherwise, is to be as regardless of her feelings, as he had formerly been of the feelings of others, and to expose her, in the wayward indulgence of his own temper, to the remarks and sarcasms of those whom he encounters. It is no evidence of a good, or of a great man, to attempt by a high hand to force a suspected wife into society, or to imagine that the tongues of men are to be paralized by terror. Were Gen. Jackson possessed of the enlarged, the subdued, and the corrected intelligence, essential to the proper discharge of the Presidential functions, affection for his wife, and tenderness for her feelings, would have decided him never to be a candidate. And more especially, were he a true patriot, who esteemed the honor, the fame, and the interest of his country as deserving all consideration, he would feel that his matrimonial relation ought to exclude him from the office of President.

Since this affair was brought before the public, we have had a goodly portion of sickly and mawkish sentiment, from Mr. Walsh, and from Mr. Coleman, from Duff Green, and Amos Holton, about gallantry, and the respect due to female character, and the cowardice and baseness of dragging a lady before the public, in matters of electioneering concern. These things sound very finely, and would always apply when female crime called for investigation and exposure, as well as in the present case. But what would constitute female excellence, if no difference were made between her who subjected all her actions to the restraints and regulations of propriety, and her who gave a loose, to her feelings, inclinations, and passions, regardless of the decorum which alone renders the sex estimable.

I have already noticed the imperious necessity for imposing severe penalties, upon certain female aberrations. If she who has offended in this particular so rankly, that her offence has become matter of Legislative and Judicial record, may aspire to high places, and may claim to silence all censure, and all enquiry, who does not see the dangerous consequences that may be produced in society? What virtuous woman, what upright man can call for such a relaxation of public morals? What father, who descants earnestly upon the duty of throwing a mantle over the domestic relations of Gen. Jackson, shall be at liberty to reproach a fallen daughter? In such case, what daughter may not shelter her frailties under such an illustrious example? No true patriot would seek distinction, when to obtain it, would be to inflict a stab upon the morals, and upon the female morals too, of his country. The maxim of Cæsar was a correct one. The wife of a distinguished public man, should not only be pure but unsuspected. If her character be stained with suspicion,

it affects all around her, the whole community of which she is the head.

Gen. Jackson cannot be insensible to the true state of his own case. He cannot be deceived by the glossings of his vindicators; though possibly enough he may be mistaken as to public opinion. But were he a lofty patriot, such as he is represented to be, his love of country would compel him to decline being a candidate for the Presidency. He would never consent that the wife of his bosom, should be exposed to the ribald taunts, and dark surmises of the profligate or to the cold civility, or just remark of the wise and good. He would never consent that his name should be associated with sneers at his country, or with suggestions of evil and dangerous examples to her daughters. The truth of what I have asserted, must be felt by every candid man. It presents an obstacle to the election of Gen. Jackson, which can only be surmounted by the head-long devotion of party.

The denunciations which have been uttered against those who consider Gen. Jackson's domestic relations a proper subject of investigation, have not been confined to the writers of newspaper essays, or to the declaimers in booths and taverns; nor have these denunciations been levelled only at those who were concerned in perpetrating the alleged offence. The Legislature of Tennessee have made them the matter of a solemn legislative resolve, and have included "some of the members of the present administration" in their charges. The following is their language:

"But the retreats of private life are no longer sacred. This beloved citizen, this genuine republican, venerable for his age, illustrious for his services, and still more illustrious for his inflexible patriotism, has seen, not only his conduct distorted by slander, and his glory tarnished by calumny, but the partner of his bosom traduced and exposed for the sport of the idle, and malice of the infamous. That couch which has so often been forsaken, that others might sleep in safety and peace; that breast that has so often braved danger, that others might not even feel its alarms; which felt a stain on the honor of the country, like a stab into its own vitals, has been invaded and cruelly outraged. *That some of the members of the present administration of the general government, are accountable for the slander and persecution of General Jackson and his wife, is reluctantly, though solemnly asserted. No moral distinction can be drawn between the act of hiring a man to commit a crime, and that of rewarding him after he has committed it; and it is notorious, that the prostituted miscreants, who invent and circulate these slanders, are the continued objects of ministerial favor, patronage and pay.* Hired with the money of the very people whose willing gratitude and just admiration, are the real causes of this defamation and rancour, this foul injustice not only aggravates the demerit of its procurers, but should endear to his country the hero who sustains it."

I make no remark upon the principles avowed, or the language employed in this extract; God help us, when such morals and such taste prevail in our Legislative assemblies! But it is an act of duty to repel the insinuation, that Mr. Clay is accountable for any thing published with respect to Mrs. Jackson, for it would be affectation not to understand the allusion to *some of the members*, of the cabinet, as being aimed at him. The following extract of a letter from Mr. Clay, dated Washington, December 23. 1826. and copy of a letter from myself to Major Eaton, will show how this matter stands.

"I had a curious call the day before yesterday from Major Eaton. He came at the instance of Gen. Jackson to inform me that the General had received a letter from some person in Kentucky, (whose name was not given) communicating to him, that you had, during your visit to Kentucky, last summer, obtained from me, papers which I had collected, for the purpose of an attack upon Mrs. Jackson, which you were preparing: and to enquire if I had furnished any such papers. As there was not a particle of truth in the communication which had been made to the General, I of course, contradicted it, adding what is perfectly true, that I had never seen the papers relating to the transaction referred to.

nor did I know that you had, on your above mentioned visit, procured any such papers. I have now, no recollection that the case of Mrs. Jackson formed any topic of conversation between us, when you were at Lexington."

"*Cincinnati, Jan. 3d*, 1827.

SIR,—"I am advised information has been communicated to Gen. Jackson, that Mr. Clay had furnished me with certain documents, in relation to Mrs. Jackson, upon which I am preparing an attack on her. I deem it an act of justice to say to you, that this information is wholly incorrect. I never received from Mr. Clay any paper or document upon that subject; it was never but once a subject of conversation between us.

"According to my present recollection, from my earliest knowledge of Gen. Jackson's character, I had heard exceptions taken to the manner in which his connubial relation was commenced. I had heard various stories with respect to it. At Columbus in the summer of 1824, I enquired of Mr. Clay, what was the true state of facts. He stated, that he knew nothing but by report. The relation he gave was palliatory: and he expressed his opinion that the subject ought not to be brought before the public. I mentioned this conversation to Col. Andrew Mack of this city, on our return from Columbus, who is now and was then, a warm supporter of Gen. Jackson for the Presidency, and he expressed himself entirely satisfied with the conduct of Mr. Clay.

"It has been for some time my opinion, that the matter should be investigated. And I set on foot an enquiry to obtain the information, that would enable me to decide, for myself at least, how far the public were interested in it. From Mr. Edward Day, a travelling collector for merchants in Baltimore, I obtained such reference as enabled me to find the application of Robards for a divorce, addressed to the Legislature of Virginia, in 1790: the Legislative act that was passed by that body December 20th, of the same years and the judicial proceedings founded upon it, in Mercer county, Ky. What use I shall make of these documents, and the facts connected with them, must depend upon future events I meditate no attack upon Mrs. Jackson. I do not view the character of the General in a light so favorable as you, and many others do, and I propose to use this affair in no other manner, than to elucidate my estimate of that character. I wish to shun no proper responsibility, and should I make any publication, it will be accompanied with my name.

"This letter is addressed to you in a spirit of frankness, to prevent any misconception of my intention, and any mistake as to the channels through which I derived my information.

Respectfully, yours, &c.

C. HAMMOND.

J. H. EATON, Esq."

These papers show conclusively that Mr. Clay is in no respect "accountable" for the investigations that have taken place, through my agency, and they warrant the inference, that he has in no way interfered to aid, or countenance the course pursued. It is just that he should be exonerated from an imputation so wholly unfounded in fact.

Gen. Jackson's application to Mr. Clay, was certainly a "*curious*" one.—Whilst Gen. Jackson made his domestic hearth, and social circle, the theatre for utteri g various imputations against the character of Mr. Clay, what just cause of offence could be taken, had Mr. Clay furnished papers bearing upon the General himself, through his wife or other relation? Suppose Mr. Clay had collected copies of the different papers in existence, touching the divorce of Mrs. Robards, and had put these papers in my hands, what right had Gen. Jackson to question him about it? I can conceive of none. General Jackson had put an end to all relations of amity with Mr. Clay, by his Swartout letter and other slanders. As an avowed antagonist, Gen. Jackson could have no just pretension to prescribe to Mr. Clay, the weapons he should use, or the manner in which he should employ them. It is therefore matter of "curious" speculation what could be the object of the call, and upon what

ground the General assumed the right to make it. The most obvious conclusion is, that it was made with the intention of operating as an engine of intimidation. As much as to say, the standing of my wife shall not be impugned by any man I hold my equal, but at the risk of direct responsibility. If a more apposite explanation be given, I shall be glad to hear it.

Those who have perused this article, are now apprised of the ground on which I have deemed this investigation a proper and a necessary one. They are possessed of what I think, a just view of the case. It is for all who have pretensions to intelligence and candor, to say, whether the subject is not one, which it is the right and the duty of a free and moral people to investigate? and whether the facts are such, as to justify the charge of slander and calumny against all, who have dared to speak plainly, the clear convictions of their judgments upon it? I am prepared to abide the sentence of just and reflecting men; of men, who do not judge of fitness and propriety, in reference to a particular case, but who make the broad principles of general right the foundation of their judgments. The censure, or the applause of those who accommodate their opinions to the circumstances that surround them is of but little consideration. The one inflicts no pain, the other gives very partial satisfaction.

C. HAMMOND.

APPENDIX.

An act concerning the marriage of Lewis Robards (Passed the 20th of December, 179—.)

Sect. 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly*, That it shall, and may be lawful, for Lewis Robards to sue out of the office of the Supreme Court of the District of Kentucky, a writ against Rachel Robards, which writ shall be framed by the Clerk, and express the nature of the case, and shall be published for eight weeks successively, in the Kentucky Gazette; whereupon the plaintiff may file his declaration in the same cause, and the defendant may appear and plead to issue, in which case, or if she does not appear within two months after such publication, it shall be set for trial by the clerk on some day in the succeeding court, but may for good cause shewn to the Court, be continued until the succeeding term.

Sect. 2. Commissions to take depositions and subpoenas to summon witnesses, shall issue as in other cases.

Sect. 3. Notice of taking depositions published in the Kentucky Gazette, shall be sufficient.

Sect. 4. A jury shall be summoned, who shall be sworn well and truly to inquire into the allegations contained in the declaration, or to try the issue joined as the case may be, and shall find a verdict according to the usual mode; and if the jury, in case of issue joined, shall find for the plaintiff, or in case of inquiry into the truth of the allegations contained in the declaration, shall find in substance, *that the defendant hath deserted the plaintiff, and that she hath lived in adultery with another man since such desertion*, the said verdict shall be recorded, and, Thereupon, the marriage between the said Lewis Robards, and Rachel, shall be totally dissolved.—See *Henning's Statues at large, vol.* 12, *page* 227.

The following is a true extract from the record and proceeding in the Court of Quarter Sessions, for the county of Mercer, wherein Lewis Robards is plaintiff, and Rachel Robards is defendant.

Kentucky sct.

Lewis Robards complains of Rachel Robards in custody, &c. of a plea of adultery, for this, to wit: That whereas, the said Rachel Robards, on the day of in the year 17—— was in due form, according to the law, joined in the holy bands of matrimony, with the said Lewis Robards; nevertheless the said Rachel in violation of her most solemn promise, did, on the 1st day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety, elope from her said husband Lewis, and live in adultery with another man, and still continues with the same adulterer: Therefore the said Lewis, prays that the said marriage between the said Rachel and Lewis may be dissolved, according to an act of Assembly, in that case made and provided.

J. BROWN, for Plaintiff.

At a Court of Quarter Sessions, held for Mercer county, at the Court House in Harrodsburgh, on the 27th day of September, 1793, this day came the plaintiff by his attorney, and thereupon came also, a jury, to wit: James Bradshery, Thomas Smith, Gabriel Slaughter, John Lightfoot, Samuel Work, Harrison Davis, John Ray, Obediah Wright, John Miles, John Means, Joseph Thomas, and Benjamin Sanless, who being elected, tried, and sworn, well and truly to inquire into the allegation in the plaintiff's declaration, specified upon oath, do say, that the defendant, Rachel Robards, hath deserted the plaintiff, Lewis Robards, and hath, and doth, still live in adultery with another man. It is therefore considered by the Court, that the marriage between the plaintiff and the defendant be dissolved.

Mercer sct

I do certify, that the above and foregoing, is a true extract from the record in my office.—Given under my hand, as Clerk of the Court aforesaid, this, 8th day of August, 1825.

THOMAS ALLEN.

[Note. This transcript of the record was made out for Mr. Edward Day, in 1825, at his own request, and without any suggestion from me. It was in 1826, that I first conversed with him about it.

C.

Intimations have been thrown out, not only that the proceedings were *ex parte*, but that the directions of the law were not followed, either by the mode of proceeding, or in respect to the court where the proceedings were had. On this subject, it is only necessary to remark, that we are bound to presume, the court took care to see that it had jurisdiction, and that the law under which it acted, was complied with. It may be further remarked, that if this record does not furnish evidence of a legal divorce, then the General and Mrs. Robards have lived in adultery all their lives; for their is no pretence that she was ever, in any other mode, divorced from Lewis Robards.]

May 8th, 1827.

Dear Sir.—In the fall of 1787, I became a boarder in the family of Mrs. Robards, the mother of Lewis Robards, of Mercer county, Ky. Capt. Robards and his wife, then lived with old Mrs. Robards. I had not lived more many weeks, before I understood, that Capt. Robards and his wife lived very unhappily, on account of his being jealous of Mr Short.—My brother, who was a boarder, informed me, that great uneasiness had existed in the family for some time before my arrival, but as he had the confidence and good will of all parties, a portion of his confidence fell to my share, particularly the old lady's, than whom, perhaps, a more amiable woman never lived. The uneasiness between Capt. Robards and lady, continued to increase, and with it, great distress of the mother, and considerably with the family generally—until early in the year 1788, as well as now recollected, I understood from the old lady, and perhaps others of the family, that her son Lewis had written to Mrs Robards' mother, the widow Donelson, requesting that she would take her home, as he did not intend to live with her any longer. Certain it is, that Mrs. Robards's brother, Samuel Donelson, came up to carry her down to her mother's and my impression is, in the fall or summer of 1788. I was present when Mr Samuel Donelson, arrived at Mr. Robards's, and when he started away with his sister, and my clear and distinct recollection is, that it was said to be a final separation at the instance of Capt. Robards—for I well recollect the distress of old Mrs. Robards, on account of her daughter in law, Rachel, going away, on account of the separation that was about to take place, together with the circumstance of the old lady's embracing her affectionately. In numerous conversations with me, the old lady always blamed her son Lewis, and took the part of her daughter in-law.

During my residence in Mr. Robards's family, I do not recollect to have heard any of the family censure young Mrs. Robards, on account of the difference between her husband and herself, if they thought otherwise, it was unknown to me: but recollect frequently to have heard the old lady and Capt. Jouett, who married the elder daughter of the family, at that time, express the most favorable sentiments of her.

Having finished my studies in the winter of '88—9, it was determined to fix my residence in the country now called West Tennessee.—Previously to my departure from Mrs. Robards's, the old lady earnestly entreated me to use my exertions to get her son Lewis, and daughter-in-law Rachel, to live happily together.

Their separation for a considerable time, had occasioned her great uneasiness, as she appeared to be much attached to her daughter-in-law, and she to her. Capt Lewis Robards appeared to be unhappy, and the old lady told me he regretted what had taken place, and wished me to be reconciled to his wife. Before I would agree to concern in the matter, I determined to ascertain Capt Robards' disposition from himself, and took an occasion to converse with him on the subject, when he assured me of his regret respecting what had passed; that he was convinced his suspicions were unfounded, that he wished to live with his wife, and requested that I would use my exertions to reconcile matters.—I told him I would undertake it, provided he would throw out of consideration all notions about jealousy, for which I was convinced there was no ground, and treat his wife kindly, as other men. He assured me it should be so; and it is my impression now, that I received a message from old Mrs Robards, to Mrs. Lewis Robards, which I delivered to her on my arrival at her mother's, where I found her some time in the month of February or March, 1789. The situation of the country induced me to solicit Mrs. Donelson to board me, good accommodations and boarding being rarely to be met with—to which she readily assented.

Mr. A. Jackson had studied the law at Salisbury, N. C., as I understood, and had arrived in this country, in company with Judge McNairy, Bennet, Searcy, and perhaps David Allison, all lawyers, seeking their fortunes, not more than a month or two before my arrival. Whether Mr. Jackson was at Mrs. Donelson's, when I first got there in March, 1789, I cannot say; if he was, it must have been but a little time. My impression now is, that he was not living there, and having just arrived, I introduced him into the family as a boarder, after becoming acquainted with him. Soon after, we commenced boarding there, about the same time. Jackson and myself, our friends, and clients, &c. occupying one cabin, and the family another, a few steps from it.

Soon after my arrival, I had frequent conversations with Mrs. Lewis Robards, on the subject of living happily with her husband—she, with much sensibility, assured me, that no effort to do so, should be wanting on her part and I communicated the result to Captain Robards and his mother, from both of whom I received congratulations and thanks. Capt. Robards had previously purchased a preemption in this county, on the south side of Cumberland river, in Davidson county, about five miles from where Mrs. Donelson then lived. In the arrangement for a reunion between Capt. Robards and his wife, I understood it was agreed, that Capt. Robards was to live in this country instead of Kentucky; that until it was safe to go on his own land, which was nearly expected, he and his wife were to live at Mrs. Donelson's. Capt. Robards, [illegible]

united to his wife some time in the year 1788, or 1789. Both Mr. Jackson and myself boarded in the family of Mrs. Donelson—lived in the cabin room, and slept in the same bed. As young men of the same pursuits and profession, with but few others in the country, with whom to associate—besides sharing, as we frequently did, common dangers, such an intimacy ensued, as might reasonably be expected.

Not many months elapsed, before Robards became jealous of Jackson, which I felt confident was without the least ground. Some of his irritating conversation on this subject, with his wife, I heard amidst the tears of herself and her mother, who were greatly distressed. I urged to Robards the unmanliness of his conduct, after the pains I had taken to produce harmony, as a mutual friend of both families, and my honest conviction that his suspicions were groundless. These remonstrances seemed not to have the desired effect; as much commotion and unhappiness prevailed in the family, as that of Mr Robards in Kentucky. At length, I communicated to Jackson the unpleasant situation of living in a family, where there was so much disturbance, and concluded by telling him, that we would endeavour to get some other place; to this he readily assented, but where to go, we did not know. Being conscious of his innocence, he said he would talk to Robards. What passed between Capt. Robards and Jackson, I do not know, as I was absent some where, not now recollected, when the conversation and results took place, but returned soon afterwards. The whole affair was related to me by Mrs. Donelson, (the mother of Mrs. Robards) and as well as I recollect, by Jackson himself. The substance of their account was, that Mr. Jackson met Capt. Robards near the orchard fence, and began mildly to remonstrate with him, respecting the injustice he had done his wife, as well as himself. In a little time Robards became violently angry and abusive, and threatened to whip Jackson, made a show of doing so, &c. Jackson told him he had not bodily strength to fight him, nor should he do so, feeling conscious of his innocence, and retired to his cabin, telling him at the same time, that if he insisted on fighting, he would give him gentlemanly satisfaction, or words to that effect. Upon Jackson's return out of the house, Capt. Robards said that he did not care for him nor his wife—abusing them both—that he was determined not to live with Mrs. Robards Jackson retired from the family, and went to live at Mansker's station. Capt. Robards remained several months with his wife, and then went to Kentucky in company with Mr. Thomas Cruther, and probably some other persons.

Soon after this affair, Mrs. Robards went to live at Col. Hays', who married her sister.—After a short absence, I returned to live at Mrs. Donelson's, at her earnest entreaty, every family then desiring the association of male friends, as a protection against the Indians. This affair took place, to the best of my recollection, in the spring of 1790. Some time in the fall following, there was a report afloat, that Capt. Robards intended to come down and take his wife to Kentucky; whence it originated, I do not now recollect, but it created great uneasiness, both with Mrs. Donelson and her daughter, Mrs. Robards; the latter of whom, was much distressed, as she was convinced after two fair trials, as she said, that it would be impossible to live with Capt Robards, and of this opinion was I—with all those I conversed with, who were acquainted with the circumstances. Some time afterwards, during the winter of 1791, Mrs. Donelson told me of her daughter's intention to go down the river to Natchez, to some of their friends, in order to keep out of the way of Capt. Robards, as she said, he had threatened to "*haunt* her." Knowing as I did, Capt. Robards's unhappy jealous disposition, and his temper growing out of it, I thought she was right to keep out of the way; though do not believe that I so expressed myself to the old lady, or any other person.

The whole affair gave Jackson great uneasiness, and this will not appear strange to one as well acquainted with his character as I was. Continually together during our attendance on wilderness courts, whilst other young men were indulging in familiarities with females of relaxed morals, no suspicion of this kind of the world's censure, ever fell to Jackson's share. In this—in his singularly delicate sense of honor, and in what I thought his chivalrous conceptions of the female sex, it occurred to me, that he was distinguishable from every other person with whom I was acquainted.

About the time of Mrs. Donelson's communication to me, respecting her daughter's intention of going to Natchez, I perceived in Jackson, symptoms of more than usual concern. I determined to ascertain the cause, when he frankly told me, that he was the most unhappy of men, in having innocently and unintentionally been the cause of the loss of peace and happiness of Mrs. Robards, whom he believed to be a fine woman; in this I concurred with him, but remonstrated on the propriety of his not giving himself any uneasiness about it. It was not long after this before he communicated to me his intention of going to Natchez with Col. Stark, with whom Mrs. Robards was to descend the river, saying that she had no friend or relation that would go with her, or assist in preventing Stark and his family, and Mrs. Robards from being massacred by the Indians, then in a state of war, and exceedingly troublesome. Accordingly, Jackson in company with Mrs. Robards and Col Stark, a venerable and highly esteemed old man, and friend of Mrs. Robards, went down the river from Nashville, to Natchez, some time in the winter or spring of 1791. It was not however, without the urgent entreaties of Col. Stark, who wanted protection from the Indians, that Jackson consented to accompany them, of which I had heard before Jackson's conversation with me, already alluded to.

Previously to Jackson's starting, he committed all his law business to me, at the same time assuring me, that as soon as he should see Col. Stark and family, and Mrs. Robards situated with their friends in the neighborhood of Natchez, he would return and resume his practice. He descended the river; returned from Natchez to Nashville, and was at the superior court in the latter place, in May, 1791, attending to his business as a lawyer and solicitor Gen. for the Govt. About, or shortly after this time, we were informed that a divorce had been granted by the Legislature of Va. through the influence, principally, of Capt Robards'

brother-in-law, Maj. John Jouet, who was probably in the Legislature at that time

This application had been anticipated by me. The divorce was understood by the people of this country, to have been granted by the Legislature of Va., in the winter of 1790—1791; I was in Kentucky in the summer of 1791, remained at old Mrs. Robards' my former place of residence, part of my time, and never understood otherwise than that Capt. Robards' divorce was final, until the latter part of the year 1793. In the summer of 1791, Gen. Jackson went to Natchez, and I understood, married Mrs. Robards, then believed to be freed from Capt. Robards by the divorce; in the fall of 1791, returned to Nashville, settled in the neighborhood of it; where they have lived ever since, beloved and esteemed by all classes

About the month of December, 1793, after Gen. Jackson and myself had started to Jonesborough, in East Tennessee, where we practised law, I learnt for the first time, that Capt Robards had applied to Mercer court, in Ky., for a divorce, which had then, recently been granted; and that the Legislature had not absolutely granted a divorce, but left it for the court to do. I need not express to you my surprise, on learning that the act of the Virginia Legislature, had not divorced Capt. Robards. I informed Gen. Jackson of it, who was equally surprised; and during our conversation, I suggested the propriety of his procuring a license on his return home, and having the marriage ceremony again performed, so as to prevent all future cavilling on the subject.

To this suggestion, he replied, that he had long since been married, on the belief that a divorce had been obtained, which was the understanding of every person in the country; nor was it without difficulty he could be induced to believe otherwise.

On our return home, from Jonesborough, in January, 1794, to Nashville, a licence was obtained, and the marriage ceremony performed.

The slowness and inaccuracy with which information was received in West Tennessee, at that time, will not be surprising, when we consider its insulated and dangerous situation, surrounded on every side by a wilderness, and by hostile Indians, and that there was no mail established, till about 1797, as well as I recollect.

Since the year 1791, Gen. Jackson and myself, have never been much a part, except when he was in the army. I have been intimate in his family, and from the mutual and uninterrupted happiness of the Gen. and Mrs. Jackson, which I have at all times witnessed with pleasure, as well as those delicate and polite attentions which have ever been mutually reciprocated between them, I have been long confirmed in the opinion—that there never existed any other than what was believed to be the most honorable and virtuous intercourse between them. Before their going to Natchez, I had daily opportunities of being convinced that there was none other; before being married in the Natchez country, after it was understood that a divorce had been granted by the Legislature of Virginia, it is believed there was none.

JOHN OVERTON.

The Hon. R. C. Foster,
Chairman of the Select Committee.

GEN. JACKSON AND THE AMERICAN SYSTEM.

The prominent supporters of Gen. Jackson in the west, are aware, that unless the people can be decieved into a belief that the Hero is friendly to the leading measures of the present Administration, and especially to that system of policy which has been adopted for the protection of the great interests of Agriculture and Manufactures, all hopes of electing him to the Presidency must be abandoned; hence, we find, that his friends, as they are falsely called, from grave Senators, (who expect to promote their own ambition by his elevation) down to such tools as the editors of the Republican and Advertiser, who are paid as their work proceeds; all labour incessantly to mislead the people, and betray them into the hands of their enemies.

In the free states, the citizens are told that the Hero is a friend to roads and canals, and to the American System; and this is asserted with such daring effrontery, that hundreds and perhaps thousands of well meaning people, unacquainted with the black arts of unprincipled demagogues, give credit to the falsehood.

Every art is practised, and every trick resorted to by profligate and desperate hirelings, for the purpose of concealing the truth, and preventing the people from examining for themselves. Noise, violence, and intolerance, are made to supply the place of argument; objections are replied to, by a loud cry of "Huzza for Jackson!" "the hero of Orleans and of two wars!! the second Washington!!!" But these tricks will not deceive much longer they become stale: the people begin to inquire for information, they ask for proof—and they shall have abundant proof that Gen. Jackson was brought forward, and is now supported chiefly by those states, and those persons, who have been, and now are most distinguished among the enemies of internal improvements, and domestic manufactures.

Gen. Jackson was first nominated in Tennessee, in which state he resides; he has an extensive landed estate there, and large numbers of slaves, whose labour is principally employed in the

cultivation of cotton. His long residence has afforded to the citizens of that state, an opportunity of knowing his sentiments upon political questions of importance; it must be presumed they do know them, and that his sentiments and theirs are in unison; what then are their opinions in regard to internal improvements and domestic manufactures? The votes of their representatives in Congress afford a conclusive answer to this question.

On the bill of 1818, to protect domestic manufactures in the House of Representatives, the journals show, that six votes from Tennessee were against it.

On a similar bill of 1824, all seven votes of Tennessee were against it.

On the tariff of last session, all the votes of Tennessee, except one absent, were against the bill.

In the Senate the votes upon the same bill stood thus:

	For.	*Against.*	*Absent.*
7 Northern States,	11	0	3
8 Southern States,		12	4
4 Middle States	3	4	1
5 Western States,	6	4	
	20	20	8

The bill was lost by the casting vote of John C. Calhoun, Vice President, and thus the most important bill for the Agricultural interest of the Eastern, Western, and Middle States, that ever came before Congress, was rejected. It is remarkable that not a single vote of the Tennessee delegation, was given in favor of either of those three bills.

It will not be denied that Gen. Jackson is the favorite candidate of the Southern States, and that he has been warmly supported by Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and his own state, the whole of whose Representatives voted against every tariff bill, from the year 1818, to the present time. Will it be believed, that the Southern politicians are ignorant of the opinions held by the person whom they have selected as a candidate for the Presidency? or that they would support him with a knowledge that he entertained opinions directly opposed to their own; and that too on a question which they consider so important to them, as the tariff; their hostility to which, is so violent, that they threaten to secede from the union, rather than submit to its operations. Can it be possible that any man believes the Southern people are so ignorant or so stupid? No man believes it who possesses common sense, and none but designing knaves, will even pretend to believe it. The Southern politicians well understand the opinions of the Hero upon this subject, and publicly declare their preference of Gen. Jackson, to be only a choice of evils. They prefer him because he suits their purpose; *he is opposed to the views of the people of the free states*, and is opposed to the "*American System*:" they prefer him because he will prefer southern men, and southern measures: they prefer him because he is a slave holder, and identified with them in every interest which distinguishes the slave from the free states of this union.

The Southern supporters of General Jackson, so far as the tariff question is concerned, act consistently, for they have always been hostile to that policy. They believe that "our workshops should be in Europe." The same opinion was formed and expressed at an early period, by her distinguished citizen, Thomas Jefferson, but afterwards, was, by him, renounced as erroneous, and destructive to the best interests of our country.

The Southern people are not deceived; they know that Gen. Jackson is their friend, that unless they can elevate him to the Presidency, all hopes of prostrating the American System must terminate.

One of the Jackson Editors in Cincinnati, a few days since declared in a paroxysm of rage, "that the woollens [bill of last session] was conceived in *villiany*, and brought forth in *hypocrisy*;" but the old gentleman is a foreigner, and in the same paper which contains the above extract, says, "that he heartily accords with the sentiment," "that we have reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who in controversies with other nations, take any side but that of their country." The old gentleman is sometimes indiscreet in blabbing too much, but he "takes side with his coun-

try." It is said that his intemperance has frequently been censured at the Hermitage, under the impression that he does more harm than good to the cause of the Hero.

No man should be blamed for entertaining good feelings towards the country which gave him birth; and in the case before us, the old gentleman expresses the same opinion of the woollens bill which is entertained by his countrymen both on this side of the water, and Great Britain. "They take side with their country."

A Richmond paper says: "the London Times and Courier, the leading tory papers, have espoused the cause of Gen. Jackson." They think him most fit for president, and they wish him success. After the Revolution, and until the war of 1812, Great Britain endeavored to destroy this union, by detaching the New England States. That game failed: the policy now is, to sow discontent in the Southern States, and through their dislike to the tariff, either bring about a repeal of that measure, which has given a vital stab to her manufacturing prosperity, or a dissolution of the union! Hence the ministerial journals advocate Gen. Jackson, and hence we see certain gentlemen here, who have always been her steadfast advocates, in every dispute between her and their own country, seconding her views also, on this occasion. English politicians now think, that this union may be most effectually assailed from the south.

The supporters of Gen. Jackson in the South, are as decidedly hostile to internal improvements, as they are to domestic manufactures; and to prove this, we will again refer to the journals of Congress.

On a bill authorizing a subscription of stock in the turnpike from Columbus to Sandusky, every senatorial vote from Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee, was against it, except Mr. Eaton who was absent.

On motion to strike out an appropriation (in a bill from the House of Representatives) for surveys in aid of internal improvements, the same vote was given as in the last case, including Mr. Eaton and Mr. Rowan, in favor of the motion.

On engrossing a bill for the repair and protection of the Cumberland road, all the senators from the states above named, were against the bill except Mr. Eaton, Mr. Rowan absent.

But a proposition the object of which was to reduce the revenue, and thereby deprive the government of the means necessary to make internal improvements, very readily meets the support of Southern gentlemen. Thus on a proposition to reduce the duty on foreign wines, coffee, and tea, every senator from the eight Southern States, voted for the measure, except four who were absent.

Enough has been shown, to prove that the friends of the Hero are not the friends of internal improvements or domestic manufactures: it has been shown that his own state is opposed to both, and identified as he is with southern interests, being a slave holder and cultivator of Southern products, the conclusion is irresistible that the Hero himself, is also an enemy.

Were he an open enemy, there would be nothing to fear—but he is an enemy in disguise. It is true, that in the South he is known to be an enemy, but in the West his advocates *say he is a friend* to the tariff. And the Hero himself countenances his friends in calling him what they please: he cares not a straw, so that they make him President; hence he pursues what he calls a judicious course—taking care so to express his opinion as to admit a construction favorable to both sides.

The Richmond Enquirer, a leading Jackson paper, says: "as to constitutional questions, we know from a letter we saw many months since *under Gen. Jackson's own hand*, never intended to be used, that he was astonished and startled by the extravagant encroachments supported in Mr. Adams' first message." Here is a further evidence of Gen. Jackson's political sentiments. *But his letter was never intended to be used!* For what purpose was it written? the Cincinnati Gazette gives the true answer.

"To let Mr. Ritchie and the Richmond Junta know what he dare not let

the Western people know, that he is *opposed to internal improvement and domestic manufactures:* Virginia is opposed to the tariff, but her support is essential to the election of Gen. Jackson. He writes private letters, ["never intended to be used!"] to let the leaders at Richmond know, that he is startled at Mr. Adam's encroachments upon the constitution. This being interpreted, means that he coincides in sentiment with Virginia, and that she may give him her votes with safety to her interests. How many private letters "*never intended to be used*," the General has written, we know not. One designed for the public we well remember. In that he expressed no fear of Mr. Adam's administration or measures.—it was intended to be used! He knew it would be seen in the North and West, as well as in the South, and was so "*judicious*" as to be claimed by both parties. The Richmond folks wanted something more explicit. In the above extract he gave it: and it is on this ground, we have no doubt, he is supported by the aristocracy of that city with so much fervor. But Ritchie will be called to an account for blabbing—"*the letter was never intended to be used!*"

☞How long is it since General Jackson began to be "*astonished and alarmed at encroachments upon the Constitution!*"

Again. At a meeting of General Jackson's friends, on the 29th of August last, at Clairborne in Alabama, to take into consideration the policy of protecting domestic manufactures, by an increase of duty on foreign importations; a resolution was adopted, "that all duties, except such as may be necessary for revenue, or for the purpose of advancing the interest of some of the United States, at the expense of the rest *are impolitic* and unjust, and that the tariff of 1825, particularly on the articles of hemp, cotton bagging, and cotton goods, was unjust, and unequal in its operations, and oppressive to the Southern Atlantic States, and that the duties imposed by that law should be reduced."

What will our farming and manufacturing friends in Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and the Western states say to this? Will they shut their eyes to evidence, and consent to be hoodwinked and imposed upon by the partizans of Gen. Jackson, who falsely represent him to be a friend of National Industry, and American manufactures? After the repeated proofs of hostility to the tariff, shewn by the supporters of the General in the Southern States, can any one doubt as to the General's own sentiments upon this subject? No one can doubt that the General must support those who support him—the southern cotton growers.

Gen. Jackson and his followers may play upon words, and prate as much as they please about "*a judicious tariff*," but they dare not come out openly and avow in the Southern States, that the Hero is a friend to the protection of American Manufactures. His strength lies in the Southern States, and were his friends there to use the same arguments in his favour by which they seek to make him popular here, his interest would be destroyed in a moment—hence we find that in our section of the union, he is falsely said to be a friend to the tariff, while on the other he is known to be an enemy—and is publicly supported upon that ground.

General Jackson has been frequently called upon for his opinions on this question; why does he not come boldly before the public, and put the matter at rest? "*He seeks no concealment.*" Let him then without equivocation, at once answer the question. Is he friendly to the woollens bill rejected by the casting vote of the Vice President last winter? The prosperity of the agricultural and manufacturing interests of the country hangs suspended upon this question; hundreds and thousand of the American people are anxiously awaiting its decision.

The people will not be satisfied with such a reply as may be interpreted to mean one thing on the South, and another on the North of the Potomac.

The American people ought to know what were the "extravagant encroachments" to which the General alluded in his letter 'under his own hand,' which was seen by the editors of the

Richmond Enquirer—*but which was never intended to be used.* Will the General permit his ambition to triumph over his political integrity; and, by shrouding his opinions in obscurity, worm himself into the highest office in the gift of a free, but unsuspecting people? It is to be hoped that he will rather attempt to imitate the example of the champion of the American System, HENRY CLAY, who with that frankness and fearless independence, which peculiarly belongs to his character, gave the whole force of his genius and talents, to the support of the tariff of 1824, although he knew that by doing so, he should give a death blow to all hopes of support from the Southern States, to his claim for the Presidency. His sentiments were always understood—he wrote no letters "*never intended to be used*"—his opinions were expressed every where alike—he, in *truth* sought *no concealment.*

PARTIES.

It will no doubt be recorded in the history of this country, as one of the most extraordinary events of the present time, the unprecedented party proceedings against the ensuing government of the United States. Such has been the dextrous perseverance with which "trifles light as air" have been magnified into matters of importance, that considerate people have been amazed at the stir, strife, and excitement, which has been made to spring up without any legitimate, or even tangible cause. The members of the government have been constantly kept upon the defensive. The assailants availing themselves of every species of ambuscade, whether in ditch, defile, bog, bramble, bush, fence, tree, or wall; now creeping upon all fours, now upon hands and knees, now dodging, now cringing, twisting, and turning in every possible direction, like the wiley serpent, whose every movement is guile and deceit. Had there been any real grievance to complain of, such as embargoes, non-intercourse, war, taxes, oppression, persecution, conspiracies against life and liberty, there, then would have been sufficient cause for making so much din and bustle; but as no one is foolhardy enough to say that society labours under any of these perilous evils, there can be no other conclusion drawn than that the party excitement of the present day springs from that *chon spirit*, the power of *illiberal sectional prejudice.* Down with the Yankees! was the placard of the New Yorkers, and of course it follows, up with the slave holders. Down with republicanism, and up with aristocracy! Down with civil rule, and up with military dictation! Down with the penurious Republican Government, and upon with a strong and splendid one!—The opposition is contending for no important principle violated: neither does the clamor proceed upon the old party grounds, because the measures of the government are purely republican. It may fearlessly be demanded, what has the present administration done to forfeit the confidence of the country? Has it lacked zeal in the public service? Has its measures been marked with any hostility to republican principles? Why is it not as worthy of support and confidence as any of the preceding administrations? Is the noisy, senseless cry to be raised, and the watchword given, down with New England!—Says John of Roanoke.—*When we get you down again, we'll nail you to the counter like base money*: and Gen. Jackson is to be the instrument to *nail us* or *bayonet us down.* What think you, shall he not meet with some resistance?—*Bost. Pat.*

BUNKER-HILL.

POLITICAL STATISTICS.

We have often heard the *manner* of Mr. ADAMS' election objected to, and nothing is more common than to hear his opponents declare, that he was not the choice of the people. As to the manner, it was such as is pointed out by the constitution of the land, and we should therefore, suppose it to be in that respect unobjectionable. But what evidence have we that he was not the choice of the people. The election being cast into the House of

Representatives, the members of that body representing their several state sovereignties had to act for the people. Now let us see how the account stands, and what portion of the freemen of the nation were represented by the states which voted for Mr. Adams, as well as the other candidates. According to the last census, the *free white population* of the United States (exclusive of the district of Columbia, which has no voice in the matter) amounted to seven millions, nine hundred and eighteen thousand, three hundred and forty seven; and were thus distributed: in

Vermont,	234 846
Maine,	297,240
New Hampshire,	243,236
Massachusetts,	516,419
Rhode Island,	79,413
Connecticut,	267,181
New York,	1,332,744
New Jersey,	257,409
Pennsylvania,	1,017,094
Delaware,	55,282
Maryland,	260,222
Virginia,	603,074
North Carolina,	419,200
South Carolina,	237,440
Georgia,	189,566
Alabama,	96,345
Louisiana,	73,333
Mississippi,	42,175
Tennessee,	339,727
Kentucky,	434,644
Missouri,	55,988
Indiana,	145,758
Illinois,	53,788
Ohio,	576,572

Of these, the states of

New Hampshire,	Maine,
Vermont,	Massachusetts,
Rhode Island,	Connecticut,
New York,	Maryland.
Kentucky,	Ohio,
Louisiana,	Illinois,
Missouri,	

embracing a *free white population* of 4,525,776, voted for Mr. ADAMS.

The states of

New Jersey,	Pennsylvania,
South Carolina,	Tennessee,
Indiana,	Mississipi,
Alabama,	

embracing a *free white population* of 2,135,564, voted for Gen. Jackson.

The states of

Delaware,	North Carolina,
Virginia.	Georgia,

embracing a *free white population* of 1,257,122, voted for Mr. Crawford.

Thus it will be seen that on a final question, those voting for Mr. Adams in Congress represented *two millions, three hundred and ninety thousand, one hundred and eighty two* more freemen than those did who voted for Gen. Jackson, and three million, two hundred sixty eight thousand, six hundred and fifty four more than did those who supported Mr. Crawford; and it will be seen further, that they also represented one million one hundred & thirty three thousand two hundred and five more freemen than did those who voted for Gen. Jackson and Mr. Crawford, together. Surely no freeman can complain that this constitutional decision led to the result.—*Albany Adv.*

TO GEN. ANDREW JACKSON.

SIR—It must be known to you that the last Presidential election was conducted upon principles altogether foreign to the old party distinctions of Federalist and Republican. Whether it was right or wrong to desert the old landmarks of party, it is now too late to enquire—it is sufficient for us to know that such was the fact, and that the election proceeded entirely upon new grounds. I need not adduce proofs to substantiate this remark, for you well know that every candidate in the field could number in the train of his supporters, prominent and influential men in both political sects. Some efforts were made to keep alive ancient feuds; but new interests had arisen, and they were soon laid aside.

The new subject of party contest is equally well understood. In brief language it may be called the "DOMESTIC SYSTEM," and it is about this, so far as *principle* is concerned, that the American people are now divided. The system embraces internal improvements, at the expense of the National Government, and the encouragement of Domestic Manufactures, by protecting duties. I allude to the protection of such articles only as we have the means of manufacturing at home, and to such duties, as will exclude foreign competition. The present administration of the Government have indicated a decided preference for this course of policy, and so far as within their power have pursued it. A large portion

of the Union embracing all the free states, Kentucky, and a part of Virginia, is equally favorable. The South is opposed. The people of that Section have conceived a deadly hostility to the system, and are making violent struggles to arrest its progress and to destroy the influence of those who support it. I have thus plainly and concisely named the parties and stated the grounds of their variance. It remains with me now, sir, as you are a prominent man, to refer to *your* principles and to the part which you have taken in the great subject in dispute.

You will agree with me, that every man who aspires to a responsible office in the Government is bound in honor to declare if desired, his sentiments on great political and national questions. The man who is silent or equivocal in party times, and will meanly court contending parties to gain their support, is unfit to be trusted.—He should be discarded by both, and treated with scorn and contempt by all. An enemy in the guise of friendship is the most detestable wretch on earth. This is equally true in politics, as in the affairs of social intercourse. What then, sir, are your sentiments in regard to the American System? You are a candidate for the Presidency—it is important your opinions should be known. You are supported in the South, and by a large body of people in the other states, upon principles diametrically opposed. In one section you are claimed as a *Tariff* and in the other as an *Anti*-tariff man. To which party do you belong, and which do you intend to deceive? Both claim you, and while the contest is raging, carrying with it discord and confusion, you look coldly on, by regardless of the peace of the country and careful only of your own aggrandizement. Sir, if you were known to be *hostile* as some of your prominent Southern supporters are, to the Domestic Sytem, you could not obtain five thousand votes northwest of the Ohio. Even Pennsylvania would desert you, and your prospects would be limited to the bounds of the Southern States. On the other hand, if you were known to be decidedly *friendly* to the system, the South would leave you and the question would then stand upon its merits. Is it honorable for a man thus situated to remain silent? Would you trust him—nay, would you not spurn him from your presence?

But it will be said by your friends and perhaps repeated by yourself, that your sentiments on the subject before us are well known. I mean to be plain with you, and therefore I declare distinctly and positively, that they are *not* known. Every thing you have said or done, though a few of each party might know what you meant, has been so equivocal in relation to this matter, that the great mass of the people know nothing of your real sentiments. You have played a double game, holding out one set of colors to the Southern people, and another to the North-east and the West. Have you not done so? If not, why did you write the celebrated, but equivocal, letter to Dr. Coleman of North Carolina? The question was then distinctly put to you. As a plain man, having nothing to conceal, why did you not answer distinctly, whether you were *friendly* or *inimical* to the Domestic System? It is true you said much about revenue—something of your own modesty and patriotism—spoke of a "*judicious tariff*" and there left the subject, just as much in the dark as to a development of your real sentiment, as when you commenced it. You wrote a long chapter of quibbles and evasions, *when five honest lines*, expressed with the frankness and boldness of a great and good man, would have settled the matter at rest, and satisfied the minds of your countrymen. I repeat, as a prominent man of the United States—as a patriot having the welfare of the nation at heart, you ought to have answered the queries of Dr. Coleman in the most explicit and unequivocal terms—in such a manner that there could have been no misinterpretation of sentiments or motives. But you adroitly poised your opinions to deceive both parties, and leave each to claim you.

Until you wrote that letter, sir, though not in favor of your election, I thought you one of the most unwavering, intrepid republicans of the age.

A man who would sacrifice any thing to the cause of truth and the honest and fearless expression of his sentiments. It is said you do not seek office nor decline it—that you are above all concealment of your opinions—you are called a second Washington, a Cincinnatus, and the like. Does it comport with this high character to evade a direct question on a subject of vital interest to the country? If you cared for nothing but the good of the people, would you have written more than a column in a newspaper, in answer to a plain question which required but a simple declaration of your sentiments? Such a declaration would have saved your countrymen much speculation and angry debate; and would have justified the favourable opinion of your intrepid candour and frankness.

To show that I have not misjudged you, I will now refer to the letter in question, and to some other matters connected with the subject. At the time you wrote it, it was well understood, both by yourself and the members of Congress, what was the extent and meaning of the tariff. There could be no misapprehension;—you were a member of the Senate and well knew what was the construction put upon the views of the tariff and anti-tariff men. The one party was friendly to protecting duties, and the other to such only as would increase the revenue—the one to the Tariff then recommended, and the other to what was called a "*judicious tariff*." This last phrase was used by the opponents of the system as a cloak to their designs. They covered themselves with it as with a mantle. You took the same disguise, and have thrown it off, and put it on, as it best suited your purposes, from that day to this.

You commence the letter by saying, "*that my name has been brought before the nation by the* PEOPLE, WITHOUT ANY AGENCY OF MINE: for I wish it not to be forgotten that *I have never solicited office*: nor when called upon by the constituted authorities, have ever declined, when I conceived my services could be beneficial to my country." Have you the least idea, Sir, when the phrenzy of the present time has past away, that this declaration will be credited? Your name brought before the nation by the *people*, without any agency of yours!! What people? Was not the first serious mention of your name for the Presidency, made in *Tennessee*, in your own neighborhood, and by your own intimate and bosom friends? Were these the PEOPLE and the constituted authorities to which you refer? And was it without any agency of yours? Surely Sir, it cannot be *proved* that you had any agency in it; but when it is considered your friends and neighbors declared your fitness for the station, it will take strong proof to convince the world, that it was not with your approbation and consent. But you "*wish it not to be forgotten that you* NEVER SOLICITED OFFICE"!! Pray, Sir, what had this to do with the simple question put to you by Dr. Coleman? You not solicit office! The very language I have just quoted, is one of the strongest but most insinuating solicitations for office to be found upon record! What did Cæsar do when the crown was offered him. Would he have it? Nay, he put it by thrice, and the deluded mob fell a shouting and threw up their dirty caps. But why was it, you wished it not to be forgotten, that you did not solicit office? Strange when a plain question was asked you relative to other matters, that this subject should have struck your attention! Did it not discover some anxiety, some hankering after office? but I pass to the substance of the letter.

You say "I am in favor of a '*judicious*' examination and revision of the Tariff, and so far as the present Bill embraces the design of fostering, protecting and preserving within ourselves, the means of national defence and independence, particularly in a state of war, I would advocate and support it." What did you mean by a "*judicious*" examination and revision of the Tariff? Here you will discover that you used the language I imputed to you. Did you not intend by it to conciliate the South? The politicians from that quarter repeated and reiterated the same expression: but after

all voted against the Bill. Cautious not to commit yourself, and wishing also to conciliate the other party, you concluded the sentence by asserting "so far as the bill provided for national *defence and independence, particularly in a state of war, you would support it.*" *Seemingly* this is a declaration in favour of the system. It was well calculated to deceive the public. But what application had it? If analized and compared with the provisions of the Bill, it will be discovered to have none at all. Even the most inveterate enemies of the Tariff in the South, are in favour of providing for our *national defence and independence.* But the question returns: what are the means of our "*national defence and independence?*" A judicious Tariff say you. What is a judicious tariff? Again you answer, such a Tariff as will provide for the "national defence and independence, *particularly in a state of war!!*" Thus you reason in a ring, evading the point, though you *seem* to meet it with decision and fairness.

I pass over your remarks in relation to the last war, and come to the following paragraph, which I quote entire, that you may not accuse me of dealing unjustly.

"Heaven has filled our mountains and plains with minerals, with Lead, Iron and Copper, and given us climate and soil for the growing of hemp and wool. These being the great materials of our *national defence*, they ought to have extended to them *adequate* and *fair* protection, that our manufactories and labourers may be placed on a *fair competition* with those of Europe, and that we may have within our country a supply of those leading and important articles so ESSENTIAL IN WAR. Beyond this, I look at the Tariff, with an eye to the proper distribution of labour and *revenue*, and with a view to the *discharge of our national debt!*"

This quotation carries with it the same double aspect as the other. You *seem* to be friendly to the Tariff; but to what sort of a tariff no man can tell. One moment you speak of "*adequate* and *fair protection*, a proper *distribution* of *labour*;" and the next of a Tariff, for raising a revenue, and for the discharge of the *National debt!*" Did you not know, Sir, that in these two positions lie all the subjects in dispute? The Southern people contend for *revenue*; the other states for *protection*—the former for light duties, and the latter for such as will divide labour, and exclude foreign competition. You blow hot and cold at the same breath;—you talk a little on one side and then on the other; and finally wind up, by advocating such a Tariff, as will discharge the national debt? If any man in his senses can tell what you mean, other than to mistify your own sentiments, he must be gifted with an uncommon share of discernment. To say that a Tariff shall be laid to increase the revenue and pay off the National debt, and at the same time, to divide labour and protect American manufactures, is tantamount to saying nothing on the subject. The question, as above remarked, again returns, what sort of a Tariff would this be?

After saying that you are not one of those, who "believe that a National debt is a National blessing," which, by the way, is not believed by any sensible man, you again remark: "This Tariff—I MEAN A JUDICIOUS ONE! possesses more fanciful, than real danger." You then proceed to give some excellent reasons, why American industry should be protected from foreign competition, and conclude thus:—"It is therefore my opinion, that a careful and *judicious* Tariff is much wanted, to *pay our National debt*, and afford us the means of defence, &c. And last, though not least, to give a proper distribution to our labour!" Here we have the same story over again. A JUDICIOUS *Tariff* to increase the *revenue*, to pay the *National debt*, and to protect *American labour!!* One or two reflections, and I have done with your letter. Have you never read it, and blushed at your own duplicity? You talk of a *judicious* Tariff. Do you not know that we are all in favour of such a Tariff, and that the only difficulty is, to ascertain what it shall be? Do you not know that a tariff for the increase of revenue and the payment of the National debt, is the peculiar policy of the south, and that those who advocate it are opposed

to protecting duties? Are you so weak a man, as not to perceive that the adequate protection of manufactures of Iron, Wool, Hemp and Cotton, cannot contribute by way of *revenue* to the payment of the National debt? If these articles are "*adequately protected*," one in such a manner as to employ permanently the capital and labour of our country, (and no other protection is worth seeking,) we shall manufacture them at *home*—their importation will cease, and the revenue arising from them, as a consequence, must also cease! Yet you talk about *protection*, the payment of the National Debt, and a increased revenue upon these same articles, at one & the same time! The man who knows no better, I pity; on the contrary, if he is well informed, but tampers with the truth, I despise him.

That you may not sir, think my construction of your letter a peculiar one, I will now refer to that which was put upon it by different parties at the time. I am only sorry, that I have not in possession, all the prominent journals that noticed it. Two or three I have, and their remarks shall be repeated. I will assert, however, that the conflicting constructions given to the letter, were general, and that you have not seen fit, so far as I have been informed, *openly* to correct them.

The NORTH CAROLINA STAR, printed at Raleigh, a leading paper in the South, and the one in which the letter was published early in June, 1824, asserts positively, that it furnishes indubitable proof of your *opposition* to the tariff. It declares that your opinions and Mr. Crawford's correspond—and gives an extract from the latter gentleman's reports to Congress, in which the Tariff is recommended with a view solely to the increase of revenue, and not for protection. The Star says: "*It will be seen by a reference to Gen. Jackson's letter published in another column, what reliance is to be placed in the statements of certain partizans of Mr. Crawford, who have been* INJURING THE POPULARITY OF GEN. JACKSON BY REPRESENTING HIM AS A THOROUGH GOING TARIFF MAN!!" In this is fully recognized the construction to which I have alluded: from the Star the impetus was given, and the declaration was spread throughout all the Southern States that according to your *own confessions*, you were opposed to the tariff. Nor was it strange that such a conclusion should be drawn; for your letter as fairly imports *hostility* as *friendship* to that system of policy.

But a construction quite the reverse was put upon the same letter by your supporters in sections of the country *friendly* to the Tariff. They knew it would be death to your prospects, if it should be known that you were inimical to the system. Your own remarks about "*protecting duties—independence*—national defence and equal division of labor," gave the cue, and you were at once declared a *decided friend* to the domestic policy. Hence, the National Republican of this city, once your violent enemy, but afterwards prostituted to your service, and thenceforward a leading opposition paper of the west, remarking upon the letter, observed, "It has often been said, that Gen. Jackson was no Statesman—that he did not possess that general knowledge of our national concerns, which is necessary to conduct the affairs of government, and above all, that *he was opposed to the Tariff!* But being called on for his sentiments on the great question of the tariff, and his great *dignity* not being in the way of a full and frank disclosure, he has replied in the following letter, which we invite the friends of domestic manufactures, and of a LIBERAL and ENLIGHTENED INTERNAL POLICY to read with attention. It contains more pure republican sentiments, and more political wisdom, than all the speeches made in Congress last session!" Such was the construction here of the very same letter which was quoted and referred to in the South, to prove the opposite doctrine! You see, therefore, that I have drawn from your declarations no forced nor uncommon conclusion. The two papers I have mentioned, promulgated far and wide, their opposite constructions: journals of less note, gave circulation to the respective statements, till it is as firmly believed by your supporters in the West, that you are a Tariff man, as it is in the South that

you are opposed to it. If such a position be honorable, and grateful to the feelings of a good man, I pray God that your sensibilities may be quickened to receive from it, all the consolation it is calculated to impart. Intrigue and Corruption, Bargain and Sale, in the worst forms charged, cannot, in the estimation of posterity, sink a man deeper in degradation and contempt, than the just imputation of a dogged and supple servelliance to opposite and contending parties.

In conclusion, I have to refer you to one other circumstance not connected with your letter to Dr. Coleman, but bearing upon the subject. In a late number of the Richmond Enquirer, is an extract from a letter of yours, which not only shows that you seek office and meddle in the affairs of your election, but affords a complete demonstration, if it be true, of your duplicity. The paragraph is as follows: "As to constitutional questions, *we know from a letter* we saw many months since, UNDER GEN. JACKSON'S OWN HAND, NEVER INTENDED TO BE USED, that he was astonished and startled by the extravagant encroachments supported in Mr. Adams's first message!" The veracity of Mr. Ritchie it is neither my intention to question, nor business to support. He was once an honorable and creditable man. So far as I know, he is still entitled to the same character—at all events I am bound to believe he has spoken the truth. Why did you write such a letter to your friends in Richmond, and why was it not intended to be used? I thought you had nothing to conceal! It is said you are open, decided and fearless in the declaration of your sentiments! If Mr. Adams has encroached upon the constitution, and you have nothing to conceal, and do not seek office, why did you not proclaim those encroachments with a loud voice? But what are the encroachments at which you were so startled and astonished? I have read Mr. Adams' first message with great care and attention, and find nothing adverse to the provisions of the constitution. True, he recommended *internal improvements*, and some other measures at variance with the political wisdom of the Richmond Junta and the southern policy; but he did not, in a single instance, trench upon the spirit, or even letter of the Constitution. Is it not evident, sir, that you wrote that letter ("NEVER INTENDED TO BE USED!") for the express purpose of divulging your real sentiments to the Richmond people, and to court their approbation and support. How came Ritchie, your leading supporter in Virginia, to see a letter of yours, (NEVER INTENDED TO BE USED!) and to publish that portion of its contents which accorded with the opinions of the Virginia politicians? Giles, Randolph, Ritchie and others, declaimed in the most vociferous manner against the message. They were startled and astonished at its encroachments upon the Constitution. You have nothing to conceal—not seeking office—the accents of congratulation to the President still warm upon your lips, write a letter (*never intended to be used*) declaring also *your* alarm and astonishment at the message!! What, I ask, was the object of this letter? How came Ritchie to see it? What induced him about that period, having opposed your pretensions with the most intemperate violence, to become of a sudden your servile and supple supporter? Did not the letter have some effect upon him! Mark the phraseology: Mr. Ritchie says, "*I have seen a letter* UNDER GEN. JACKSON'S OWN HAND never intended to be used, in which he expresses his astonishment at the encroachments of Mr. Adams's first message, upon constitutional questions!" Nothing more than this was wanted. Mr. Ritchie and his associates were opposed to the Administration—they were determined to support no man for the Presidency who was not also opposed. Your letter (never intended to be used) furnished the evidence, and thenceforward you were proclaimed with additional fervour, the "*alternative*, the only safe candidate for Virginia!"

From your own acts and words have I judged you. If I have mistaken you, it is your own fault: no man in this country need be misunderstood! If I have been plain, or even harsh in my expressions, I only regret that you have deserved it.

ADMINISTRATION CONVENTION.

The meeting of the Administration Convention at Columbus, on the 28th of December, gave decisive earnest of the interest taken, in supporting the present system of National policy, and the public men who maintain it. Every circumstance was adverse to the Convention. For weeks the weather had been dull and disheartening. Great quantities of rain had fallen, the roads were in an almost impassible condition, and the waters swollen to a dangerous height; and in addition to all these, a deep snow fell on Friday night preceding, which was carried off with rains that fell nearly the whole of Wednesday and Thursday. But the members of the Convention were neither disheartened or deterred. And when they assembled, it was found that upwards of two hundred were present.—Many of them aged and infirm, most of them advanced in life, and all highly respectable.

The proceedings of the Convention were characterized by good order, and strict attention to business. The committees appointed, promptly attended to the duties assigned them, and the utmost harmony and unanimity prevailed. The delegates from each Congressional district, held separate meetings and agreed upon the candidate for elector in their District, which was reported to the committee appointed upon that subject, and thus the list was made out.

An address had been previously prepared. The committee to whom that matter was referred, examined it with care, and agreed upon it, with amendments, which were incorporated into it, and the report prepared, and submitted to the Convention. The utmost attention was evinced while it was read, and it, with the resolutions and ticket of electors, were unanimously adopted.

The Convention met at ten o'clock in the morning, and about half after twelve adjourned to four. It met again at four, and closed its business and adjourned about six the same evening. The meeting was in the United States Court House, which had not sufficient room to contain seats for the members. Many had to stand, and it was difficult to pass from one part of the room to another. There were, however, no difficulties or interruptions, and but little discussion. It was in truth, an imposing assemblage, and conducted as became a thoughtful and considerate people. Upon the next day, many of the members departed for their homes, with increased good feelings for each other, more deeply devoted to the cause, and stimulated to more active exertions in support of it. No doubt the assembling of this convention has produced very advantageous results, in extending acquaintance, and diffusing correct information, and in securing facilities for future concert in action.

The resolutions and address are temperate and dignified, and at the same time firm and explicit. Whilst they assert an undiminished confidence in the statesmen who conduct the affairs of the nation, and a strong approbation to their measures and conduct, no attack is made upon the character or principles of the opposing candidate. In delineating the incorrect course of the opposition, the most respectful language is used: neither the motives or integrity of any one is assailed, and no inuendoes are employed or insinuations thrown out. The whole will be found in a tone adapted to the occasion, such as fellow citizens, differing from each other, ought upon all occasions to adopt when acting or deliberating in primary or secondary assemblies.

It is understood that the Jackson Convention on the 8th, are to convene under the beat of drum and roar of cannon. How unaccountable is this delusion!! The very object of employing these agents, is to act upon the senses, by producing an excitement of the animal spirits, calculated to render the subject of its influence reckless of thought and reflection, and empower the senses to shake off the controul and silence the admonitions of reason. This different course of action, by the two parties, ought to make a deep impression upon peaceful, sedate and quiet men. The friends of the Administration exhibit an example of noiseless, unexcited, thoughtful movement. The supporters

of Gen. Jackson appeal chiefly to the senses and to the passions. They are called to rally round their hickory standard, to hoist the swine as their symbol, to march to the clangor of the 'spirit stirring drum,' and to discard all argument, by substituting for it the brawling exclamation: *Hurrah for old hickory! Hurrah for the hero of New-Orleans!!* In such a mood the natural good sense of the wisest man is rendered an insecure and unsteady director. How can safety or prudence be expected from the consultations of those who resort to such methods of preparing themselves for deliberating upon the most grave and important matters? It would seem only necessary to state the facts and make the inquiry, to elicit a ready answer.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION.

Friday, Dec. 28, 1827.

Agreeably to previous arrangement, Delegates favorable to the re election of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, to the office of President of the United States, met at the Court House in Columbus, for the purpose of forming an electoral Ticket, to be supported by the friends of the present Administration, in the state of Ohio, at the approaching Presidential election. Upon calling the list of counties, Delegates appeared from the following counties, viz:

DELEGATES PRESENT.

From the county of Adams—James Rogers, Joseph Riggs.

Athens—Henry Bartlett, John Brown, 2d, Daniel Stewart, Calvery Morris.

Ashtabula—Q. F. Atkins.

Butler—Joel Collins, James Heaton, Wm. D. Jones.

Belmont—William M'Neely, Henry Howard, William B. Hubbard, James Weir.

Brown—Nathaniel Beasley.

Clermont—Thomas Gatch.

Champaign—Edward L. Morgan, Benjamin Chaney, Samuel M'Cord, John Dougherty, James Dallas, A. R. Caldwell.

Clinton—Nathan Linton, Eli Gaskill, Richard Falls.

Cuhocton—Wm. Carhartt, Samuel Lee, James Robinson.

Columbiana—Elderkin Potter, De Lorma Brooks, Albert G. Richardson.

Cuyahoga—Reuben Wood, Alfred Kelly.

Clark—John Dougherty, Charles P. Anthony, James Foley, Samuel Lafferty, Robert Turner, Stephen Kitchen.

Crawford—Joseph Caffee, Wm. Walker.

Delaware—Wm. S. Drake, Charles Carpenter, Leonard H. Cowles.

Dark—[illegible] Wood.

Franklin—[illegible] Swan, Aurora Bottles.

Fayette—[illegible] Milliken, James Stewart, Thomas [illegible], Henry Core.

Fairfield—[illegible] Ewing, John Leist, Jacob Rust, [illegible], William Trimble, John Culbertson, George Berry, William Coulston, John Creed.

Greene—James Galloway, Jun., Robert Dobbins, Robert Galloway, William Elsbury.

Gallia—[illegible], Robert B. Moor, William Skinner, William W. Tracy, James M. Bell.

Granger—Samuel Wheeler, Charles C. Paine, Solomon Kingsbury.

Hamilton—Charles Hammond, Samuel W. Davis, Daniel Gano, John Matson, Patrick Smith, Elnathan Kemper, Wm. Carey, Bellamy Storer, N. G. Pendleton, Charles G. Swain, Nathaniel Crookshank, Wm. Barnes, Jarvis Kibby, David K. Este, Septimus Hazen, Henry Starr, Wm. H. Harrison, Jr. Daniel I. Caswell, Charles Fox.

Highland—Joseph Swearingen, George W. Barner.

Licking—Robert Davidson, Chancy Humphrey, A. H. Caffee.

Lorain—Reuben Wood, Josiah Harris, Eliphalet Reddington.

Lawrence—Elijah Frampton.

Logan—Samuel Newel, Alexander Long, Daniel M. Workman, Noah Z. M'Cullough, Robert Patterson, Jacob R. Hail.

Montgomery—Alexander Grimes, John Stump, Stephen Fales, George B. Holt.

Miami—John Johnson, Asa Coleman, Isaac Hendershot, Martin Simpson, Zachariah Reily.

Harrison—William Tinsly, Horace Balknap.

Huron—Moses C. Sanders, David Campbell.

Hocking—Joseph Westonhaver, Amos G Bright.

Jefferson—John Andrews.

Jackson—A. M. Faulkner.

Knox—Samuel Gott, James Miller, James H. Patterson, William Bevans, Hosmer Curtis, Jacob Houck.

Madison—Philip Lewis, Joseph M'Elfish, John B. Comey, Joseph Chrishman, Stephen Moore, Aquilla Toland, John W. Simkins, James Burnham, Reuben P. Mann.

Muskingum—Joseph Sprague, George W. Cass, Matthew Gillispie, Elias Wheaton, Wm. H. Moore.

Monroe—Thomas Weston.

Morgan—P. B. Johnson, R. A. Pinkerton, Edwin Corner.

Medina—James Moore.

Meigs—Andrew Donally.

Mercer—Joel Wood.

Marion—Ebur Baker, Charles L. Bolt.

Preble—David F. Heaton, J. M. U. M'Nutt, John G. Jameson, Elisha Egbert, James Dennison.

Pike—Eskridge Hall, William Blackstone.

Pickaway—John Barr, Samuel Lybrand, Guy W. Doan, Edward Williams, Peter Parcels, Isaac Radcliffe, John Cochran, Samuel S. Denny, William B. Thrall, B. Z. B. Doddridge.

Portage—L. V. Pierce.

Perry—John Combs, William P. Darst, Peter Odlin.

Ross—Duncan M'Arthur, Abraham Claypool, George Renick, David Cronse, Isaac M'Cracken, George Will, George Stanlope, Joseph Rockhod, William Brown.

Tuscarawas—James Patrick, Benz M. Atherton, Samuel Dunlap.
Trumbull—Simon Perkins, Rufus P Spaulding
Union—Reuben P. Mann, Amos A. Williams,
Vanwert and Mercer, Joel Wood.
Warren—Jeremiah Morrow, George Smith, William A Camron, John Hopkins, Thomas Corwin.
Washington—David Putnam, Arius Ney, Wm. R. Putnam.
Wayne, Cyrus Spink, Thomas M'Millen.
Wood and Hancock—Thomas W. Powel, T. R. M'Night.
Richland—James Heney, James Hedges.
Scioto—Wm. Kendall.
Stark—James W. Lathrop, John Angustine
Shelby—Wm. Fielding.
Seneca—Agreen Ingraham, Josiah Hedgess.
Sandusky—Samuel M. Lockwood

The Convention, on motion, proceeded to the appointment of a Chairman, when JEREMIAH MORROW, Esq. of Warren county, was unanimously chosen; whereupon, Mr. Morrow took the chair; and on motion, *Wm. Dougherty* of Franklin county, and *Thomas Corwin*, of Warren county, were appointed Secretaries.

On motion of General McArthur, of Ross county, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of sixteen members be appointed by the Chairman, to prepare and report an Address and Resolutions, touching the object of this Convention.

Agreeably to which resolution, the Chairman announced the following gentlemen as composing said Committee, viz:

Duncan McArthur, Charles Hammond, Thomas Ewing, Samuel Wheeler, Elderkin Potter, J. Patrick, Gustavus Swan, Wm. R. Putnam, W. B. Hubbard, George J. Smith, Quintus F. Atkins, Nathan Linton, James Galloway, jr. Stephen Fales, Alfred Kelly, Charles G. Swain.

Col. James Robinson, of Coshocton county, offered a resolution, which on motion of Mr. Powel, of Wood county, and Mr. Curtis, of Knox county, was amended and then adopted, as follows:

Resolved, That a committee consisting of fourteen delegates, one from each Congressional District, be appointed to receive from the Delegation of each Congressional District, the nomination of a suitable candidate for Elector; and should no nomination be made by the Delegates, that said committee nominate such candidate or candidates to this meeting; and further, that they shall nominate the two additional Electors to which this state is entitled.

On motion of Mr. Kelly, the Chairman was authorized to appoint the last mentioned Committee: Whereupon, the following gentlemen were selected to compose the same, to wit:

From the 8th Congressional District, Col. James Robinson; 1st do. Thomas Gatch; 2d do. James Heaton; 3d do. John Johnson; 4th C. Antony; 5th Nathaniel Beasley; 6th John Barr; 7th do. Henry Bartlett; 9th do. Wm. H. Moore; 10th do. William Skinner; 11th do. William Tingley: 12th do. Thomas M'Millan; 13th do. Simon Perkins: 14th do. Reuben Wood.

Whereupon on motion, the Convention, adjourned until 4 o'clock, this evening.

Four o'clock, P. M.

The Convention again assembled, when Gen. D. M'Arthur, from the committee appointed for that purpose, reported a preamble, resolutions, and address, which were severally read, and considered, and the preamble, Resolutions and Address, were unanimously adopted, as follows:

WHEREAS, this Convention has been called into existence and organized for the purpose of nominating a Ticket of Electors, favorable to the re-election of *John Quincy Adams*, as President of the United States, to be supported at the Electoral Election, of November, 1828, in the State of Ohio; and whereas it is considered proper that this Convention should express an opinion upon the matters of public policy, connected with the present administration of the National Government: Therefore,

Resolved, As the sense of this Convention, That the present administration have prudently and wisely pursued the policy of their predecessors, both with respect to our domestic and foreign relations: and that the general prosperity of the nation is evidence of the correctness and wisdom of their measures.

Resolved, That it is equally unwise and unjust, to change the public functionaries of Government, upon the ground of personal preference alone; unwise, because it endangers the public good, without any equivalent correspondent advantage; unjust, because it reflects censure upon the conduct of public men, without foundation, and thus destroys the strongest incentive to patriotic action.

Resolved, That this Convention entertain a high sense of the integrity, talents, and patriotism of *John Quincy Adams*, President of the United States, and are firmly persuaded that his re-election as President, will tend to promote the general interests of the whole Union.

Resolved, That this Convention regard the charge urged against the President and Secretary of State, of a corrupt coalition, by which one was elected President, and the other placed in the Cabinet, as a scandalous imputation upon our country and institutions, alike unsupported by evidence, unworthy of belief, and discreditable to all who give it countenance.

Resolved, That this Convention entertain the highest respect for the just views of our National policy explained and recommended in the late Report of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, upon the subject of a National Tariff; and hereby express an earnest hope, that our members of Congress will omit no exertions to obtain legislative protection for the objects recommended in said report.

The following is the list of Electors recommended by the Convention:

JEREMIAH MORROW, Warren.
PETER HITCHCOCK, Geauga.
WILLIAM RUFFIN, Hamilton.
JAMES M'BRIDE, Butler.
JOSEPH HAWKINS, Preble.
BENJAMIN WHITEMAN, Green.
JOHN SMITH, Highland.
DUNCAN M'ARTHUR, Ross.
RALPH OSBORNE, Franklin.
WILLIAM KENDALL, Scioto.
ISAAC VANHORNE, Muskingum.
JOHN PATTERSON, Belmont.
JOHN M'LAUGHLIN, Jefferson.
WILLIAM FOGLE, Starke.
AARON WHEELER, Ashtabula.
EBENEZER LANE, Huron.

JEFFERSON & JACKSON.

In the summer of 1826, a toast given many years ago, at Lynchburgh, by Mr. Jefferson, was so modelled as to make it convey a direct compliment to Gen. Jackson. From the date of that counterfeit to the present time, the idolizers of the General have been labouring to gain support for him, from the opinions of the sage of Monticello.—Gov. Giles, the late Gov. Randolph, Mr. Editor Ritchie, and others, have been labouring to hunt up something said or written by Mr. Jefferson, from which a confidence in Gen. Jackson might be inferred. Their efforts have, however, recoiled upon themselves. Truth, as the General said, is mighty, and has prevailed.

The late Gov. COLES of Illinois, has been compelled to speak what he himself heard, and what was communicated to him by others. His statement is in the following words:

"On the 11th of August, 1825, while on a visit to Mr. Jefferson, at Monticello, I had a very long and highly interesting conversation with him, in relation to the last presidential election; in which he spoke very freely and fully of men and of things, and dwelt at considerable length on the character, principles, and conduct, of the gentlemen who had been candidates. He expatiated dispassionately, and without reserve; drew comparisons, made discriminations, and described, in his usual forcible language, the good and bad traits in the character of each. He gave the decided preference to Mr. Crawford, and said it was greatly to be regretted that he should have lost his health, and with it his election. Having failed to elect him, he expressed gratification that the choice had fallen on Mr. Adams; to whom, he said, he had objections, several of which he explained; but conceived him to be more safe and fit, and, by his acquirements and habits of life, by far better qualified than Gen. Jackson, to discharge the duties of the Presidency. *In a word, he spoke of Mr Adams as an enlightened and experienced statesman; of Gen. Jackson as a valiant and successful soldier—with no other pretensions to the Chief Magistracy, than that derived from*

his military services While conversing about Gen. Jackson, I took occasion to say, that the great zeal which had been displayed to elect the General, and the extraordinary vote he had received, had made me doubt of the durability of our free institutions. Mr. Jefferson braced himself in his seat, looked steadfastly at me, and in the most emphatic manner, said, "Sir, it has caused me to doubt more than any thing which has occurred since the revolution." This part of the conversation I repeated to Mr. Williams, which I regret has found its way into the newspapers, and subjected me to the necessity of making this communication."

The truth of the above statement cannot be questioned by any one. But if it could be doubted, it is corroborated by a letter recently written to Gov. Coles by Thomas W. Gilmer, of Albemarle county, Virginia, a near neighbour of Mr. Jefferson, and one who speaks very unfavorably of Mr. Adams. The language employed by Mr. Gilmer, is clear and explicit. He says:

"I believe his opinion on this subject was notorious among those who possessed any share of his confidence. I remember to have heard Mr. Jefferson, on one occasion, use an expression, which struck me, not so much by the sentiment it contained (which indeed was then a very common one in Virginia) as the style in which it was made. Speaking of the several candidates for the Presidency, before the last election he remarked that "*one might as well make a sailor of a cock, or a soldier of a goose, as a President of Andrew Jackson.*" These words made an indellible impression on my memory. They were uttered with a tone of sportive, almost of contemptuous derision. Mr. Jefferson was descanting at the time when this remark was elicited, on the proneness of the multitude to give a man who possessed one virtue, credit for others which he did not possess or of the want of discrimination in the public-mind, where any thing like enthusiasm and favoritism was mingled with a subject."

Every reader can understand what sort of a sailor could be made of a cock, and how a goose would figure as a soldier, and understanding these, he cannot fail to see how Mr. Jefferson appreciated the qualifications of Gen. Jackson for the Preidency. Instead of respecting Gen. Jackson's pretensions, it appears that Mr. Jefferson held them "*in almost contemptuous derision*," and looked upon his possible success, in being elected President, as furnishing cause to "*doubt the durability of our free institutions.*" When such were the sentiments, and the fears of the venerable patriot and Republican, Thomas Jefferson, ought not other republicans to hisitate before they aid in consummating that, which he derided; or dreaded? and when it is seen, that the old opponents, and contemners of Mr. Jefferson, the Pickerings, and Colemans, the Rosses and Rowans, are amongst the most active, in promoting a measure, which Jefferson must certainly have opposed, is it not singular that Republicans should not feel some apprehension? Ten years ago, who would have thought that the opinions of the departed Jefferson would have been slighted by Republicans in this country; and those of Pickering, Coleman, Ross, and Rowan preferred? These things show the mutability of human opinions, and demonstrate the danger of confiding too much in our own judgment, when excited by party. Let republicans, and all patriots reflect upon it. It has been said that "*party is the madness of the many, for the good of the few.*" In the present contest the *many* who support Gen. Jackson, are made *mad*, that the General and a *few* would-be great men, may get high offices. The General may gain the Presidency, and others may gain Secretaryships, and foreign Embassies, but what will the *many*, the people who do the labor, and bear the heat of the day, what will, what can they gain?

JACKSON & NEW-ORLEANS.

This 8th day of January, 1828, Gen. Jackson is invited to a civic feast, at New-Orleans, to celebrate the event, upon which his principle claim to preeminence is rested. Whilst it is admitted that New-Orleans is the theatre

where Gen. Jackson performed acts creditable to himself, and advantageous to his country: it must also be conceded, it is the place where at the same time, he did much to tarnish the fame he had acquired. Here it was he set at naught the Constitution and laws of his country, and trampled under his feet the rights of his fellow-citizens, with a lawless disregard of every thing but his own will.

There is no matter in our country more misunderstood by the well disposed, and more systematically misrepresented by the supporters of General Jackson, than the illegal proceedings of the General at New Orleans. It is very generally asserted and believed, that the high handed measures of the General were resorted to, at the moment when the city was besieged by the enemy, and when treason was employed within it, which it was necessary to detect and arrest. Nothing can be farther from the truth. The great battle was fought on the 8th of January, 1815. On the 19th of that month the British forces evacuated the country and embarked on board their ships, and on the 20th and 21st, Gen. Jackson with his principal forces returned to the city in triumph. And from that time there was a general course of exultation and rejoicing throughout the place, until the arrest and imprisonments took place more than a month afterwards.

Gen. Jackson enforced some very harsh measures against the French inhabitants, after it was unofficially known that peace was established.—These led Mr. Louaillier to make a publication containing strictures upon the proceedings. This publication was made the 3d of March, 1815. For making this publication he was arrested, and with his arrest the outrage commenced. He was tried by a Court Martial upon the following charges:

1. Mutiny.
2. Exciting to mutiny.
3. General misconduct.
4. Being a spy.
5. Illegal and improper conduct.
6. Disobedience of orders.
7. Writing a willful and corupt libel against the General.
8. Unsoldierly conduct.
9. Violation of a general order.

The publication in question was adduced as a specification to support every one of these charges. This article, which was made to include the commission of so many atrocities, is here inserted, and the reader is respectfully requested to read it carefullly, and ask himself, what there is in it that can be mischievous or criminal.

"*Mr. Editor:* To remain silent on the last general orders, directing all the Frenchmen who now reside in New-Orleans, to leave it within three days, and to keep at a distance of 120 miles of it, would be an act of cowardice which ought not to be expected from a citizen of a free country; and when every one laments such an abuse of authority, the press ought to denounce it to the people.

In order to encourage a communication between both countries, the 7th and 8th articles of the treaty of cession, secure to the French who shall come to Louisiana, certain commercial advantages which they are to enjoy during a term of twelve years, which are not yet expired—at the expiration of that term, they shall be treated in the same manner as the most favored nation. A peace, which nothing is likely to disturb, uniting both nations. The French have until this moment, been treated in the United States with that regard which a great People deserve and requires, even in its reverses, and with that good will which so eminently distinguishes the American Government in its relations with foreign nations. In such circumstances, what can be the motives which have induced the commander in chief of the 7th Military District to issue general orders of so vexatious a nature? When the foreigners of every nation, when the Spaniards, and even the English, are suffered to remain unmolested among us, shall the French alone be condemned to ostracism, because they rendered so great services? Had they remained gentle spectators of the late events, could their sentiments towards us be doubted, then we might merely be surprised at the course now followed with regard to them. But how are we to

refrain our indignation, when we remember that these very Frenchmen who are now to be exiled, have so powerfully contributed to the preservation of Louisiana, without speaking of the corps who so eminently distinguished themselves, in which we see a number of Frenchmen rank either as officers or privates: how can we forget that they were French artillerists, who directed and served a part of those pieces of cannon which so greatly annoyed the British forces? Can any one flatter himself that so important services could have so soon been forgotten? No, they are engraved in everlasting characters in the hearts of all the inhabitants of Louisiana, and they shall perform a brilliant part in the history of our country; and when those brave men ask no other reward but being permitted peaceably to enjoy among us, the rights secured to them by treaties, and the laws of America—far from sharing in the sentiments which have dictated the general order, we avail ourselves of this opportunity to give them a public testimony of our gratitude.

Far from us the idea that there be a single Frenchman, so pusillanimous as to forsake his country merely to please the military commander of this District, and in order to avoid the proscription to which he has chosen to condemn them; we may therefore expect to see them repair to the Consul of their nation, there to renew the act which binds them to their country; but, in supposing that, yielding to a sentiment of fear, they consent to cease to be French citizens, would they by such an abjuration, become American citizens? No, certainly they would not; the man who would be powerful enough to denationalize them, would not be powerful enough to give them a country. It is better therefore, for a man to remain a faithful Frenchman, than to suffer himself to be scared even by the martial law; a law useless when the presence of the foe and honor call us to arms, but which becomes degrading, when their shameful flight suffer us to enjoy a glorious rest, which fear and terror ought not to disturb.

But could it be possible that the constitution and the laws of our country should have left it in the power of the several commanders of military Districts to dissolve all at once the ties of friendship which unite America to the nations of Europe? Would it be possible that peace or war could depend upon their caprice and the friendship or enmity they might entertain for any nation? We do not hesitate in declaring that nothing of the kind exists.—The President alone, has by law, the right to adopt, against *alien enemies*, such measures as the state of war may render necessary; and for that purpose he must issue a proclamation; but this is a power which he cannot delegate. It is by virtue of that law, and of a proclamation, that the subjects of Great Britain were removed from our ports and sea shores. But we do not know any law authorizing Gen. Jackson to apply to *alien friends*, a measure which the President of the U. S. himself has only the right to adopt against *alien enemies*.

Our laws protect stangers who come to settle or reside among us. To the Sovereign alone belongs the right of depriving them of that protection; and all those who know how to appreciate the title of an American citizen, and who are acquainted with their prerogatives will easily understand that, by the Sovereign I do, by no means, intend to designate a Major General, or any other military commander to whom I willingly grant the power of issuing general orders like the one in question, but to whom I deny that of having them executed.

If the last general order has no other object but to inspire in us a salutary fear, it is only destined to be read; if it is not to be followed by any act of violence, if it is only to be executed by those who may chuse to leave the city in order to enjoy the pure air of the country, we shall forget that extraordinary order; but should any thing else happen, we are of opinion that the tribunals shall sooner or later, do justice to the victims of that illegal order.

Every alien friend who shall continue to respect the laws which rule our country, shall continue to be entitled to their protection. Could that general order be applied to us, we should

calmly wait until we were forced by violence to execute it, well convinced of the firmness of the magistrates who are the organs of the laws in this part of the Union, and guardians of public order.

Let us conclude by saying, that it is high time the laws should resume their empire, that the citizens of this state should return to the full enjoyment of their rights; that in acknowledging that we are indebted to Gen. Jackson for the preservation of our city, and the defeat of the British, we do not feel much inclined, through gratitude, to sacrifice any of our privileges, and less than any other, that of expressing our opinion about the acts of his administion; that it is time the citizens accused of any crime should be rendered to their natural judges, and cease to be brought before special or military tribunals, a kind of institutions held in abhorrence, even in absolute Governments; and that after having done enough for glory, the moment of moderation has arrived; and finally, that the acts of authority which the invasion of our country and our safety may have rendered necessary, are, since the evacuation of it by the enemy, no longer compatible with our dignity and our oath of making the Constitution respected."

That every honest enquirer after truth may know the circumstances in which the above publication was made, the following statement is extracted from a publication recently made by Mr. Louaillier.

"What were the circumstances in which Gen. Jackson had recourse to those extreme and harsh measures? In what situation were we placed on the 3d of March, with respect to the English army? To understand this well, and to judge what possible evil my publication of the 3d of March could produce, it is necessary to know that it was made.

1st. Forty one days after General Jackson and his army had left the camp near the battle ground, to return to New Orleans:

2d, Forty-three days after the evacuation of Louisiana by the English;

And twenty days after the capitulation of Fort Bowyer. The taking of this fort, on the 12th of February, was the last act of hostility done by the English forces, admiral Cockburn having been informed, on the ensuing day, the 13th, by an official bulletin received from Jamaica, that a treaty of peace had been signed at Ghent, on the 24th of December. We see page 225, of the Historical Memoirs already cited, that immediately after the capitulation of that fort, General Lambert, and admiral Cockburn, expecting at every moment the ratification of the treaty by the President and the Senate of the United States, made the necessary preparations for the embarkation and departure of their troops.

My publication appeared in the Courier, 21 days after Col. Edward Livingston (now our representative in Congress,) had returned from the English fleet, announcing to Gen. Jackson the arrival of the sloop of war Brazen, which had brought the news of the signing of the preliminaries of peace.

Finally, the publication represented as tending to disorganize the army, made its appearance 53 days after Gen. Jackson had written to the Secretary of War, that he considered Louisiana as delivered from the enemy, during which 53 days, with the exception of the taking of fort Bowyer, no engagement took place between the English and American forces."

The injustice of Gen. Jackson's attack upon the character of Mr. Louaillier, is fully established by the following, being part of an order or bulletin, issued by Gen. Jackson himself, on the 15th of January, 1815, after the victory, and before any difficulty arose.

"The wounded prisoners who fill our hospitals, are treated with the utmost care and attention; mattrasses and blankets were, the very night of their arrival in town, provided by contribution from the inhabitants. *Mr. Louaillier, a member of the House of Representatives, from the Opelousas, has on this occasion, shown a zeal and philanthropy that does him the highest honor.*"

Gen. Jackson, in a letter to Mr. Postmaster M'Lean, written in 1824, to prevent Mr. Fuller Skipwith, who was Speaker of the Senate, when New-

Orleans was invaded, from getting a post office appointment, represents the conduct of himself and some other members as very suspicious. From a work entitled "Historical Memoirs of the War of 1814-1815," by Major Latour, written principally to build up and sustain the fame of Gen. Jackson, the subjoined extract is given, to prove how very unjustly the General casts out this imputation.

"The deplorable condition of a great number of militia men of this and the adjacent states, who were in want of clothing, in an inclement season, and obliged by the nature of the service, to be constantly exposed in the open air, excited the sensibility of the citizens. Mr. Louaillier, the elder, a member of the House of Representatives, obtained from the Legislature the sum of six thousand dollars, which was put at the disposition of a committee formed for their relief. Subscriptions were also open at New-Orleans for the same purpose, and another sum of six thousand dollars was soon subscribed. and it is to be observed, that the Orleans volunteers and militia, not satisfied with discharging their duty to their country, by their presence in the camp, sent for a subscription list, and filled it with their signatures. The country of the German Coast subscribed about three thousand six hundred, and that of Attekapas remitted to the committee five hundred dollars. The whole sum, thus obtained, including what was voted by the Legislature, amounted to sixteen thousand one hundred dollars, and was laid out in purchasing blankets and woollens, which were distributed among the ladies of New Orleans, to be made into clothes. Within one week twelve hundred blanket-cloaks, two hundred and seventy-five waistcoats, eleven hundred and twenty-seven pairs of pantiloons, eight hundred shirts, four hundred and ten pair of shoes, and a great number of mattrasses were made up, or purchased ready made, and distributed among our brethren in arms, who stood in the greatest need of them. Though the gratitude of their fellow citizens, and the consciousness of the patriotic services, be, to Mr. Louaillier, and to Messrs. Dubuys and Soullie, who co-operated with him in his honorable exertions, a sufficient reward, yet I must be allowed to pay those gentlemen, the tribute of applause so justly due to them."

In further proof of the same fact, Gen. Carrol, in a letter written at camp Henderson, and dated March 2d, 1815, holds the following language:

"I hope you will convey to the legislature the grateful sentiments with which I am impressed for the honor done me and the troops whom I command.

"I cannot withhold the expressions of gratitude due to the people of New Orleans, for their benevolence in furnishing our suffering soldiers with warm clothing, during the inclemency of the weather, while they were before our works.

"They have administered to our sick and wounded every friendly attention, and extended to them all the rights of humanity."

Yet do the idolizers of Gen. Jackson say, that his arrest of Mr. Louaillier, and all his subsequent violations of law, disregarding the writ of habeas corpus, and imprisoning judges are justified, because of the existence of treason, in the vicinity of the enemy. The facts here stated show that there is no foundation for this apology; and leaves the General justly obnoxious to the charge of acting only upon the impulses of his own passions. Still he is honored with a civic feast at New Orleans. The supporters of the General are not unlike the ox decorated for slaughter:

"Pleased to the last, he cropped the flowery food,
And licked the hand just raised to shed his blood."

GEN. JACKSON'S THREATS.

A statement has been made and obtained circulation, that Gen. Jackson had avowed a determination, to assail Mr. Senator Eppes with violence, in the Senate Chamber, and was only restrained by the determined interference of Com. Decatur. The truth of this statement Gen. Jackson has denied, in a letter written to Mr. Grundy; but the denial is altogether technical, and confined to the language used, and circumstances connected with the state-

ment in relation to Com. Decatur. We believe Gen Jackson as far as his statement goes. But he has not ventured to deny the principal and material facts, in which the statement most evidently had its foundation.

Gen. Jackson visited Washington, in the commencement of the year 1819, when his conduct, in the Seminole war was under investigation in Congress. He at the same time visited Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, as it then seemed, for no purpose, but to receive such public attentions, as might make an impression, on the proceedings of Congress. The papers of the day stated that he was at Baltimore, partaking of a public dinner, when the report of the senate was received; and that he uttered much violent and menacing language. He proceeded immediately to Washington, where, it was alleged, he continued the same tone of conversation. It was just at the period of the adjournment of Congress, and an article was published in the National Intelligencer, containing strong animadversions, upon the senatorial report. This was attributed to some one or more of those who were in the General's suite. Gen. Abner Lacock, who was a member of the senatorial committee, remained in the city, and immediately made a publication in reply. He commented with dignity and moderation, but with severity, upon the publication, and also upon the conduct of the General, and those who attended him. After speaking of the language used by the latter, he adds:

"Their personal invectives correspond entirely with Gen. Jackson's observations in the public taverns and ball rooms of Washington; for it is a fact notorious, and cannot be denied, that on those occasions he was *vociferous in his imprecations, and violent in his threats of personal vengeance*, even TO THE CUTTING OFF THE EARS *of some of the members of the Select Committee*, and this, while the subject was before the Senate: and some members of the House of Representatives, who dared to animadvert upon his conduct, or even to doubt his infallibility, *were menaced nearly in the same manner*"!!!

This, it must be observed, was no anonymous publication. Gen. Lacock subscribes it with his name; then it was not contradicted, it is not now contradicted by Gen. Jackson.

The difference between the two statements consists more in manner and place than in matter. The General did not wait in the anti-chamber of the Senate to assault Mr. Eppes. He was not restrained from doing so, by Com. Decatur. He did not declare his intention to the Commodore, and receive a reply that he should not execute the threat but over the dead body of the Commodore. But, nevertheless, the General, "*in the public taverns and ball rooms, of Washington*" was "*vociferous in his imprecations, and violent in his threats of personal vengeance even* TO THE CUTTING OFF THE EARS *of some of the members of the select committee.*"

This *violence* and these *threats* against members of the Senate, for a fearless performance of their duty, are the substantial grounds of objection against the General. It is of no great importance where they were made, or by whom their execution was prevented. Perhaps it may be deemed the most reprehensible course to hold such language in taverns and ball rooms, and finally to let the whole end in empty gasconade. It is certainly more inconsistent with the conduct of a brave man than that which the General has denied. To form a rash determination and make arrangements to execute it: then to be deterred by the timely and resolute remonstrance of a respected friend, seems more in character with greatness of mind, than blustering in taverns, or brawling in ball rooms, without an effort to do what was threatened.

Gen. Jackson and his friends have thought that it was incumbent upon them to put in a denial, with respect to the alleged scene, in the anti-chamber of the Senate. They thus concede that the conduct imputed to the General, in that case, is well calculated to show his unfitness for the Presidency. The actual facts, as stated by Gen. Lacock, are not, and never have been disputed. They are as conclusive, as those denied, to show the General's disqualification for that high office. They are in accordance too, with much of the General's past life. Taverns have been the theatre where he has most frequently displayed himself: violence and threats very common weapons in his hands: empty blustering often the result.

Patrick H. Darby, Esq. of Frankfort, for some time a resident of Nashville, and in intimacy with the General, has made a publication, stating that about the time of these transactions, he frequently heard Gen. Jackson hold language of the same tenor with that referred to, by Gen. Lacock. A recent number of the Pittsburgh Gazette, makes the subjoined remark, upon the letter of Mr. Grundy:

"The letter of Gen. Jackson to Felix Grundy, *gives the lie* completely to the statement *frequently* made upon the same subject by Henry Baldwin. Where did Mr. Baldwin get his account of this matter? He was at Washington in 1819. Mr. Baldwin should publish his account in his own justification."

Here we rest this subject. No doubt, we think, can exist, but that the Gen'l. uttered the threats imputed to him. Should such a man be placed in the highest office of a free, a peaceable and christian people?

TRUTH'S ADVOCATE

AND

MONTHLY ANTI-JACKSON EXPOSITOR.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, FEBRUARY, 1828.

LIFE OF GENERAL JACKSON.

Few men, in the world, have enjoyed the opportunity to obtain high reputation, so cheaply as Gen. Jackson. Until he had passed the 46th year of his age, he was little known, except in his own state. Stations of distinction had been conferred upon him. But he retained them only for a short time: and abandoned them, without being distinguished, either as a Statesman or a Jurist. However he may have been estimated amongst his immediate friends, he was in a great degree unknown to the nation, who were consequently unacquainted with his defects or excellencies of character.

In September, 1813, Gen. Jackson was invested with command to conduct the Creek War. On the 20th of January, 1815, he had achieved the expulsion of the British forces, from the attack upon New Orleans, and acquired a high military reputation. His operations had been conducted principally in a wilderness country; he had subdued the Creek Indians, and made a treaty with them of his own dictation. He evidenced high military talent in most of his movements, and the victory of New Orleans had identified him with the interest, the glory, and the pride of the nation. All this had cost him but a labour of sixteen months; and had he possessed only a common share of moderation and discretion, he would have stood amongst the first of her citizens, in the affections, and in the esteem of his country. I think it may safely be asserted, that no man ever acquired an equal standing at so cheap a rate.

His attack upon the freedom of the citizen and the liberty of the press, and the open contempt and defiance of law, that closed his career at N. Orleans, were deeply regretted through the country, not only upon account of their pernicious example, but because they cast a deep shade upon the good and the great name, which all were willing should be conceded to him. So ardent was the public feeling in his favor, that with something like universal consent, the outrages were permitted to pass in silence, or noticed with very disqualified approbation.

In 1818, he was charged with conducting the Seminole War. Here again, successful in his main object, he pushed his success to alarming extremities calculated to involve the peace of the nation, and endanger its tranquility. Although the tone of disapprobation was now raised to a strong expression with many, still the country was indisposed to scrutinize closely, or censure severely, one who was so much a favorite. Appointed, in 1821, to the office of civil Governor of Florida, he again indulged in excesses of authority, which though none could justify, most were still ready to excuse. There has been no instance of the same degree of forbearance, in cases of even much less injurious character, towards any citizen of our Republic.

In 1822, he was nominated a candidate for the Presidency, and though the canvass was, on the part of his supporters, exceedingly acrimonious, still, with a few partial exceptions, he was treated with respect. Defeated in his prospect of success, at the moment hope was the highest, his friends and himself, assuming that a mighty wrong was done to him, commenced their assaults upon the characters of others, and have continued them, until the attention of the country has naturally been drawn to that of the General himself. Investigations have taken place, facts have been disclosed, and traits of character developed that have greatly changed the general opinion of his merits. He is no longer the favorite of the nation. He is now but the chief of a party, who become more vociferous and unqualified in their commendations, as they become more doubtful of their justice.

Amongst the means resorted to for the purpose of extending his celebrity, one was the publication of his biogra-

phy. This work made its appearance, in large octavo, in the year 1824, in the very heat of the Presidential canvass. It was written by the General's partial friend, and under his own observation: and it is throughout a laboured eulogy, rather than an impartial history. There are some facts detailed in, and connected with this work, that serve strongly to illustrate, at once, the true character of the General himself, and the means employed to give him reputation, whether he deserve it or not. It is my present intention to give a full and fair explanation of two transactions noticed in this biography, in a manner which the facts do not warrant. I have selected these two, because I have possessed myself of authentic documents, which show that they are not correctly stated.

In the 18th page of "THE LIFE OF ANDREW JACKSON," "*by John H. Eaton, Senator of the United States,*"—we have the following account of his services as a member of the Senate:

"The following year his reputation continuing to increase, and every bosom feeling a wish to raise him to still higher honors, he was chosen a senator of the United States Congress, and took his seat on the 22d day of November, 1797. About the middle of April, business of an important and private nature, imposed on him the necessity of asking leave of absence, and returning home. Leave was granted, and before the next session he resigned his seat. He was but little more than thirty years of age, and hence scarcely eligible, by the constitution, at the time he was elected. The sedition law, about which so much concern and feeling has been manifested through the country, was introduced into the senate, by Mr. Lloyd of Maryland, in June, and passed that body on the 4th of July following: hence the name of Jackson, owing to the leave of absence which had been granted him in April, does not appear on the journals. *On the alien law, however, and the effort to repeal the stamp act* he was present, resting in the minority, and on the side of the Republican principles of the country."

To this a note is appended in the following terms:

"Those senators who voted for a repeal of the alien and stamp acts, so obnoxious to the republicans of this country, at the session of 1798, were Anderson, Bloodworth, Brown, Foster, Green, Jackson, Laugdon, Livermore, Martin, Mason, Tazewell. Against the repeal, Chipman, *Clayton*, Goodhue Hillhouse, Howard, Latimer, *Lawrence*, Lloyd, *North*, Paine, Read, *Rutherford*, Sedgwick, *Stockton*, Tracy."

According to the statement here made, Gen. Jackson was absent from his post as Senator, during the three last months of the session, attending to his own "*business of an important and private nature.*" This argues very little for his attention to public duty, more especially as it was at a time when party feeling ran high, and when the strong measures of the elder Mr. Adams's administration were in agitation. During this period the obnoxious *Sedition Law* was passed, and Gen. Jackson, was not there to oppose it. But, "*on the alien law however, and the effort to repeal the stamp act he was present*, resting (voting) in the minority and on the one side of the Republican principles of the country." The language here employed, leaves it doubtful whether the author meant to assert that the General voted on the passage of the alien law, or on any other proposition in respect to it. But in the note, it is stated as a vote, "*for a repeal of the alien and stamp acts:*" and the yeas and nays are given. The reader of course, concludes that Gen. Jackson voted to repeal the famous alien law, regarded as a twin brother of the sedition law, and always associated with it. Such, however, is not the fact. The whole subject is most strangely misrepresented, as may be put beyond all doubt by a reference to the journals of the Senate, for that session.

The proposition which finally resulted in the passage of "*the alien law,*" originated in the Senate, on the 25th of April, 1798. [*Journal* 249.] on the motion of Mr. Hillhouse to appoint a committee. The bill was reported by Mr. Livermore, from the committee, on the 4th of May, read the first time and ordered to its second reading. [*Journal* 262.] It was continued under consideration until the 8th of June, when it passed the Senate [*Journal* 338] and

was sent to the House. It passed both Houses on the 22d of June, and was approved by the President on the 25th. The Journal shows that on the 12th of April, "Mr. Jackson obtained leave of absence after Monday next for the remainder of the session." Of course he could not have voted "*for a repeal of the alien act*," which was not in agitation until after he left his seat!!

A vote to repeal the stamp act is strangely associated with the alleged vote to repeal the "*alien act*." Nothing in Legislation, would be more improbable than uniting these two subjects together, and taking upon them a joint vote. That no such vote was taken is clear from the fact that the alien law was not in existence to be repealed.

At the preceding session the law usually called "*the stamp act*," had been passed. In the Senate of the United States on the 8th of January, 1798, Mr. Greene of Rhode Island asked for leave to bring in a bill to repeal this "*stamp act*," and leave was refused, ayes 11, noes 15. The ayes are precisely the same stated, in the note before quoted; but the noes are as follow: *Bingham*, Chipman, Goodhue, *Gunn*, Hillhouse, Howard *Hunter*, Latimer, Lloyd, *Marshall*, Paine, Read, *Ross*, Sedgewick and Tracy. *Journal* 72.

There is something very singular in the misquoting of the votes in the negative on this occasion. Six Senators were absent. Five are inserted as voting, that the Journal shows did not vote, to wit; *Clayton*, *Lawrence*, *North*, *Rutherford* and *Stockton*. Five who did vote are omitted, to wit: *Bingham*, *Gunn*, *Hunter*, *Marshall* and *Ross*.—This seems to have been deliberately done, for the purpose of misleading. A person searching after the vote as stated, finding that the names did not correspond, would probably be induced to conclude some other occasion was referred to, and so permit the misstatement to pass without detection. Here then is conclusive record evidence that Gen. Jackson did not vote upon any proposition to repeal the alien law, and that the journals of the Senate have been misquoted for the poor purpose of maintaining that he did so vote.—Do real great men require the aid of tricks like this, to secure them reputation?

The other transaction, which I propose to notice, has been occasionally glanced at, but those who have touched it, have omitted to probe it to the bottom. The documents and public proceedings have been carefully laid away without publication; and the glossings of the biography have been permitted to pass for truth. This procedure I shall now correct, by presenting the facts as they really took place.

After subjugating the Creek nation of Indians, General Jackson was appointed to make a treaty with them, aided by Col. Hawkins, who had long been an Indian agent of the Government in that country. The treaty was held at Fort Jackson; and after some time spent in negociation a treaty was concluded on the 10th of August, 1814.—We are told in the work of Major Eaton, page 197, that "General Jackson was directed to treat with the Creeks as with a conquered people, and to *prescribe*, not negociate the terms and conditions of peace." A singular transaction took place during the time, whilst General Jackson was "*prescribing terms*" to, not *negociating* with this subjugated and conquered people, which is thus represented by Major Eaton, pages 207, 208, 209:

"In the progress of this business another difficulty arose: the council insisted that there should be inserted in the treaty a reservation of certain tracts of land; one for colonel Hawkins, in consideration of his fidelity to them as an agent; and another to Jackson, because of the gratitude felt towards him for his exertions in their favor against the hostile Creeks. *To this the General objected.* It was personal as it regarded himself, and he was unwilling to appear in any point of view, where suspicion could attach, that he had availed himself, of his official situation to obtain personal benefits; fully aware, that however the facts might be, selfish considerations would be imputed as an inducement to what was done. *He refused, therefore to have it inserted*; and for the further reason, that the instructions under which he was acting, required it to be a capitulation, not a treaty. *The* NEXT MORNING, *however, when they met in council to sign the instrument*, the chiefs delivered to

the general a *paper*, expressing a wish, and disclosing their reasons, that a reservation to himself,—colonel Hawkins, and Mayfield, who being made a prisoner in his youth, had always resided in the nation, might be assented to; and requested it to be forwarded on and made known to the government. *Jackson consented to do so, and to recommend its adoption;* but that the reservation that they had thought proper to request, if assented to, *he would accept of on no other terms than their father the president* SHOULD *dispose of it, and apply the proceeds to those of the nation on whom distress and poverty had been brought by the war.* Mr. Madison subsequently brought this matter to the consideration of the Senate of the United States, and in recommending its adoption, highly complimented the delicacy with which the proposition had been met by general Jackson; it was however, never acted on and assented to by the Senate."

According to this statement, the Indians proposed to insert the donations in the treaty: but "*to this the Gen. objected,*" —"*He refused to have it inserted.*" *Next morning, however, when they met in council to sign the instrument,* the chiefs presented a paper disclosing the reasons of the reservation, and a wish that it might be assented to, and made known to the Government. To this the General assented. But in relation to himself, if the Government assented, "*he would accept on no other terms than that their father, the President,* SHOULD dispose of it" for the benefit of the poor among the Creeks themselves. This is Major Eaton's account, in which Gen. Jackson is first made to play the part of a stern, rigid, and disinterested patriot; and second, that of a kind and beneficent benefactor to the poor amongst the Creeks. Let us now look at the true state of the case, and see how far it sustains these compliments to the General. It is shown, by the following copy of the proceedings made under the direction of the commissioners at the time, and transmitted to congress, by the President, in the message referred to, in the above extract from Major Eaton's work:

"*Extracts from the minutes of occurrences at Fort Jackson, during the negociation of Jackson's Treaty.*" "8th AUGUST, 1814.

"The Chiefs of the Creek Nation assembled at their Square, and sent for General Jackson and Col. Hawkins, to visit them. On arriving there, the Speaker Fostunnuggee Thlucco, said, he wished to confer with the General, on some points relative to the boundary up Coosa river, particularly to accommodate Au-be-coo-che at the solicitation of Is-no-lass-he, by giving back some lands west of Coosa. The General objected to the accommodation, as the people in that quarter had been already sufficiently provided for, and the ground asked for had been the thorough fare of the murderers.

"The Speaker then addressed the General:—The points now about boundary are pretty well settled, and we shall sign it; but before we do it and yield it up, we have something to say to you. We are a poor distressed people, involved in ruin, which we have brought on ourselves. It is not caused by a foreign people among us, but of our own colour, of our own land, and who speak our tongue. They arose against us to destroy us, and we could not help ourselves.—We called on three brothers, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, to help, but they did not come; we then called on Col. Hawkins for our white friends and brothers to help and you came. You have saw our red and white brothers mix their blood in battle. You have risked your life for us, and come here, and here we meet—You have saved my life, and I am thankful for it. We have put our heads together, and consulted on it, and have come to one opinion about it, and what we should do. *We, the Creek Nation, give you three miles square of land, to be chosen where you like,* FROM WHAT WE ARE GOING TO GIVE UP. We wish you to take it where you like, and as near us as you can, as, if we have need of you, you will be near to aid and advise us.

"We give you this in remembrance of the important services you have done us, and as a token of gratitude of the nation. There is a man near you, Col. Hawkins, the same we give him, three miles square. He has been long among us, helping of us, and doing good for our nation, and is their friend. He and I met at Colerain and were young men, and are now old. His children are born in our land. He is to select the land we give where he chooses in the land we are about to give up, and to set down on it, and if he dies, his children will have a place to live on. We do this as a token of the gratitude of the Nation

There is standing by you George Mayfield, a white man raised in our land, a good and true man, an interpreter. We give him one mile square of land, near you, that you may have an interpreter at hand if we have need of you to talk with you.

"Here is an old interpreter, thirty years in our service, Alexander Cornells, we give him one mile square of land to set down on, where he selects, near Col. Hawkins, that he may continue his usefulness to us.

Gen. Jackson replied:—*He should accept of this na i nal mark of regard for him.* IF APPROVED OF BY THE PRESIDENT, and he, the President, MIGHT, IF HE WOULD, appropriate *its value* to aid in clothing *their naked women and children. He was well pleased they had noticed their old friend Col Hawkins and his children born among them and their conduct on this head towards him and them, was much to the credit of the Nation*

Col. Hawkins replied:—I have been long among you, and grown grey in your service; I shall not much longer be your Agent. You all know me, that when applied to by Red, White, or Black, I looked not to color, but to the justice of the claim. I shall continue to be friendly and useful to you while I live, and my children born among you will be brought up as to do the same. I ACCEPT *your present*, and I esteem it the more highly, by the manner of bestowing it, *as it resulted from the impulse of your own minds, and not from any intimation from the General or me*"

"3 O'CLOCK, P. M.

"This evening the Chiefs expressed to Col Hawkins:—*They did not give to General Jackson, the land to day to give it back to them in clothing and other things; they want him to live on it*, and when he is gone (dead) his family may have it; and it may always be known what the nation gave it to him for. They say in the instrument to convey their intentions expressed this day, it must be plainly expressed, what are the towns, masters of the land; that they have been uniformly friendly to the United States, and faithful to their engagements in peace and in war; that they consider the extending the line through their lands in the Lower Creeks, as taking from them more than the equivalent offered, and they have claims which should be attended to; but as the General has no powers about them, they will sign the line with him, it being demanded by him and advised by their friend Col. Hawkins. Mrs. Hawkins must be put in with her children, as she had much trouble to teach the Indians to spin and weave.

"*The instrument of conveyance was drawn accordingly, under the interpretation of Mr. Co nells and Major McIntosh, Commandent of Coweta*

BENJAMIN HAWKINS,
Agent for Indian Affairs.

"9th AUGUST.

"We the undersigned Chiefs of the Creek Nation, now assembled at the Treaty held between the friendly and hostile Indians on the one part, and Major General Andrew Jackson for the U. States, on the other part, make known to all whom it may concern, that Caputan and Cowetan are the head towns of the Creeks, and with Tookan Catchee and Osuacke, the owners of the Creek lands, and with ourselves, as we are masters of the land. We have adhered faithfully in peace and war, to our Treaty stipulations, with the United States. Finding that General Jackson, in drawing the lines around our country, to retain as much of that conquered from the hostile Indians as he deemed just, found it necessary for political motives and purposes, to run a line from Ofucekee through our lands, which commences on the dividing ridge, between the waters of the upper and lower Creeks, to Chattahoachee, and thence Eastwardly to the boundary of Georgia, within which there is a great quantity of lands actually our property, for which he, as an equivalent, leaves to the conquered Indians, lands between Coosa and Tallapoosa. We do not deem the exchange as an equivalant; it shall not, however, intertere with the running of the line, as we rely on the justice of the United States, to cause justice to be done us, and on these conditions we request that General Pinckney's letter of the 23d April, to Col. Hawkins and the answer thereto, of the 25th, be sent on with the Treaty, which we will sign after delivering this instrument.

1st. Wishing to give a national mark of gratitude to Major General Andrew Jackson, for his distinguished services rendered us, at the head of the army from Tennessee, we give and grant him, and his heirs forever, three miles square of land, at such place as he may select out of the national lands.

2d. Our nation feel under obligations to Col. Benjamin Hawkins, our Agent, and to Mrs. Lavinia Hawkins, his wife for the unwearied pains they have for a long

time taken to introduce the plan of civilization among us, and to be useful to us; and as their children are born in our land, we, as a token of gratitude, give and grant to Col. Hawkins, for himself, his wife, and his children, three miles square of land, to him and his heirs forever; to be located in such part of the national lands as Col. Hawkins may select, in one tract or survey of one mile square each.

3d. We give to George Mayfield, an interpreter with General Jackson, a white man raised in our land, one mile square of land, where he may select, as a mark of our respect for his honesty and usefulness to us as an interpreter.

4th, and lastly. We give and grant to Alexander Cornells a half breed, and old and faithful interpreter, who, has been long in the public service, one mile square of land, at his option, to be located by him.

We finally request that the Government of the United States, will ratify the foregoing acts of national gratitude, and by suitable deeds of conveyance, to enable the parties to receive and hold the said lands, agreeably to our intentions as herein expressed.

Given under our hands at the Treaty ground at Fort Jackson, 9th August, 1814.

TUSTUNNUGGEE THLUCCO.
Speaker of the Nation of upper Creeks
[Signed by 14 others.]

In presence of J. C. WARNER, assistant Agent of Indian Affairs.
R. J. MEIGS, *Agent C. Nation.*
ROBERT BUTLER, *Adjutant General.*
ALEXANDER MAYFIELD,
ALEXANDER CORNELLS,
GEORGE LOVELL,
Public Interpreters

Having compared the written transcript with the original, I certify it to be a true copy thereof.

CHARLES CASSADY, acting Sec'ty.
Fort Jackson, 9th August, 1814.

Here we have the plain unvarnished truth of this matter; the conference, the assent, and the conveyance. And here are no *objections*, no *refusals*, as stated in the biography. The offer is made and the reasons assigned at the same time, not upon a "*paper*," but in oral conference. The General replies at once "*he should accept.*" Not a word about "*on no other terms* than that the President should dispose of it and apply the proceeds to those of the nation on whom distress and poverty had been brought by the war." Far different is the language: "*He would accept.*" The President MIGHT if he WOULD appropriate the value to aid in clothing their naked women and children."—But if the President did not so appropriate it, why then the General got it—and all was well.

Here too is the "paper" "*the Chiefs delivered to the General.*" which it appears was drawn up according to the previous arrangement and understanding between all the parties and executed, not on the morning they met to execute the treaty, but on the 9th, the day before the signing the treaty, and the day after the General had agreed to accept. Notwithstanding Major Eaton says the "General at first refused and subsequently, on the day the paper was presented, gave only a conditional consent."

Before I further examine this matter I will proceed to investigate the correctness of the final statement in the paragraph quoted.

"Mr. Madison subsequently brought this matter to the consideration of the Senate, and in recommending its adoption, highly complimented the delicacy with which the proposition had been met by Gen. Jackson: it was however, never acted on, and assented to by the Senate."

This is true as far as it goes: it is nevertheless far short of the whole truth, and by no means conveys a just view of the proceedings in Congress upon the subject. The following is a copy of the message referred to:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

The accompanying extract, from the occurrences at Fort Jackson, in August 1814, during the negociation of a treaty with the Indians, shows that the friendly Creeks wishing to give to General Jackson, Benjamin Hawkins and others a national mark of their gratitude and regard, conveyed to them respectively a donation of land, with a request that the grant might be duly confirmed, by the government of the United States.

Taking into consideration the peculiar circumstances of the case—the expediency of indulging the Indians in wishes

which they associated with the treaty signed by them, and that the case involves an inviting opportunity for bestowing on an officer, who has rendered such illustrious services to his country, a token of its sensibility to them, the inducement to which cannot be diminished by the delicacy and disinterestedness of his proposal to transfer the benefit from himself; I recommend to Congress that provisions be made for carrying into effect the wishes of the Indians expressed by them.

JAMES MADISON.

January 20, 1816.

In the Senate this message was bandied from one committee to another, and no direct report ever made upon it. In the House it was referred to the committee on public land. [*Journal* 199.] On the 27th of March the committee reported. [*Journal* 537–8.] Their report is not inserted on the journal, tho' it is a remarkably brief one, being in these words:

"The committee recommend the following resolution: *Resolved* that it is inexpedient to ratify the donations of land as recommended."

This report was committed to a committee of the whole House; but on the 27th of April, the committee were discharged and the report indefinitely postponed; [*Journal* 744.] a quiet and civil method of getting rid of an unpleasant recommendation.

Thus, it appears, that the subject was not referred to the Senate alone, as a part of the treaty making power: but to Congress as an affair that required legislative enactment to give it effect. Though never acted on, in the Senate, it was acted on in the House, and there condemned and rejected. The silence and delicacy manifested by Congress prove their strong reprobation of the thing itself, and their tenderness for Gen. Jackson with regard to it.

Let us now fairly examine this transaction as it really appears in proof before us. The Creek Indians were a conquered people, and in treating with them, Gen. Jackson was directed to "*prescribe terms*" to them as such.—These terms had been prescribed; the Indians had manifested great aversion to them, and had laboured several days, and by various means to soften and mitigate them. Finding the General inexorable they conclude they must accede to the terms proposed, and, having come to this conclusion, they assemble and send for the General and Col. Hawkins to visit them. This visit is made, and the conference opened by the Indians. They first ask some accommodation as to the boundary, which is peremptorily refused. Then a speech is made enumerating the distresses of the Indians, and the obligations they are under to Jackson [*for subjugating them and prescribing terms of peace*] followed by the proposition to give him three miles square of land, to be chosen where he pleased "FROM WHAT THEY WERE GOING TO GIVE UP." The reader has no doubt often heard of an "*Indian gift.*" Here is one in strong colours. Having been compelled to *give up* the land to the United States, they propose to make first, a *donation of part* to those who compelled them to *give up the whole!!* By this the Indians could lose nothing; all they gave away must be taken from the United States, to whom they had already consented to give it up. There is an artifice in this, for which the Indians could have no motive. It bears the impress of an interested trick, on the part of those who were to receive the land; and every one acquainted with the manner of managing Indian negotiations cannot fail to see it, in its true character. No sensible man can believe that the suggestion came from the Indians. Let no one suppose I mean to insinuate that it came from Gen. Jackson. Far otherwise. The other parties interested were evidently those who made the suggestion. True, Mr. Hawkins takes occasion to say to the Indians that it "*resulted from the impulse of their own minds; not from any intimation from the Gen'l. or himself.*" This, as the logicians would say, is a negative pregnant. Its very introduction is a ground of suspicion; for it betrays a consciousness that the proposition did not look natural and right; and although Mr. Hawkins did not make the intimation himself, I think there is little question he knew who did make it. But no matter whence it originated. The General promptly acceded to it.

and manifested an entire willingness to receive the land. The remark that the President "MIGHT *if he* WOULD," make other disposal of it, is very plainly thrown in for effect only; the General never losing an opportunity to affect the character of lofty and benevolent feeling. The General well knew the President "WOULD" *not, if he* "MIGHT," make the disposition suggested, and I therefore hold it clear, that he wished to obtain the land. The donation to Hawkins met the General's decided approbation. "*He was well pleased:*"—"*their conduct on this head was much to the credit of the nation.*"

This treaty was made in August, 1814. It was submitted to the Senate and approved during the ensuing session of Congress. As the Senate pass upon treaties, in conclave, we do not know how this donation was regarded, or whether it was laid before them at all. In November, 1815, General Jackson visited Washington, where he remained until towards the close of December. After his departure, on the 20th January, 1816, the President brought the subject before Congress, by recommending an unequivocal confirmation of the Indian grant. The inference is strong that the message was acceptable to General Jackson. The light in which it was considered by Congress has been already stated.

This is the first, and only instance, in which those who negociated, or rather dictated a treaty, *allowed*, if they did not *obtain* stipulations to be made for their own personal advancement; and this was the first treaty made by Gen. Jackson!! The principle is of the most odious and dangerous character. It is calculated to plant the seed of corruption in a fruitful soil for mischief, whatever Mr. Madison may have said to the contrary.

The misrepresentations which are shown to have been made of the two transactions here noticed, have a direct tendency to place General Jackson's conduct, in a much more favorable view than the truth would place it. In the first, an assertion is made wholly destitute of truth, and then an incorrect, or rather garbled statement from the journals of the Senate, is adduced to support it. In the second, language is put into General Jackson's mouth, and conduct attributed to him, which he neither uttered nor pursued, as is fully shown by the official documents connected with the transaction. And in the same manner an incorrect account is given of the proceedings of the President and Congress, which brings into view the compliments bestowed on him, by the President, and keeps out of sight the disapprobation of Congress.

In his preface Major Eaton says:

"To present things truly as they occurred has been the wish of the author, and he believes he has succeeded. He believes so, because he had no inducement to do otherwise, and because, having all the original papers in his possession, and the *opportunity of constant and repeated intercourse with the subject of his history*: there was no avenue to error, unless from intention, and this he disclaims."

Conceding to Major Eaton the good intentions which he asserts governed him in preparing the work, the misrepresentations I have expressed, must be traced to the subject of the history himself. Mr. Eaton avers that he had constant and repeated intercourse with General Jackson, with respect to the matters of fact related in the work. This must have been the "*avenue to error*," through which fiction has got into the place of truth, in order to give a favorable turn to the conduct of the Hero of the book. Whether General Jackson is, or is not the author of these misrepresentations it is certain that they exist, and that he has permitted them to stand uncontradicted in a work written under his own eye, and whilst he was in "*constant and repeated intercourse*" with the author. If a man who acts thus, may be justly considered a high minded and honorable person, it must be obvious, that honor and high mindedness can associate with very low and discreditable traits of character.

There is one other circumstance, in relation to Major Eaton's work, which deserves here to be noticed. The preface informs us that Major Eaton undertook to complete the work for the benefit of the family of Major Reed, by whom it was commenced, but who died, and left it unfinished. A wish is

expressed that the work should be "so far charitably received and patronized so as to afford advantages to the children of a friend—their father is no more! but as his representatives, they have claims of no common kind on the liberality of the public." The copy right is accordingly secured. Yet an edition of this work in a cheap form, with an appendix full of electioneering falsehoods, has been recently published in Cincinnati, not for the benefit of Major Reed's children, but to aid General Jackson's aspirations for the Presidency." There is great injustice to Major Reed's children, in permitting their property, in the work, to be pirated for General Jackson's benefit. A considerable portion of the first edition is yet on hand, as we may infer, from the fact that it is found as a drug in almost every book store. The edition published here was got into circulation, by the industry of a subscription hunter, and the aid of political enthusiasm. The profits were pocketed by those concerned.—General Jackson's share, being the advantage of circulating an eulogium on himself. the prejudice to the children of Major Reed, that of keeping on hand the edition published for their benefit. This too, may be high-minded and honorable, in the Jackson system of ethics. In my opinion it is dishonest.

C. H.

MAN WORSHIP.

The adulation offered to Gen. Jackson, on the 8th of January, is without example in our country, or in that from which we derive our origin. It indicates more than any thing which has yet transpired, the rapid change of character amongst us. Half a century ago, the American Statesman were stern, self-denying, self-devoted Republicans, abhorring all attachments to men, and concentrating their judgments and their affections upon the public weal alone. But thirty years by-gone, any thing beyond distant respect for the person and character of Washington himself, was regarded as censurable self abasement, and a reprehensible dereliction from correct republican principles. Now the ball of servile adulation to a single man, "is rolling from Passamaquoddy bay to the mouth of the Mississippi, and levelling as it goes, not all, but almost all that stand before it."

An account of the celebration at Washington is before me, and I regret to say, it exhibits a scene little calculated to raise us, in our own estimation, or in that of other people. The company consisted of all the principal politicians of the country, then at Washington, opposed to the present Administration, and favorable to the election of Gen. Jackson. They were a collection of eminent and able men. It would be equally foolish and unjust to suppose that they are not sincerely devoted to, what they consider, the true interests of the nation. Yet all that was said and done is strongly marked by incorrect feeling and by bad taste. In all things Gen. Jackson is first, and the country, when noticed at all, only second. One can scarcely read the account without a melancholy recurrence to the history of Rome, from the time of the Cæsars. Mr. Livingston made a speech containing a studied eulogium on Gen. Jackson. The auditory were the conscript fathers: the senators and representatives of a Republican people, and claiming to feel, in the highest degree, an affinity with the people in republican sentiment. Nevertheless, as the orator proceeded in his strain of hyperbolic eulogy, he was accompanied with enthusiastic reponses, and thunders of applause. The prostrate Senate pressing Tiberius to accept of power; his reply, that "TO CHOOSE OR TO DECLINE *would ill become the man who wished to be dispensed with altogether*;" the soothing panegyric of Asinius Gallus, pronounced upon the same occasion, forcibly obtrudes upon the mind as presenting a somewhat similar scene.

Mr. Livingston's eulogium and the regular toasts having been gone thro', Mr. Verplank introduced what he termed a "*a noble poetical effusion*," written for the occasion at New York, to be sung there, accompanied with music, which was forwarded to him, to be read to the company at Washington. This "*effusion*," though really a flat and vapid

thing full of incongruous metaphor, and grammatical inaccuracies, contains some fine touches, and concludes with a compliment to Jackson no doubt highly acceptable to the company, at the moment it was presented. It might have passed well enough had it not been introduced with so much commendation as coming from "*a true poet*," and as having been transmitted from the Queen of Cities, as worthy the approbation of the wisdom of the land—viewed in this light as it must be, it furnishes rather an unfavorable specimen of our poetical talent, and literary taste.

Then come toasts sent from Harrisburgh, from Rockville, from Vermont; to be given and received as evidences of ardent affection and of plighted faith to the good cause. This method of being present, though distant, is somewhat new in politics, and seems to have been imitated from the contrivance of the separated lovers, who agreed to commune with each other, by both gazing upon the moon at a certain hour understood between them. It is truly Platonic and sentimental, especially when we remember the sensuality with which it is associated.

Amongst those who gave toasts were the Vice President, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Gov. Duval of Florida, Mr. Cheves, Mr. Van Buren, and other great men. One was given by Mr. Desha of Tennessee, certainly a gross personal insult upon Mr. Brent of Louisiana, and one by Major Eaton, which is entitled to some notice:

"To divert public attention at Athens, Alcibiades cut off the tail of a dog—the modern Alcibiades, with a view to the same object has written a book."

This was no doubt intended to retaliate upon Mr. Clay, here described as the "*modern Alcibiades*," for the figure which Major Eaton cuts in the "book." It is not an appropriate or happy reference. On the contrary it is calculated to direct public attention to times and characters, with which comparisons may be drawn, not very favorable to the company assembled with Major Eaton, when the toast was given.

The anecdote of the dog is thus related by Plutarch:

"Alcibiades had a dog of uncommon size and beauty which cost him seventy *minæ*, and yet his tail, which was his principal ornament, he caused to be cut off. Some of his acquaintance found great fault with his acting so strangely, and told him that all Athens rang with the story of his foolish treatment of his dog. At which he laughed and said: "*This is the very thing I wanted: for I would have the Athenians talk of this, lest they should find something worse to say of me.*"

By asserting that Mr. Clay's book was written, "*with a view to the same object*," for which Alcibiades cut off the tail of his dog, the Major assumes that the American people are no wiser, than were the rabble of Athens, in the days of Alcibiades. He, in substance asserts, that they are so light and ignorant, as to be amused and misled, by an incident like that of cutting off the tail of a dog. I am very sure he did not see that his attempt at wit included this consequence. For had he perceived it, he would not have made the allusion.

Again, The avowed object of Alcibiades was to start a subject trivial in itself, least "*something worse*" should be found, in his conduct to be made the theme of conversation. Here again the allusion is an unfortunate one. For the subject of the book, is the *worst* and the *only* thing Mr. Clay's enemies can find to urge against him. So that his view could not have been the same with that of the Athenian, as Major Eaton asserts it to have been. But even this is not the most unhappy consequence of introducing Alcibiades & his dog before the good company of which the Major was one.

There is no character in history more oppositely described than that of Alcibiades. It is "stigmatized with every reproach," and "honored with every eulogium." And an eminent writer has observed, that "we cannot charge the former with injustice, or the latter with partiality." But, in whatever light we consider the character of Alcibiades, it embraces as many points resembling that of Gen. Jackson, as that of Mr. Clay. In beauty of person, neither of them resemble him, and in what other points the resemblance exists may be very strongly disputed by the friends of each. Alcibiades was an orator, so is Clay, and Jackson is

not. He was a distinguished General, so is Jackson, and Clay is not. It was not so much as an Orator, as a "Militatary Chieftain" that he inflicted injury upon his country. He is accused of licentiousness, so are Clay and Jackson both. The first, that kind of licentiousness, in which most men indulge. The latter, that which is considered much the most reprehensible. He was accused of ambition, so are both Clay and Jackson. He indulged in luxury. So, too, to make himself popular, in Sparta, he shaved close, bathed in cold water, eat coarse bread, and black broth, and like Gen. Jackson, "had the very extraordinary art of engaging the affections of those with whom he conversed." In one other transaction his situation was not unlike that of Mr. Clay. The demagogue *Androcles* got up a false accusation against him, which he attempted to sustain by slaves and sojourners. This *Androcles*, was his bitter enemy, and with others "*persuaded certain orators, who were not reputed to be his enemies, but who hated him as heartily as the most professed ones.*" to insist on sending him into foreign service, whilst the proceedings went on against him.

In another affair there is a strong analogy between his case and General Jackson's. He trampled on the laws of his country, and the rights of his fellow citizens. But in progress of time these things were overlooked, and forgiven, and his return to those whom he had injured, is thus described by Plutarch.

"When he was landed, the multitude that came out to meet him, did not vouchsafe so much as to look upon the other Generals, but crowded up to him, hailed him with shouts of joy, conducted him on the way, and such as could not approach him crowned him with garlands. While those that could not come up so close viewed him at a distance, and the old men pointed him out to the young."

This scene which occurred something more than twenty-two hundred years ago, is not unlike one, which took place within the last twenty days, in which Gen. Jackson was the Alcibiades or principal pageant.

In another respect there is a striking resemblance between Alcibaides and General Jackson. The first "*so gained upon the Athenians that they connived at his errors and spoke of them with all imaginable tenderness.*" Just so a certain part of the American people act in respect to Gen. Jackson.

There is a whimsical similarity between Alcibaides and another great man of the present day, so closely allied with the gentleman of the celebration, that his health was "*drank standing, with reiterated and thundering applause.*"

"He had great advantages for introducing himself into the management of public affairs; from his birth, his estate his personal valour, and the number of his friends and relations, but what he chose above all the rest to recommend himself by, to the people, was the charms of his eloquence. *He was famed for his breed of horses*, and the number of his Chariots."

Alcibiades flourished at a time when the bad passions of bad men had a mischievous sway, upon the councils and people of Athens. Those who may take the trouble to acquaint themselves with the history of public affairs at Athens, in the days of Alcibides, cannot fail to be seriously struck with many analogies to what is now in transaction before us. One circumstance is thus narrated by Plutarch:

"There was at Athens, one HYPERBOLUS of the ward of Perithois, whom Thucidydes makes mention of, as a very bad man, & who was a constant object of ridicule for the comic writers. But he was unconcerned at the worst things they could say of him, and being regardless of honor, he was also insensible of shame. This, though really impudence and folly, is by some people called fortitude and a noble daring. But though *no one liked him*, the people nevertheless *made use of him* when they wanted to strike at persons in authority. At his instigation the Athenians were ready to proceed to the ban of ostracism, by which they *pull down* and expel such of the citizens as are distinguished by their dignity and power *therein consulting their envy* rather than their fear."

Here we have a description to the life of a certain *Hyperbolus* now "*made use of*" at Washington; a person whom "*no one likes*," but at whose instigation, many, "*consulting their envy rather than their fear*," are ready to "*pull down*" men in power. Where the end was the same, the means seem to have been pretty much the same, in Rome as they are in Washington.

Mr. Hamilton gave a toast.

"May our country have passed to its credit the difference between that man who has vanquished a living hero, and him who is only able to spit his venom on the grave of a dead one."

This percontra of the balance sheet, smacks much more of the counting

house than the tented field, or page of classic lore. It is equally obscure, equally venomous, to say the least, and far less sientific, than the sentiment it is intended to reprobate. The ebony and topaz toast was never to my taste. I saw no venom in it, but I regarded it as a failure. Here, venom is a principal and manifest ingredient, and no explanation can be given either to amuse or to instruct. When we hunt up a meaning, by supposing, that General Jackson is the "*man*" who vanquished a living hero, in the person of Gen. Lambert, and that Mr. Adams is "*him*" who spit his venom on the grave of a "dead one," in the toast with respect to General Ross, we have still to find who is to be creditor in the account, and how it is that Mr. Adams is "*only able*" to perform the act attributed to him.—And, when we have reconciled the absurdities of the toast a greater difficulty must remain, to vindicate the propriety of the imputation.

Mr Hall complimented Mr. George Kremer, and Mr. Kremer gave the following:

"*General Andrew Jackson*—The Nathaniel of the present age—an Israelite in whom there is no guile.—When the Presidency was put up to the highest bidder, by the Judas of the present age, he scorned to bid."

This tissue of blasphemous panegyric and disgraceful calumny, might have been overlooked, coming from George Kremer at a late stage of the feast.—But surely the committee of arrangements are inexcusable for publishing it. Those who believe that the character of General Jackson is, in any respect, similar to Nathaniel, are persons not to be reasoned with. Neither are they who believe that it were possible for a single man to set up the Presidency to sale. The promulgation of either sentiment can but discredit and dishonor those concerned in it.

Mr. Hayne of South Carolina, a gentleman whom no one should attempt to disparage, gave a toast accompanied with some preliminary remarks.—Nothing of the whole proceedings more distinctly shows the delusion that overspread the whole company.

"*Andrew Jackson*—Who like Washington saved his country in war; and like Jefferson will save it in peace."

To co[illegible] New-Orleans. [illegible] Washington's [illegible] the war of the [illegible] gance we should s[illegible] proceed from a same [illegible] phetic comparison with J[illegible] be regarded as the phantasy [illegible]

In his speech, Mr. Hayne [illegible] Mr. Living-ston in eulogizing [illegible] eral. And he relates a [illegible] his saving an infant Indian whose mother was killed ("*accidentally.*") the child clinging to her breast: taking him [illegible] & rasing him, as of itself sufficient [illegible] fute the imputations cast [illegible] character of the General. Strange, Mr. Hayne's knowledge of the world did not instruct him, that traits of humanity, like this, have at times, characterized the most ferocious of our species. The Red Rover of the seas, has been affected by them as well as General Jackson. The author of Waverly hardly thought that he had invested Halbert Glendenning with a trait of charcter that might exempt him from all violence of feeling and harshness of temper, when he put him to carry the new born infant of Julian Avenel from the field of battle, although old Staworth Bolton commended the deed. Nevertheless the anecdote is creditable to General Jackson, and like old Staworth, I would pardon him some half dozen of his misdoings, upon that account.

Foreigners, admirers of monarchical government, and contemners of Republican, cannot but exult, when they receive the accounts of the recent celebrations. They are devoted to a single man. Bonaparte was never more bepraised by the enslaved French. England never witnessed such man service. When they compare the character and services, the pretensions and talents of this idolized being, with the adulation poured out before him, they can say little favorable to our intelligence or republicanism. They cannot fail to see that we are fast pushing into the current that has swept all republican governments into the vortex of monarchy. That we stoutly dispute both the facts and the [illegible] erence argues little against their existence. Were our eyes open to our

danger, it would be at an end, and such was the condition of all who have preceded us.

January 26, 1828.

REMINISCENCES.

One of the regular toasts of the great Jackson dinner at Washington, is in these words:

"*A free press and frequent elections.*—Efficient agents in enlightening the consciences of public men, and setting just bounds to their ambition."

A more correct sentiment is seldom uttered, and to give it practical effect is the sole object for which the present work is established. Much good has been effected by a free discussion of principles and measures. But the *most efficient agency* of the press, is that which is employed, in a critical examination of the pretensions and motives of those who hold, or are candidates for office; or who otherwise distinguish themselves in public affairs. Every man bears easily his portion of general censure. Not so, does he feel a *critique* upon his own dearly beloved self.—Hence the press, to be "*efficient*" should occasionally take up and examine the political history and political pretensions of the would-be great men of the land. To do this in a proper manner, has a two-fold good effect. Just punishment is inflicted upon the delinquent, and a salutary fear imposed upon such as may incline to follow an evil example. Within the period of the last season, three eminent characters in Ohio, have pursued a somewhat extraordinary course, and some two or three *great men of lesser note* have borne them company. As they are all politicians, and occupants of, or aspirants after office, it is deemed proper to give them a place in the Anti-Jackson Expositor.

At the last Presidential election the gentlemen alluded to, were all hostile to the election of General Jackson. They were neither active nor efficient in their hostility, (I mean the three of eminence) because they are your prudent cast of men, who seldom expose themselves to labour, inconvenience, or reproach for the good of other people. But they were open in their opinions of the unfitness of General Jackson for the station of President. After the election of Mr. Adams, they adhered to their old views, occasionally expressing themselves very sensibly, upon the comparative and respective qualifications of Mr. Adams and General Jackson, for the proper discharge of the executive duties. At different periods, the different gentlemen became infected with a certain political disease once called *neutrality*, but now more generally described as "*stradling the fence.*" And since July last, in each case, this disease has assumed the type of a confirmed Jackson fever.

But before I proceed further, it may not be amiss to give some explanation of those affected with the disease I have mentioned, and its usual probable termination. Edmund Burke, a most profound political casuist, thus describes the subjects of this disease, as they existed in England, about the year 1793:

"Such men can serve no cause, for this plain reason—they have no cause at heart. They can at best, work only as mere mercenaries.—They have not been guilty of great crimes! but it is only because they have not energy of mind to raise to any height of wickedness. They are not hawks or kites; they are only miserable fowls whose flight is not above their dunghill or henroost. But they tremble before the authors of these horrors. They admire them at a safe and respectful distance. There never was a mean and abject mind that did not admire an intrepid and dexterous villain. In the bottom of their heart, they believe such hardy miscreants to be the only men qualified for great affairs; if you set them to transact a business with such persons, they are instantly subdued. They dare not so much as look their antagonist in the face. They are made to be their subjects, not their arbiters or controllers. These men, to be sure, can look at attrocious acts without indignation, and can behold suffering virtue without sympathy. Therefore they are considered as sober and dispassionate men.—But they have their passions, though of another kind, and which are infinitely more likely to carry them out of the path of their duty. They are of a tame, timid, languid, inert temper, *whenever the welfare of* OTHERS *is concerned.* In such causes, as they have no motive to action, they never possess any real ability, and are totally destitute of all resources." "The only thing that occurs to such a man, when he has got a business for others into his hands, is, how to make his own fortune out of it. Instead of thinking how he shall defend his ground to the last, and if forced to retreat, how little he shall give up, this kind of man considers how much of the interest of his employer he is to sacrifice to his adversary. Having nothing but himself in view, he knows, that in serving his principal

with zeal, he must probably incur some resentment from the opposite party. His object is to obtain the good will of the person with whom he contends, that when the agreement is made, he may join in rewarding him. I would not take one of these for my arbitrator for so much as a fish pond, for if he reserved the mud to me he would be sure to give the water that fed the pool to my adversary."

Now, I do not take upon me to say that our gentlemen of the fence are entirely of the same character here described. Nor do I assert, that, after sitting upon the fence the appropriate period, and then dismounting on the side opposite to that from which they ascended, they are still to be considered and estimated, as though they remained upon the fence. In general, however, it is very certain that they ascend the fence for the purpose of taking the best possible survey of the contiguous pastures, and, no doubt, with the intention of dismounting upon that side which they deem the most rich and luxuriant: and should they get into a field of cheat, we may be very sure that they mistook it for timothy. Probably their object is as correctly described in another metaphor, applied to the same general class of politicians, at a different period:

"————They stand in sight
And quietly see the parties fight,
Judging the strongest side the right,
Till ane prevail,
Syne, smack, to fa' wi' a' their might,
On them, wha fail."

But to return from this digression to the eminent personages of whom I propose to speak. I must, however, premise that I find some difficulty in introducing them, all having been dignitaries entitled to the courtly appellation of *honorable*, I know not how to give a preference, in the order of naming them, that shall be satisfactory to them all. They all commenced their public career together in high stations, which they all abandoned for other vocations, where the gradation of their importance has been changed, literally making the first last, and the last first. To follow the preference, as it was arranged, when their honors first blushed upon them, whilst it gratified *him* who would thus be preferred, would to naming *him* last, who has attained the highest stations, and who stands now most prominently before the public. This might seem invidious. On the other hand to give *him* precedence, who is now most conspicuous, might be regarded as a mean attempt, on my part, to court the rising sun; a thing that I abhor as I do bad wine at a good dinner. But, in either case, I am compelled to place much the greatest man, in his own estimation, in the middle, whereby I shall certainly give offence, for though there may be safety, in a medium there is no honor it. To cut then this gordian knot, let me say bluntly: I refer to the Late Hon. T. Scott, and to the present Hon's. Wm. W. Irwin and Eathan A. Brown.

In the year 1810, these gentlemen were appointed judges of the Supreme Court of Ohio, contrary to the constitution, and in violation of the undoubted rights of the then existing Judges.—*Then* this was matter of controversy. *Now* it is indisputable. It is only referred, to as evidence that the gentlemen are liable to fall into very capital errors, on politic at subjects, where they are personally concerned and as evidence also, that, in times by gone, they were willing instruments of a temporary faction, and lent themselves to the erroneous doctrines, the factionists set up, to prevail once, and to be ever after abandoned.

After a service of about five years, Judges Scott and Irwin, became seriously impressed with the belief that their high talents were not sufficiently compensated with a salary of one thousand dollars per annum. And because the Legislature would not increase it, they took a fit of the pouts, and, in the midst of the circuit of the courts, with most significant dignity, sent in their resignations, and returned to the profession of the Law.

In the fall of 1815, Judge Scott was elected a member of the House of Representatives from Ross county.—But he dodged and *jonked* so many important questions, that the people of Ross county lost all confidence in him, and he could not be re-elected. In 1817, his honor who had resigned the chief justiceship with a salary of one thousand dollars, was a candidate for the office of President Judge with the

same salary, and got a few votes, so as to stand third on the list. From that time, his honor was a standing candidate for judicial stations, whenever there was a vacancy, up to 1824, and with about the same prospect of success. In 1824 his honor warmly advocated the election of Mr. Adams. Amongst other things he wrote a long essay vilifying Mr. Clay, and General Jackson, which he sent to the Adams committee, at Cincinnati, for publication, but which they deemed it impolitic and imprudent to publish. After the election of Mr. Adams, his honor set it down as certain, that the labourer was worthy of his hire, and accordingly, upon the first suitable occasion, put in his claim. Conceiving that by the passage of a new law, or by the death of Judge Tod, there would be a vacancy in the bench of the supreme court of the United States, in the winter 1825–1826, he drew up a recommendation of himself for that office, and personally solicited subscribers. Having obtained some thirty or forty, he proceeded to Washington, where he bored the President, Secretaries and others, with such pertinacious indecency, that it became impossible for even their politeness to conceal their disgust. He was disappointed, and came home a gentleman of the fence, where he sat gazing around him until July, 1827, when the declaimers for General Jackson so beclouded his vision that he mistook a crop of cheat for timothy, and slid himself down upon the Jackson side of the fence. He attempted a miserable apology and again presented himself to the people of Ross county, a candidate for the Legislature. But *mene tekel* was written in the ballot boxes, and the ex-chief justice, would-be President of Common Pleas, would-be associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, is left to follow his profession, and sing hosanah to General Jackson.

Next in rotation comes the honorable Wm. W. Irwin. His honor, having abandoned the supreme judge-ship in 1815, was again willing to take that station in 1817, was a candidate and received a very paltry vote. Again, in 1819, there being a supreme judge and a senator in congress to choose, his honor long debated, in his own mind, which of the two offices he would oblige the people by deigning to accept, and finally learned there was no possible chance for him to obtain either. In 1823, he conceived the state stood in great need of his services for governor, and obligingly consented that his name might be used; but the ballot boxes bore testimony that his honor's good opinion of himself, had again deceived him. The county of Fairfield, in 1825, compassionating his yearnings for public employ, elected him a member of the House of Representatives, and he was chosen Speaker. Again he felt his budding honors fresh upon him; and a vacancy in the Senate of the United States being near at hand, he considered himself certainly placed in that station. Sensible that a majority of the Legislature of Ohio, was Anti-Jackson, he took occasion, when out of the chair, to make a flourishing Anti-Jackson speech, on the Tennessee amendment of the constitution, which gave him considerable repute with the supporters of the administration. He was again elected to the House of Representatives, in 1826, but not again elected speaker. The election for senator in Congress came on. His honour was a candidate, and voted for, under the impression that he was a friend of the administration, but a better tried friend was preferred. Disappointment again beset him, and in 1827 he discovered that he had been a Jacksonian for the last *several* years!! His seat upon the fence was of short duration. He floundered from one side to the other, with all the confidence of a drunken sailor, and deserted old friends and courted new ones in a style which Arnold himself could not have exceeded. Next fall his honor is to be a candidate for Congress. As I am no prophet, but an historian, it behoves me to be silent———

I come now to the *Honorable Ethan Allen Brown*, who, from a lawyer without practice, was made a judge of the Supreme Court, in violation of the Constitution, and in violation of the right of another judge; and who was re-elected judge, because he had kept his

station when his colleagues resigned in dignified dudgeon about salary: who was afterwards elected Governor to get him off the bench, in opposition to a candidate, a BEE-HUNTER by profession, who could hardly write his name And who was re-elected Governor when no one else sought the station. Accident and the unpopularity of the opposing candidate transferred him to the Senate of the United States, in the descent from which station, his fall was compassionately broken, by the appointment of Fund Commissioner to the canal. The offices conferred upon his honor were matters tangible to his senses: the chapter of accidents by which he attained them was too subtle for his comprehension. He fancied himself a *pro-di-gi-ous* great man, and his greatnesship has taken offence, at we know not what. He mumbles miserable French, and therefore thought he should have been sent minister to Mexico. He could not see or feel a reason, why he was not continued in the Senate of the United States, for he had no comprehension of the accidents that placed him there: So he became soured and mounted the fence. He once lived in New York, and Dewit Clinton had accorded him the honor of being one of his retainers, ten degrees removed, about in the station occupied by Caleb Atwater; consequently Dewit Clinton must be the greatest man in the world: Dewit Clinton himself sat upon the fence, looking which side he should take, and the honorable *Eathan Allen Brown* was conformable. At length Dewit Clinton declared for Jackson, and the honorable *Eathan Allen Brown* exclaimed, "*I cry ditto.*" For this he heads the Jackson ticket in Ohio, and finds himself separated from most of those, who helped to make him a great man, and associated with those who have uniformly opposed him, and even affected to despise him. *Ecce signum!*

Of the *lesser* great men, I will now name only two.

Firstly. The Honorable David Smith, his ride upon the fence and final lounge into the cheat past are are far less selfish than that of his compeers. He is more zealous than mercenary. But unfortunately he is also more zealous than discreet. Those who should have cherished him as a colleague, have beat him off as a drone. He ascended the fence reluctantly, and sat upon it casting many a "longing lingering look" upon the fields from which he was expelled. His case is a hard one, and calls for commiseration rather than censure.

Second. The Honorable John C. Short, a gentleman whose morbid sensibilities became desperately excited, at some fancied insult to the manes of a deceased relative, in revenge of which, he felt himself constrained so to act, as to excite suspicions, in the minds of many, against living ones; taking care however, to reap for himself, an immediate reward for his change of course. His seat upon the fence was brief, if indeed he sat all. His change of position resembled the leap of a bleachy horse, and his apology bears all the marks of being manufactured for the occasion. He has been cordially greeted by his confederates: and they may, no doubt safely trust him. I am very sure his case is not that of Sergeant Champ, whatever else it may be.

REMEMBRANCER.

VIRGINIA CONVENTION.

The subjoined extract, from the Address of the Virginia Anti-Jackson Convention, is considered a particularly appropriate article to be inserted in the Anti-Jackson Expositor. It pourtrays in vivid colors, the strong objections that exist to the election of Gen. Jackson, President of the United States, and it is recommended by the consideration, that it proceeds from those who were neither original supporters of Mr. Adams or Clay. The base and stale charges of coalition, bargain, and transference, can in no sense be applied to the framers or adopters of this address.—They were neither Adams men, nor Clay men, nor have they been engaged in supporting or eulogizing either of these distinguished men. They are men of high standing, of mature age, and of the first order of character in Virginia. The opinions they advance are not liable to the objection that they

are pensioned editors, or beggarly office seekers. They occupy stations in life to which these imputations cannot attach. And whatever they assert is entitled to the highest confidence.—Nothing is more manifest than that a regard for the country, and just apprehension of the consequence of making Gen. Jackson President, are the sole motives of their action. And surely the reflecting part of the community cannot permit themselves to disregard the opinions of such men, called out under such circumstances!

They are not the men, who in 1824, denounced Gen. Jackson, and deprecated his election as *a curse upon the country.* They are not the men anathematized by Gen. Jackson at that time, far otherwise—Those who manifested so much horror *then* at the thought of Gen. Jackson's success, are *now* his active supporters. There seems to have been an affinity of temper in their mutual violence, that recommends them to each other. Like all extremes they meet and harmonize. The supporters of Wm. H. Crawford, have brought themselves to offer adoration to Gen. Jackson, and to support John C. Calhoun. But the authors of this address are not of the number. Whilst they vindicate the public course of Mr. Adams, they do not flatter him, either as a public or private man. They content themselves with speaking the truth, naked and unadorned. Neither do they indulge in ranting vituperation, or vulgar invective against Gen. Jackson. And whilst they expose the mischievous and dangerous tendency of his public conduct, they expressly acquit him of any evil design against the public good. In all this their conduct is the reverse of that pursued by the supporters of the General. There is a temper as different between this address, and the proceedings of the Washington Jackson dinner, as if they took place amongst the people of a different country. They stand in as strong contrast as light and darkness, as *Topaz and Ebony.* The one is characterised by a dignified moderation, the other by a desperate and reckless violence.

In this address, the illegal execution of the six militia men is distinctly asserted. From what has occurred, transpired in Congress, it would seem that the illegality of this execution is not to be longer disputed; an attempt is to be made, to cast the blame from General Jackson to Governor Blount of Tennessee; this cannot succeed. It was the duty of Gen. Jackson to know the law, and the ignorance or indiscretion of Governor Blount, who was not called to decide in a case of life and death, cannot be set up as a plea for him. He perpetrated a *legal* murder, if that which the law did not authorize can be considered *legal*, if not, then the homicide is without any justification. But further introduction is useless. The extract from the address speaks for itself. Let every well meaning man read it, and, if he can, lay his hand upon his heart, and vote for Gen. Jackson.

"The friends of Gen. Jackson have confidently held him up, as the favorite of the People—have insisted that, in the last election, his plurality of votes proved him to be the choice of the nation—and have bitterly complained, that *that* choice was improperly disappointed by the Representatives in Congress.

Never was there a more direct appeal to those prejudices and passions, which, on all occasions, the good should disdain, and the wise should repress; never was a complaint more utterly unfounded; and never one more characteristic of that disregard for the Constitution, which has been manifested on more occasions than one, when its provision stood in the way of General Jackson's march.

Whether Gen. Jackson is the People's favorite, is to be tested by the event, not assumed as the basis of the pending election. That his plurality of votes proved him to be the choice of the nation at the last election, we confidently deny. It may, perhaps, be found, upon examination, that, while Gen. Jackson had a plurality of electoral votes, Mr. Adams had a plurality of votes at the polls; and we are confident, that if Mr. Crawford and Mr. Clay had been withdrawn from the canvass, and the contest had been single-handed between Gen. Jackson and Mr. Adams, the election would have resulted as it has done, in the choice of Mr. Adams.

But this is not the light in which this question deserves consideration. The minds of the people ought not to be influenced by such extraneous considerations; and above all, the principles of our Constitution ought not to be abused, by admitting for a moment, that the pluralities of votes given to General Jackson, should have governed the choice of the House of Representatives. We do not mean to say, that a proper respect for the wishes of the nation, when ascertained, ought not always to be observed by its Representatives. But we do say, that the present Chief Magistrate holds his seat by the will of the people of the United States, regularly expressed, in the only way in which an expression of that will has any authority.

They have willed, in the most solemn form—in the form of a Constitution, which they declare shall be the supreme law of the land—that a plurality of votes shall not constitute an election; that, when there is such plurality, the Representatives shall elect, voting by states. Thus withdrawing from the people, that equality of influence which is given them in the first vote, and transferring it to the states in the second. This provision of our Constitution is in the true spirit which pervades the whole of it, and which marks it the result of a conference between states, surrendering in part, and retaining in part, their political equality. Shall this spirit be appealed from, on every occasion in which it was intended to soothe and conciliate, and the spirit of faction be invoked, to expose our magistrates to unjust prejudice, and bring our institutions into discredit? These things are revolutionary in their tendency, and ought to be discouraged.

Of like character is the complaint against the Kentucky delegation, for disregarding the instructions of their Legislature. We have too much respect for the Legislature of Kentucky to suppose that they meant to bind the delegation by an instruction. We can only suppose that they meant to furnish the best information in their power, of the opinions of the People on a question which had never been submitted to them. Such information was entitled to due respect due to intelligent opinion, and no more. It was not the constitutional organ through which the will of the people was to be conveyed to the Representative. The Representatives in Congress were directly responsible to their constituents, not to the Legislature. And an attempt of the Legislature to control the immediate Representatives of the People—would be an usurpation upon the rights of the People—an act, which, instead of deserving obedience, or even respect, required resistance and even reprobation. The faithful representative will obey the instructions of his constituents whenever constitutionally given. He will pay a respectful attention to their wishes, and every evidence of their wishes. But, when not bound by instruction, he will look beyond the imperfect evidence of their will, information conveyed; he will rest upon the conclusions of his own mind, formed from the best lights he can obtain; will consult his country's good, and firmly meet the responsibility of those acts, he deems proper for its attainment. Thus we believe the Kentucky delegation did. They were not instructed—they could not choose to shelter themselves from responsibility, under the cover of a legislative recommendation—consulting their own judgments, they preferred the man thought most capable of advancing the interest of his country: and there is no question, that Virginia then concurred in the opinion, and approved the act.

This vote, which, if honestly given, is an affair chiefly between the Representative and his Constituents, would not have been obtruded on your attention, had it not been connected with a charge of grave import, made upon the purity of the election, impeaching the integrity of the Chief Magistrate of the Nation, and the first member of his Cabinet. This charge, in its strongest form, imports that, at the last election, the vote of the Kentucky delegation was in the market, for the highest bidder; that it was offered to one candidate, and being refused by him, was sold to the other; and that the consideration of the vote, was the office of Secretary of State, bestowed on Mr. Clay. If this were true, we should not hesitate to affirm, that it stamps infamy on the characters of the guilty, and renders them forever unworthy of public trust.

This charge, not so strongly, however, as has been here stated, was made for the first time, pending the Presidential election. It was promptly met, and challenged by Mr. Clay, and deserted by its supporters. They rallied again, after the election, gave it a form somewhat varied, drew to it some imposing circumstances, and, at last, gave it the public sanction of General Jackson's name. Mr. Clay again publicly denied it, called for the proof, and challenged inquiry. No proof has appeared to sustain it, no inquiry has been instituted, and now in all its phases, it stands forth bold, by a body of proof, so strong and so convincing, as to require from the least charitable, its open disavowal, and from the most suspicious, a candid acknowledgement, that they have done injustice in even thinking it probable.

It may not be unworthy of notice, as one of the means by which the public mind has been prejudiced and inflamed, that opinions, the most offensive to a Republican people, have been unwarrantably and uncandidly inferred from some of the President's communications to Congress, and gravely imputed to him as doctrines in his political creed. He has on one occasion, not perhaps with strict rhetorical propriety, used the words expressive of the will of our constituents"—in reference to duties enjoined by the Constitution.

This phrase has been torn from its context, misinterpreted, and used as the authority upon which the President is charged with the heresy, that a representative owes no obligation to the will of his constituents. On another occasion, incautiously taking it for granted that every one would understand that the high obligation of an oath was derived from Heaven, he has again, perhaps, without such felicity of phrase, made an obvious, though not avowed reference to his oath of office, as imposing an obligation above all human law—and this reference is tortured into a public avowal of the odious doctrine, that his official power was *jure divino*. If these had been the taunts and the railing of anonymous newspaper scribblers, they would have been censured unworthy of this public notice. But when such charges are seriously made and reiterated, by men holding high stations in the government, and exercising strong influence over public opinion, they cannot be too strongly condemned.

Mr Adams, it is said, is friendly to a regulation of the tariff of duties, with a view to the encouragement of American manufactures, and this is clamorously urged against him, as a serious objection, by those who support the election of General Jackson.

The objection seems to have been treated, before the public, as if Mr. Adams were the founder of a new and odious doctrine, and the father of the measures to which he had given birth.—Nothing can be further from the truth. Not a single act of government, on this subject, has its date within his administration. And so far is he from being the founder of the doctrine, that it is traced to the earliest and purest times of the Republic, avowed and acted upon from

the foundation of the Government when the Father of his Country presided over its destines. Before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the power of regulating commerce, and imposing duties on imports, belonged to the State Governments, and such of them, as deemed it expedient, so regulated their tariff of duties as to give encouragement to their manufactures.—The constitution transferred to the Federal Government, by express provision, the power of regulating commerce, and of imposing duties. An act, passed at the first session of the first Congress, held under the Constitution, advocated by James Madison, and signed by George Washington, on the 20th of July, 1789, contains the first tariff of duties on imported goods laid by the General Government, and its preamble recites, that it was "necessary for the support of Government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States and the encouragement and protection of manufactures." This doctrine was acted upon, by every succeeding Administration, by the elder Adams, by Jefferson, by Madison, and Monroe. The policy of protecting & encouraging manufactures was recommended by them all; the tariff was increased from time to time, with a view to that object; and yet, no champion of the Constitution, though many and bold and able there were, always at their posts, ever challenged the authors of these measures, as invaders of constitutional ground; until, during the administration of the last President, when the fathers of the Constitution, having most of them retired from the field of action, a member from Virginia suggested, in Congress, the want of constitutional power to give protection to manufactures.

On this question we forbear to enter the field of argument; and content ourselves with saying, that the power of Congress to regulate the tariff of duties, so as to give protection and encouragement to agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and navigation, cannot be denied, without denying to the letter of the Constitution its plain import, and to its spirit its most obvious and essential attributes, without affirming that those who have administered the Government, from its foundation to the present day have either misunderstood the charter of their powers, or wantonly and habitually violated it; without coming to the extraordinary conclusion, either that a power which existed in the State Governments, and was frequently exercised by them before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, was annihilated by the secret and magical influence of that instrument, or that such power does not properly pertain to the Legislature of any free People

The exercise of this power is necessarily referred to the sound discretion of Congress, to be justly and impartially employed for the common benefit of all—not to be perverted to the purpose of advancing the interests of one class of community, or of one part of the country, at the expense of another; and whatever some of us may think as to its abuses under a former administration, or of the danger of such abuses under the present, all must concur in the opinion, that the remedy is not to be found in the election of General Jackson; but, if sought at all, should be looked for in the vigilance and exertion of faithful and able Senators and Representatives in Congress.

The opinions of Mr. Adams, and his recommendations to Congress, in relation to internal improvement are unpopular in Virginia, and have been urged against him with much earnestness, & perhaps with some effect, even though it cannot, with any color of reason, be contended, that his competitor, Gen. Jackson, is exposed to precisely the same objection. We do not vindicate these opinions, or discuss them, because they fall within the interdict we have imposed upon ourselves—we differ in opinion concerning them. But we will remind you, that these opinions, whatever may be their merit, have produced but few and unimportant acts, during the present Administration: and we will avail ourselves of the occasion to appeal to the good sense and feeling of Virginia, and invoke its influence in tempering the asperity of party politics, and securing to every subject of national interest, a deliberate and candid consideration. We beg leave also to remind them, that the questions of Constitutional law and State policy connected with this subject, are important, delicate, and of acknowledged difficulty: that there are arrayed on either side of them, Statesmen of approved patriotism and talent, whose opinions should be examined with great consideration, and whose measures, if deemed wrong, after being judged with candour, should be opposed with reason, not with passion—with firmness, not with violence;—that those among us, who deny the Constitutional power, and condemn the policy, should entitle our doctrines to respect, by the fairness of our views, and the force of our reasoning, and give weight to our opposition, by its temper and its dignity; while those who affirm the power, and approve the policy, should observe the most respectful deference for the opinions of the many and the wise, who differ from them; and should consult the public interest and tranquility, by confining their measures to objects of acknowledged and general interest, by infusing into them a spirit of the most exact justice: and by observing, in all things, scrupulous care in the exercise of a power so delicate, and so much controverted.

Thus far, we have endeavored to correct error and disarm prejudice, that reason might be left free to estimate fairly the present Administration, and its principal measures. We have offered no panegyric on the present Chief Magistrate;—we cheerfully leave you to estimate the value of his long and varied public services, his great experience, his talent, his learning, and his private virtues,—and to set off against them, whatever your fancy or your judgment may find to blame, in his private or public life. When you have done this—reflect on the character of the office you are about to fill—inquire what feelings, what temper, what talent, what acquirements, what habits, are best suited to the discharge of its high duties; and then carefully compare John Q. Adams with Andrew Jackson, in reference to the great question.—Which of them is best qualified for the first office in the nation—which most likely to preserve to us the distinguished blessings we enjoy—from which is most danger to be apprehended to our peace and happiness, our lives and liberties?

It is not in wantoness that we speak; but, in the sadness of our hearts, we are compelled to declare, that, while we yield our confidence to the present Chief Magistrate in very different degrees, we are unanimous and unhesitating in the opinion that Andrew Jackson is altogether unfit for the Presidency, and that his election would be eminently dangerous; that, while we

cheerfully accord to him his full share of the glory which renders the anniversary of the 8th of January, a day of joy and triumph to our land, we must, in the most solemn manner, protest against a claim to civil rule, founded exclusively upon military renown; and avow that nothing has occurred in the history of our country so much calculated to shake our confidence in the capacity of the people for self-government, as the efforts which have been made, and are yet making, to elevate to the first office in the nation, the man, who, disobeying the orders of his superiors, trampling on the laws and Constitution of his country, sacrificing the liberties and lives of men, has made his own arbitrary will the rule of his conduct.

In stating an opinion so unfavorable to a distinguished man, who has rendered valuable services to his country, a proper respect for ourselves and for you, requires that we should declare the reason which compel us to withhold our confidence from him.

Capacity for civil affairs in a country like ours, where the road to preferment is open to merit, in every class of society, is never long concealed, and seldom left in retirement. Gen. Jackson has lived beyond the age of 60 years, and was bred to the profession best calculated to improve and display the faculties which civil employments require; but the history of his public life in these employments is told in a few brief lines—in a single page of his biography. He filled, successively, for very short periods, the office of member of the Tennessee Convention, which formed their State Constitution; Representative and Senator in Congress; Judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee; and again, Senator in Congress of the United States. Here was ample opportunity for distinction, if he possessed the talent, taste, and application suited for civil eminence. But he resigned three, and passed through all of these stations, acknowledging his unfitness in two instances—manifestly feeling it in all—and leaving no single act, no trace behind, which stamps his qualifications above mediocrity.

For civil government—and in no station more emphatically than in that of President of the United States—a well governed temper is of paramount importance. General Jackson's friends lament the impetuosity of his, and all the world has evidence of its fiery misrule.

To maintain peace and harmony in the delicate relations existing between the Government of the Union and the various State Governments—in our Confederacy, requires a courtesy and forbearance in their intercourse, which no passion should disturb. Let the spirit of domination, manifested in General Jackson's celebrated letter to Governor Rabun, warn us of the danger of committing to his keeping this precious deposit—sacred to the union of our Republics, to the freedom of mankind.

Military men should never be allowed to forget that the obligation to obey being the sole foundation of the authority to command, they should practice subordination, not by precept only, but by example; that profound respect for the laws and Constitution of their country, is the indispensable guarantee of their worthiness to be entrusted with the sword which is drawn to defend them; that they should lose no occasion for manifesting that respect, by practical illustrations of the principle, sacred in every well ordered Republic, which proclaims the military subordinate to the civil power; that mercy even to the guilty, and humanity always to the conquered and the captive, are part of the law of God and man, found in every civilized code, written in every human heart, and indispensable to the true glory of the Hero.

General Jackson has been unmindful of these truths. Though he has enjoyed subordination by precept, and enforced it by authority, he has not recommended it by example. He has offered indignity to the Secretary of War, in the very letter which assigned his reasons for disobeying an order to disband his troops; he has placed his own authority in opposition to that of the War Department, by a general order, forbidding the officers of his command to obey the orders of that Department, unless they passed through the channel which he had chosen to prescribe; and he disobeyed the orders of the Government in his military operations in the Spanish territory.

He has been unmindful of the subordination of military to civil power, and has violated the law and the Constitution, by declaring martial law at New-Orleans, and maintaining it, of his own arbitrary will, for more than two months after the enemy had been beaten and repulsed, and all reasonable apprehension of their return had ceased; by surrounding the hall of the Louisiana Legislature with an armed force, and suspending their deliberations; by seizing the person of Louallier, a free citizen of Louisiana, and a member of their Legislature, and bringing him to trial before a military tribunal, for having the boldness to denounce, through the public press, the continued arbitrary reign of martial law; by disapproving the acquittal of Louallier upon his trial, when to have condemned and executed him, would have exposed the actors in the fatal tragedy, to the legal pains of death; by suspending, of his own arbitrary will, the writ of *habeas corpus*, when the Legislature of Louisiana had refused to suspend it on his application, when no law of Congress authorized it, and no imminent danger pleaded its apology; by arresting and imprisoning Judge Hall for issuing the writ of *habeas corpus* to relieve Louallier from illegal confinement, and arresting and imprisoning two other officers of the law, for appealing to civil process against his tyrannic rule; by the arrest, trial, and execution of six militia men, who were guilty of no other offence, than the assertion of their lawful right to return home, after their legal term of service had expired: and by organizing a corose of volunteer militia, and appointing its officers, without any warrant for so doing, and against the provisions of the Constitution, which expressly reserve the appointment of officers of the militia, to the states respectively; and by making war upon the Spanish territory, seizing and holding Spanish posts, in violation of the order of his government, and whilst peace existed between Spain and the United States.

That mercy and humanity may unite with the offended Law and Constitution, in accusing Gen. Jackson of being unmindful of their voice, and in refusing to his laurel crown the rays of true glory, will be acknowledged by impartial posterity, when they review the history of his Indian campaigns, and especially when they recall the stories of the cold blooded massacre at the Horse Shoe; of the decoyed and slaughtered Indians at St. Marks; of the wanton and

unexampled execution of Ambrister, an Englishman, found fighting, it is true, in the ranks of the Seminoles, but taken prisoner, tried, doomed to a milder punishment, and executed by order of the commanding General, against the sentence of the tribunal appointed by himself; and of the still more injured Arbuthnot, another Briton, not bearing arms at all, only found among the warring Indians, a trader, and an advocate for peace.

We have done with this sickening catalogue. You have now a brief summary of the evidence, on the authority of which we regard General Jackson as wholly disqualified for the Presidency, and look to the prospect of his election with the most gloomy forebodings.

You think, perhaps, we pay a poor compliment to the virtues of our people, and the strength of our institutions, by indulging in apprehensions of danger from the encroachments of military power, in the youth and vigor of our Republic, and in the midst of profound peace. We should, indeed, do great injustice to the virtue of our People, the circumstances of our country, and the value of our Government, if we indulged the idle fear, that an open attack upon our liberties, made with any military force, which General Jackson could probably command in the course of his administration, would bring us under the yoke of his power.—These are not our apprehensions; we would bid a proud defiance to his power, if he should so dare our liberties. Nor will we do him the injustice to charge his ambition with any designs, at present, on the liberties of his country, or withhold our acknowledgement, that, if they were assailed by others, we believe he would promptly and boldly draw his sword to defend them.

But we have no security for the continuance of peace, in whatsoever hands the Government may be placed; and it is not unreasonable to think, that in the hands of a man of military pride and talent, and of ungovernable temper, the danger of war will be increased. A foreign war may come, may rage with violence, and find Gen. Jackson at the head of the civil government, and commander-in-chief of the land and naval forces. Dissentient views among the States may arise, controversies grow up between the State and Federal authorities, as dissensions and controversies have heretofore arisen; and who, then, we pray you, can answer for the consequences of that spirit which said to Governor Rubin, *When I am in the field, you have no authority to issue a military order?* Reflect on this question, we beseech you—on the peculiar structure of our government; on the collisions of opinion, and the threatened collisions of action, both in peace and war, which have already occurred between the State and Federal authorities—and then tell us, whether the fear is altogether visionary, that the first foreign war, seriously waged against the United States, with Gen. Jackson their chief, would bring danger of civil discord, dissolution of the Union, and death to the hopes of every free government in the world.

We say nothing of the danger of civil discord, even when no foreign war should afflict us—though the retrospect of a few short years would teach us that such danger is not imaginary—and that the slightest want of tact, in its management, the least indulgence of temper, on the part of the Chief Magistrate, might inflame the whole nation, and light the funeral pile of freedom.

There are dangers of another kind. If we are correct in the detail of offences committed by General Jackson, against the most sacred principles of our Government, what will be the moral effect of the direct sanction given to these offences, by rewarding the offender with the first honor of the nation? Can we preserve our love and reverence for institutions which we suffer to be violated, not only without censure, but with applause. Will not our affection and our veneration be transferred from the despised Laws and Constitutions, to the honored Hero who has abused them—from republican simplicity and virtue, to military pomp and glory? Will you not, in fine, by such example, lay the sure foundation of that moral depravity, and admiration of arms, which must soon reduce us to the condition in which Greece was enslaved by Alexander; Rome, by Cæsar; England, by Cromwell; France, by Bonaparte; and in which we will assuredly find some future Jackson, not too fastidious to accept the proffered crown, and erect a military despotism on the ruins of the last Republic.

We appeal to the people of Virginia, to say what there is in the present party politics, so alluring on the part of the Opposition, so frightful on the part of the Administration, as to seduce them to the fraternal embrace, or drive them under the protection, of such a man as Andrew Jackson? We ask an answer to this question, not from their offended pride, nor from the prejudice which attachment to party never fails to beget; but we ask it from their love of country, their love of truth and virtue; we ask it, after a deep and dispassionate consideration of the true state of the question; after a candid estimate of the little to be possibly gained by the rejection of Mr. Adams, the incalculable mischiefs which may probably attend the success of his rival. If you indulge the faint hope, that, under the Administration of General Jackson, the tribute which agriculture will pay for the encouragement of domestic industry and enterprise, will be somewhat lighter than at present—we ask you first, whether the hope is not groundless? and next, whether it is wise to insist on enjoying the profits of your estates in the uttermost farthing of their fancied value, at the risk of having your free allodial lands converted into military tenures or fiefs of the crown? If you are fighting the battles of General Jackson, in this political contest, with the vain hope that victory will conquer from your adversaries some barren spot of constitutional ground—we ask whether you will wage such a war with your countrymen, at the hazard of laying all your conquests, and all your former possessions—the Constitution itself, and the freedom it

was intended to protect—at the feet of a despot? This does not become the character of Virginians!

In the ancient state of political parties, when federalist & republicans contended for ascendency, there was something in the great questions of foreign policy, in the leading principles of construction applied to the constitution, bearing strongly on the essential character of the Government, and worthy of a generous struggle between the statesmen, who, on the one hand sought to guard against a dissolution of the Union, by strengthening the Federal bond, and, on the other, endeavored to avert consolidation, by establishing more firmly the State authorities. But this state of things has passed away, and the feelings and doctrines to which it gave rise, though not entirely forgotten, are almost unknown in the party distinctions of the day. Federalists and republicans mingle together in the ranks of the opposition—and, together rally around the standard of the Administration. There will be no great principle of political doctrine to distinguish them, unless the Opposition, following too closely the footsteps of those who trample on the Laws and Constitution of the country, should give to the supporters of the Administration some claim to be the champions of civil rule and constitutional law. Shall our parties be hereafter founded on local interests, and marked by geographical boundaries, arraying the North against the South, the East against the West—losing the generous enthusiasm which is always inspired by a contest for principle, for honorable distinction, for pre-eminence in the service of our common country; and acquiring the bitterness of spirit, acrimony of feeling, narrow policy, and sordid views, which ever characterize the contests of men, striving, not for the promotion of the common good, but for the advancement of their own peculiar interests—and which must lead, inevitably, to the entire subjugation of the weaker party, or a dissolution of the Union?"

"THE QUESTION."

"The table orator" at the great Jackson dinner at Columbus, very candidly confessed that Mr. Adams was to be turned out of office, not for what he had done, but because he was in. He distinctly asserted—"THE QUESTION *is not what he has done! but how he got there.*" He got there by bargain and intrigue, and, therefore, he ought to be turned out. Such is the argument. The falsehood assumed in this proposition can hardly now be denied by any honest man. The proof leaves no room for doubt.—And the most imprudent perversion can no longer say any thing to give color to the charge. Mr. Clay's Address, and the documents accompanying it, have settled the "*the question*."

In this state of the case, the central whitewashing committee at Washington have issued a proclamation for proof, and have made a loud vaunt of what they intend to do. And the Telegraph Colonels, *par nobile fratrum*, a pair of noble brothers, have opened their sewers of billingsgate upon Gen. McArthur, Col. Brent, and others. The bullies and blackguards, in Congress and out; the Doshas and the Dawsons, the Enquirers, Republicans, and Mercuries, North, South, East, and West,—open in concert. The scene is not unlike one which may be sometimes witnessed in a court of justice, when an old procuress comes to answer an indictment, attended by a squad of trulls and champions, who are ready to swear, lie, or fight for her, as occasion may require.

It is now beyond dispute that this charge of bargain and corruption originated with General Jackson. Mr. Buchanan had a conversation with him, which the general entirely misunderstood, and without attempting to seek for explanation, propogated his mistaken version, in various conversations with various persons and at various places, notwithstanding which, in his Beverly letter, the General had so little regard to the real state of fact, as to say that the "*beginning of the matter was at his own fireside*," as much as to say he had not mentioned it at any other place.

To make out a plausible case, Gen. Jackson states, in his letter to Beverly, that "two days after" he had rejected the proposed bargain, it was known that Mr. Clay intended to vote for Mr. Adams, thereby conveying the intimation that Mr. Clay had, until that time, reserved himself, so as to be at liberty to bargain with either party. Major Eaton labours to sustain this view of the case. He tells us of a meeting that took place on the 22d of January, "*after it had been ascertained that Jackson would make no disclosure as to his cabinet*." And then he tells us of Mr. Clay's change of manner toward Gen. Jackson on the Monday following. He "*had never before perceived Mr. Clay thus distant with General Jackson, having been previously quite the reverse.*" Major Eaton asserts, too, that until this time Mr. Clay had concealed his opinions. "On the 23th January, *and not earlier*, Major Eaton says, was a declaration made of the course he had concluded to take. *Why the necessity of a silence so long and so rigidly preserved?*" All this is said by General Jackson

first, and by Major Eaton afterwards, to furnish an inference, that Mr. Clay remained silent, that he might make a bargain with Gen. Jackson—and that if the General would not bargain, then that a bargain might be made with Mr. Adams. Consequently, when the General so loudly refused the trade, it was drove with Mr. Adams, and then Mr. Clay came out. This mighty labour of inference is now put to flight. Mr. Clay's silence, upon which it is founded, is shown to be an unwarranted assumption of a fact in t did not exist. Mr. Clay did not proclaim his intention to vote for Mr. Adams in the capitol, nor publish it in the newspapers. Had he done so, he would have been charged with using an undue influence upon the election, and denounced for his indelicate interference. He kept his opinions to himself, except in conversation with a few friends. And for so doing he is charged with wanting to make a bargain. It seems, therefore, that he could not move without incurring reproach.

But the question "*how he got there?*" is now put to rest. The whole foundation of the bargain, as constructed by Gen. Jackson, has been found to rest upon sand. Mr. Clay did not remain in the market for the best bidder. He made up his mind in favor of Mr. Adams, and he expressed it, not only to Gen. La Fayette, but to Mr. Senator Benton, and this before the middle of December. Here is Mr. Benton's letter asserting the fact, and putting it beyond all doubt or controversy. Gen. Jackson's and Major Eaton's inferences are dispersed as to the four winds of heaven. *False—false—false* is written upon them by the hand of Mr. Benton, one of themselves, a leading member of the combination. Mr. Benton confirms Dr. Drake's statement and the statements of others, and Duff Green dare not denounce Mr. Benton.—The question, then, which the Columbus "*table orator*" says is the true and only one, is answered and the answer stamps falsehood upon the orator's inferences, as well as upon the inferences of his superiors Mr. Adams "*got there*," was made President by the votes of those who preferred him to Gen. Jackson, as he will again be made President by the same means. So much for "*the question.*"—*Cin. Gaz.*

COLONEL BENTON.

Washinghton City, Dec. 7th. 1827.

SIR—Your letter of the 13th ult. covering the Lexington Virginia Intelligencer of that date, has been duly received, and in answer to the enquiries you put to me, I have to state that the article to which you invite my attention, is substantially, not verbally, correct, so far as respects me as saying that I was informed by Mr. Clay in the forepart of December, 1824, that he intended to vote for Mr. Adams. There is no mistake in the date, as a visit which I made to your part of Virginia about that time enables me to fix it with certainty. I left Washington, on that visit, about the 15th of December, and had received the information of Mr. Clay before I sat out, and told it, while absent, in the family of my father-in-law Colonel M'Dowell of your county. But the inference so much insisted upon, that I must have told the same thing to Mr. Eaton and others of his political friends, is wholly erroneous; for, having no authority from Mr. Clay to promulgate his intentions, I only spoke of them in the bosom of a private family at two hundred miles distance from Washington Since that period, and especially during the present summer, I have on several occasions, and sometimes in the presence of political opponents, when the course of conversation led me to it, mentioned what I knew of Mr. Clay's early intention to vote for Mr Adams; and in this way I came to speak of it again, some two or three weeks since, in the house of my father-in-law, where I had first spoke of it near three years ago, and whence, with some additions and variations, without the privity of any one present at the conversation, it has crept into the paper which you have sent me. No one ever asked my leave to publish what I said; if any one had, the author of the publication in the Lexington paper might have been spared an office which must have been inexpressibly painful to their honorable feelings, as I should not have refused to the administration any testimony in favor to give, notwithstanding the *character* of the war which the great body of their forces are carrying on against me. Yours, respectfully,

THOMAS H. BENTON

THE COMPANY.

Mr. Vice President Calhoun and his principal supporters, dined on the 8th at Washington, with Mr. Van Buren and others that were active supporters of Mr. Crawford in 1824. In March, 1824, the Washington Republican was in the interest, and supposed to be under the influence of Mr. Calhoun. The following character of a portion of the company of the 8th, was published in the Republican of Feb. 13th, 1824, the day preceeding the caucus that nominated Mr. Crawford. It will be seen that there was no sparing of scurrilous epithets. *Faction*, *Treason* and *Traitors*, were as uncerement-

ously applied to the Van Burens, Forsythes and Cobbs, as it is now, to those who administer the government. These Traitors and Factionists, are now in happy unanimity and brotherhood with those who thus described them.—Verily, those are singular associations.

PARODY.

Wend you with the *Rads* to night—
Tall and short—and weak and witty—
Many an eye that hates the light—
And I loves confu-ion—more's the pity—
Shallow knaves, with forms to mock us,
Are straggling one by one, to *caucus*.
There the fears for the future—the pangs for the past,
May be swell'd or expunged as the rads win or loose;
And the deed will be done—and the die will be cast,
That will make many wish their stiff necks in a noose.

Wend you with the *Rads* to night—
Sixty-five perchance they'll muster—
There'll be none of mind or might—
But some three-score in a fluster—
General *Chandler* will be there—
Tough as steel, and bold as Hector—
Bassett, with Virginia air—
Van, the Albany director—
Forsyth, with his foreign graces—
Edwards, *Williams*, in a stew—
Plotting brains and dirty faces
With the blushes reddening thro'—
Shallow knaves, with forms to mock us,
Straggling one by one to Caucus.

Wend you with the *Rads* to night—
A motley crew, and bad the best—
Winging from the South their flight—
With two poor stragglers from the West—
'Tis the tide of faction flowing—
'Tis the noon of treason's reign,—
Lloyd of Maryland is going—
Dickerson—and *Holmes* of Maine—
Western *Thomas* looking grimly—
From New York, a hagard few,
Led by *Lot Clarke*, seeing dimly,
Spectacles and vapour thro'—
Shallow knaves, with forms to mocks us,
Straggling, one by one to Caucus.

Wend you with the *Rads* to-night—
Where all eyes will gladly meet you—
If you are n proselyte
Every soul will spring to greet you—
Where the demon of dispair
Reigns the tyrant of the hour,
And every dark intriguer there,
Jostles in the race for power,—
Laborers, suited for the job,
Will be there at the close of day,
Barbour, *Floyd*, and *Foot*, and *Cobb*—
Lanman, ready for his pay—
Both the *Barbours*, men mistaken!—
Smyth shall scarcely save his bacon—
Gallant Cock from Tennesse—
Some in gloom and some in glee—
Shallow knaves, with forms to mock us,
Straggling, one by one, to Caucus.

Wend you with the *Rads* to night—
Caucus in his court presides—
Promises and power invite—
Traitors point—and faction guides.
Haste away, then—carpe diem!
Those that would prevent you—fly 'em!
Youth and age, with different faces;
All who hope or ask for places—
Folly with his cap and bells—
Rashness with self-conceit that swells—
All, with empty forms to mock us
Straggling, one by one, to Caucus.

TO GEN. ANDREW JACKSON.

Sir—No man who is conscious of having performed his duty to his country and to his fellow men, can object to a candid examination of his conduct. It is true, there are few of us whose private and public life will bear, in all respects, a strict and thorough investigation. It is human to err. We all therefore, stand in need of the forbearance and charities of each other. Faults of youth, and the minor offences of manhood and age, should be overlooked and forgiven. Not so, however, in regard to crimes and offences of a deeper die. These it is always legitimate and proper to notice, both for the sake of public morals, and for the punishment of the offender. The practice is sanctioned by our laws and imposed by necessity. In addressing you therefore, I invade no right; for I shall only call your attention to a subject which has been made public by yourself, and which relates to matters of great political interest.

As a candidate for the Presidency you will at once admit, that it became you to observe a high minded and honorable course in reference to your competitors. It is your conduct towards Mr. Clay, which I propose to examine. Whatever may have been *his* faults, they afford no apology for yours, your duty was plain—to remain silent, or to say nothing concerning him that was not strictly true and susceptible of proof. "*Impressions*" and "*belief*" furnish no excuse for the circulation of slander. Otherwise the calumniator might go unpunished, and the fairest reputations be ruined without the possibility of redress. It is equally reprehensible for a man to assail another by insinuation and surmises. This mode of attack is more fatal and malignant, though it possesses at the same time, all

the damning [illegible] and cowardice. It addresses itself to the morbid imaginations of the vulgar, who magnify a nod or an innuendo, into a direct charge, while the defamer shrinks from responsibility under his guarded expressions. No man of sensitive honour will assail an adversary in either of these modes. If he be disinterested, and have any thing to say, he will speak with a precision and boldness that cannot be misinterpreted or misunderstood.

That you have both spoken and written of Mr. Clay's conduct, in reference to the last Presidential election, cannot be denied. The character of your remarks, both verbal and written, is of an extraordinary kind. I say *extraordinary*, because you have evinced the same equivocal temper, so conspicuous in your letter to Dr. Coleman, on the subject of the Tariff. And is it not *extraordinary*, that a man of your reputed candour and fairness, should always be misunderstood? You either have arraigned Mr. Clay before the American public, for his conduct on the Presidential question, or you have not. It is in vain to shuffle out of the alternative. Your own language as given to the people, must determine the point, and the rule of construction must be the same in this, as in every other case.

The first attack upon Mr. Clay, by yourself, which I shall notice, is in your letter to Samuel Swartwout of N. York, dated at Washington, the 23d of February, 1825. The election of President had just transpired. You soon after congratulated Mr. Adams upon his success, showing by your conduct, that you had every confidence in his integrity and talents. After speaking in the most bitter terms of Mr. Clay, in your letter to Swartwout, you proceed in the following manner:—

"When the people failed in their colleges to make choice of a President, *no one beheld* ME *seeking through art or management, to entice any representative in Congress from a conscientious responsibility to his own, or the wishes of his constituents. No midnight taper burnt by* ME; *no secret conclaves were held, no cabals entered into, to persuade any one to a violation of pledges given, or of instructions received. By* ME *no plans were concerted to impair the pure principles of our republican institutions, nor to prostrate that fundamental maxim which maintains the supremacy of the people's will.*"

It is a matter of astonishment that a man of your reputation, and situated as you were at the time, should have written such a paragraph as this. It is still more astonishing, after having written it, and knowing that it was published, that you should have written and said other things in direct contradiction to it. For you have said in another letter which I shall notice presently, that *you* "*have not been Mr. Clay's accuser!*" Read the extract and inform the American people what you intended they should understand by it. Was not Mr. Clay in your mind when you wrote it, and did you not intend every word of it to apply to him? You were writing to Swartwout about him—you spoke of him in terms of harshness and reproach, and immediately fall into the above strain of saying that *you* had not intrigued, &c. &c. No other fair interpretation can be put upon the quotation, than that you believe Mr. Clay was guilty of the very practices of which you boasted yourself to be free. It was so understood by the people. In the bitterness of your soul, sharpened by disappointment, you poured forth your complaints into a kindred ear, embodying all the charges which had then, or have since been preferred against Mr. Clay. Yet you have the audacity to come before the public, and declare that you are not Mr. Clay's accuser! I grant sir, thus far, that in *direct terms*, you were not his accuser. You availed yourself of the usual subterfuge of the slanderer, and covered your charges under expressions of such a character, as you thought would leave you room to escape. But it is in vain to attempt it. The import of your language is plain—it has been published to the world, and you must abide the consequences. Fully written out it would read as follows: "Mr. Clay has sought through art and management to entice Representatives in Congress to disregard their own responsibility and the wishes of their constituents. He has burnt midnight tapers, and entered into secret conclaves and cabals to persuade them to violate pledges given, and instructions received. He has concerted plans to impair the pure principles of our republican institutions, and to

prostrate that fundamental maxim, which maintains the supremacy of the people's will." I defy you, sir, or any of your apologists, to escape from the reading I have here given the quotation. True, the text has not the redeeming quality of bold and direct assertion; but it is intended to have the same force and effect. It discovers a willingness on your part, to calumniate without the manhood to meet its responsibility. I submit to you and the country whether I have not taken a just view of the matter in question—leaving the point with this remark: that you did on the 23d of February, 1825, charge Mr. Clay in terms too plain to be misunderstood by the public, with all the intrigue and corruption, which Kremer and others have preferred against him.

The next thing connected with my subject which I shall notice, is your conduct, or rather silence in the Senate of the United States, when Mr. Clay's nomination for Secretary of State came before that body for confirmation.—You were a member, and according to your own showing, were in possession of all the information relative to the pretended bargain, which you ever had. Reflect upon your position—a grave Senator, sworn to support the constitution and bound in honor to protect the purity of the Government. Besides, you had that reputation for severe justice, which would not permit you for a moment to look upon intrigue, even in its most fascinating forms. You had been made acquainted with Mr. Clay's alleged misconduct, early in January. The appointment was some time subsequent. But what did you do? Did you rise in your place as an honorable and high minded man, and protest against the appointment? Regardless of private interest, and solely bent upon the good of your country did you call for a committee of investigation, that you and Buchanan, and your other informants might disclose to the Senate the infamous monster they were about to appoint? No Sir, you did nothing of the kind. You gave a silent negative vote, and let the man whom you have branded as the basest intriguer, pass into office without a single manly effort to prevent it. Considering your character, and the information you pretended to have, what ought a reasonable public to think of your conduct? Mr. Clay was at hand—the witnesses were all present—the pretended bargain had just been made—the thing was fresh—the Senate had power to investigate it; and you looked silently on, and in ten days afterwards wrote a letter to New-York, preferring in substance all the charges against Mr. Clay, and boasting that you were free from them! Such conduct is certainly very extraordinary.—What the public in general may think of it, I know not; but for myself, I can give it no other construction than that you did not know any thing against Mr. Clay, or that you had not honesty and boldness enough to assert it. Review the case and see how it stands. Early in January, you say, a friend called on you, and told you of the intrigue that was going on between Mr. Clay and Mr. Adams, *you did suppose he came from Mr. Clay, though he used the term "Mr. Clay's friends."* Again, Carter Beverley asked you whether the overtures imputed to Mr. Clay were well founded; your reply was, *"I answered him candidly, being unable, as well as unwilling to refuse telling things I had heard and* KNEW TO BE TRUE!" You knew the things you had heard to be true! Yet with all this information you permitted Mr. Clay's nomination to be confirmed, without a struggle. Did you do your duty as a man or a Senator? Certainly not. The truth is, Sir, notwithstanding all your verbosity and circumlocution, your tales in letters, taverns, and steam boats, you knew nothing against Mr. Clay or Mr. Adams. Enough has been developed of your character, to convince any man of observation, that you would have trampled Mr. Clay to the dust long before this, if you had had it in your power.

Although I have referred to your *denial* of being Mr. Clay's accuser, still I deem it proper to examine that point in a particular manner. For this purpose, I will recapitulate in substance your remarks, and add such as I have not heretofore noticed. Your charges in the Swartwout letter have already been quoted—it would be sufli-

cient to rest the argument on this point alone. But I do not stop here. You have been vociferous in your denunciations of Mr. Clay from the time of the election to the present moment. On your way from Washington city to the Hermitage, just after the election had transpired, you made use, both in taverns and steam boats, of the following language.—"If I had made the same promises to Mr. Clay that Mr. Adams did, I might have been elected President!" This language is proved upon you by the most respectable witnesses. I need not mention their names—they are already in your possession. If any thing further were wanting on this head, I could refer to your conversation which took place on Sims' poarch, a tavern kept at Wheeling, Va., where you said in public company, the same thing, though at that place, you acquitted Mr. Adams of any participation in the 'bargain.' You repeated the same declarations in different parts of the country—you made no secret of your sentiments, though you took care at all times to provide a way for retreat. On arriving at your seat in Tennessee, in answer to Carter Beverley's enquiries, you declared before "*seven Virginians, and a crowd of company, that Mr. Clay's friends made a proposition to your friends, that if they would promise for you that you would not put Mr. Adams into the seat of Secretary of State, that Mr. Clay and his friends would in one hour make you the President!*" This language Mr. Beverley published in the Fayettville Observer; and on the 26th of June you confirm the publication, and add: "*I answered Mr. Beverley freely and frankly;* AND DID SUPPOSE THE GENTLEMAN WHO INFORMED ME, CAME FROM MR. CLAY; ALTHOUGH HE USED THE TERM MR. CLAY'S FRIENDS!" In your address to the public on the 23th of July, you continue the subject, by saying; "*Mr. Beverley requested to know of me, other gentlemen being present, whether the overtures imputed to Mr. Clay, were well founded, and if I had any knowledge of the fact myself. I answered him candidly; being unable as well as unwilling to refuse telling things I had heard and* KNEW TO BE TRUE!" You then repeated the overtures which you pretended had been made, and close by saying: "To be thus approached by a gentleman of Mr. Buchanan's high character and standing with an apology proffered at the time for what he was about to remark to me: one who, as I understood, had always to that moment been on familiar and friendly terms with Mr. Clay, assuring me, that on certain terms and conditions being assented to, on my part, then by a union of Mr. Clay and his friends they would put an end to the Presidential contest in one hour, *what other conclusion or inference was to be made, than that he spoke by authority either of* MR. CLAY HIMSELF, OR SOME OF HIS CONFIDENTIAL FRIENDS!"

After having written the Swartwout letter and spoken and published the above declarations, you have the hardihood to say to the American people that *you* have not been Mr. Clay's accuser—that the origin and beginning of the business had been at your own fireside, and that you should be rejoiced if Mr. Clay could clear himself of the charges against him!! Is it possible, sir, that you consider the people of the United States so stupid as to believe one word of your assertions? If a calumniator were to be sought among all the ranks of the opposition, none could be found of greater perseverance and malignity than yourself. You have pursued your object with a spirit as remorseless as the grave. The man who disappointed your inflated ambition has been marked as your victim. Neither yourself nor your minions could persuade or bend him to your purposes, and you determined on his destruction. But thank God he has escaped your toils. "*Truth is mighty and must prevail!!*"

One thing in regard to the part you have taken in the slanders against Mr. Clay, has always struck me with surprise. It is your total indifference and carelessness in relation to facts. After declaring in the most insinuating manner sufficient against Mr. Clay to sink him to the lowest depths of degradation and contempt—adding at the same time, your conviction of its truth, you say with all the meekness of a hypocrite, "*that you may have done him injus-*

tice; if so, the gentleman informing you can explain!!" There is something so monstrous in this cold blooded calculating reservation, that I can attribute it to nothing but an utter depravity both of the head and of the heart. Is it usual for honorable men thus to deal with their competitors? Is it just and right to cast upon a man the foulest imputations upon *opinions and belief*, and after the slander has taken effect, to say that others can correct it? A different morality has taught me that men should be extremely careful to say nothing discreditable to their fellow men, without the clearest and best authority. It was your duty, therefore, to have ascertained precisely and distinctly, what Mr. Buchanan and your other informants had said, before you ventured to add the weight of your name to a public declaration of it. You say, "if you were incorrect the gentleman informing you could explain?" surely if he could explain to the public, he could have explained to *you*. He was within your reach; and a man careful of reputation and willing to be just, would have sought the explanation before he had ventured to circulate "deceptive rumours among the crowd." I repeat, there was an indifference and callousness of feeling in your conduct, which calls for the severest animadversion. The charges against Mr. Clay, or if you please, your insinuations and opinions, were of the blackest character. If true, they were sufficient to destroy him both as a politician and as a man. Yet you repeat them, confessing at the same time that you may be wrong, but taking no pains though you had the means to be right! On the same principle a man may slander his neighbor's daughter or his wife with impunity. He may say, "*if I have done her injustice the gentleman informing me can explain!*" Such, sir, is not the moral feeling of the people of the United States.

I pass now to a comparison of your statements with those of Mr. Buchanan, a witness produced by yourself and on whose testimony you rely for justification. So great is the discrepancy between them, that none but your blind worshippers would have supposed they referred to the same transaction. You differ in dates as well as in material facts. In the first place you say, that Mr. Buchanan visited you "*early in January*, 1825"—made to you the overtures, &c. Mr. Buchanan says it was "*on the 30th December*, 1824." I note this not as material; but to show your carelessness and inaccuracy in the statement of facts. You again say, that Mr. Buchanan "informed you that there was a great intrigue going on—that he had been informed by the FRIENDS OF MR. CLAY, *that the friends of Mr. Adams had made overtures to them*, saying if Mr. Clay and his friends would unite in aid of the election of Mr. Adams, Mr. CLAY SHOULD BE SECRETARY OF STATE. That the friends of Adams were urging as a reason to induce the friends of Clay to accede to their proposition, that if you were elected President Mr. Adams would be continued Secretary of State, (in order there would be no room for Kentucky.)" This is your account of the overture. You aver distinctly that Mr. Buchanan told you that the intrigue was going on between *the friends of Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay*. Clay's friends had told him so—overtures had already been made, &c. Now hear Mr. Buchanan's own version: he says: "*I stated to Gen. Jackson there was a report in circulation that* HE HAD DETERMINED HE WOULD APPOINT Mr. ADAMS SECRETARY OF STATE, *in case he were elected President*; and that I wished to ascertain from him whether he had ever intimated such intention. That he must at once perceive how injurious to his election such a report might be!" Does this correspond in the least with your assertions? So far from it, Mr. Buchanan was talking not about *Mr. Clay's friends*, and what they and the friends of Mr. Adams were doing, but what it was reported *you* had said, and what *you* were going to do. He came to you, according to his own declaration, *not to tell of any intrigue*, but "to know whether *you had said certain things* which he conceived would be injurious to your election! Mr. Buchanan then proceeds to give his reasons *why* the report in circulation would be injurious to you. He said there were other gentlemen, among whom he in-

cluded Mr. Clay, that might aspire to the office of Secretary of State, and if it were believed you had already determined to appoint Mr. Adams "*it* might have a most unhappy effect upon their exertions & those of their friends!" Not a word in all this about Mr. Clay's intrigue—not a syllable concerning offers made by Mr. Adams' friends to Mr. Clay's friends! But the whole conversation related to *yourself*—giving you this advice, that you should make no promises or declarations that would deter those who might aspire to the office of Secretary, from voting for you. Mr. Buchanan then proceeds to say, that he related to you the substance of the conversation he had held with Mr. Markley; and what was this? Was it that he had any proposition to make from Mr. Clay or his friends? No. Did he come from Mr. Clay? No. Did he vote for Mr. Adams? No. What then was Mr. Markley's mission? Let Mr. Buchanan answer. He says, Mr. Markley and I got into conversation, when "*he adverted to the* RUMOUR *I had mentioned and said it was calculated to injure Gen. Jackson!*" Here then were two of your friends, for they both voted for you, contriving ways and means to effect your election. Neither of them had any commission from Mr. Clay or his friends. Both had heard the report that you had said, if elected, you would continue Mr. Adams in the office of Secretary of State—both thought that Mr. Clay might justly aspire to that office, and that a declaration on your part beforehand, that you intended to appoint another man, might disaffect Mr. Clay and his friends, and lose you their votes in the house! It was to contradict this report, that Mr. Markley and Mr. Buchanan held this conversation;—and it was to *get you to authorize* its contradiction, that Mr. Buchanan waited upon you. So far then from furnishing you any evidence of a bargain between *Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay*, the conversation was totally upon a different subject. It was an attempt on the part of your friends to be *authorized* to court the favor of Mr. Clay and his friends. Hence I am bold to say, that Mr. Buchanan does not support you thus far, in a single particular.

But again you say: "*I did suppose Mr. Buchanan had come from Mr. Clay although he used the term Mr. Clay's friends.*" How in the name of common sense, could you suppose he came from Mr. Clay, when as he himself discloses, he visited you on a subject referring solely to your own reputed declarations? But hear Mr. Buchanan: he says, "I called on Gen. Jackson on the occasion which I mentioned, *solely as his friend* upon my individual responsibility, and not as the agent of Mr. Clay or any other person. * * Until I saw Gen. Jackson's letter to Mr. Beverley, the conception never once entered my mind that he deemed me the agent of Mr. Clay or his friends. * * He could not, I think, have received this *impression* until after Mr. Clay and his friends had elected Mr. Adams, &c. Again Mr. Buchanan says: "Had I ever known or even suspected that *Gen. Jackson believed I had been sent to him by Mr. Clay or his friends*, I should have immediately corrected his erroneous impressions." Here again you and Mr. Buchanan are at variance. He denies, but in terms of as much delicacy as he can, that he ever gave you reason to believe that he came from Mr. Clay. Yet it is said and by your permission, that he supports you in all your material assertions! I close the subject by expressing my entire conviction that you are not altogether so disinterested in this business as you and your friends pretend. You have spoken against Mr. Clay without cause, and have charged him without proof, you have lent yourself to a faction, organized for personal agrandizement, regardless alike of the peace and happiness of the country, and of the reputation both of yourself and your opponents

INDIANA CONVENTION.

The following Electoral Ticket was agreed upon by the friends of the Administration in Indiana on the 14th ult.

JOSEPH ORR, *of Putnam county*
JOHN WATTS *of Dearborn.*
JOSEPH BARTHOLEMEW *of Clark,*
ISAAC MONTGOMERY *of Gibson,*
JAMES ARMSTRONG, *of Monroe.*

GENERAL REFLECTIONS.

Truths which assail our vanity by exposing weaknesses in our character, are seldom received with satisfaction, and are most generally, either resented as impertinent, or rejected as inapplicable. So falsehoods which flatter our pride, by ascribing to us virtues which we do not possess, are generally received with complacency, and secure to those who utter them, some special mark of our regard. All this results from the disposition so natural to our kind, to be thought favourably of by others, whether we deserve to be or not. And as men generally prefer, rather to communicate pleasure than to give offence, so flattery, however gross, is more common than reproof, however deserved. These principles it is believed explain the whole theory of that miserable hypocrisy which prevails so universally in the world, and engenders so much mischief in the common intercourse of individual life.

It were comparatively well, however, if the circle of individual association could be made to limit the action of these principles in its influence upon the characters of men. But all experience shews that this cannot be done. They pass into the great mass of national feeling, and make a part in the great aggregate of national character. Hence the *People* love to be flattered as well as individuals; and they are about as sensitive, when, however fitly, they are made the subject of reproof. Hence the bolder and more palpable the truths which implicate their patriotism, their good sense, their intelligence, or their virtue, the deeper generally, is their indignation at the fancied impertinence which dares to entertain them, and the louder the cry of denunciation against the man, who is honest and independent enough to give them utterance. On the other hand, they swallow as with a greedy appetite, and often reward with their special favour, the honeyed cant and flattery dealt out to their credulity by designing demagogues about "*the people's rights, the people's intelligence, and the people's power*," &c.; while the heart which such miserable flattery disguises, is replete with studied policy and deliberate falsehood. It is the purpose of this paper to speak the sentiments of truth and soberness, without a fear of consequences, and without a fastidious delicacy in the choice of terms, whoever, or howsoever many may take offence thereat. And should the happy consequence result, of awakening the people to a proper consideration *of their claims upon themselves*, as well as upon those who are candidates for their suffrage, the effort which presumes to treat so plainly, and with such certainty of odium, a subject of so much delicacy, will be abundantly rewarded.

It is a grand mistake, and may one day prove a fatal one, to suppose that the American people have arrived to such a degree of intelligence as to be proof against designs on their credulity, or to such a degree of moral power, as to place them beyond the possibility of an improper and wayward indulgence of their passions. For all the ordinary purposes of maintaining the integrity of their institutions and ensuring the preservation of their form of government, their every day habits and modes of thinking, suggested and regulated by their most direct and palpable individual interests, are doubtless a sufficient guaranty against their going radically wrong. But this proves nothing of superior intelligence—nothing of extraordinary virtue. The boy has an equal claim to either, who has so learned his way to school, and loves so well to travel it that he could not lose it, if he would, and would not if he could. It is only in times of great political emergency and excitement, when some formidable revolution is sought to be effected either in fundamental principles or fixed habits, that national intelligence can display its greatest power, and national virtue exert its influence with the most sensible effect. It is only in times like those refered to, that any moral necessity exists to call out the genius of a people, or to put their virtue to its strongest test. Hence, that people reposes in a false security, that relies upon that sort of intelligence, which refers to a routine of principles merely habitual, to meet the emergencies of extraordinary events;

and upon that sort of moral strength, that answers well enough for the smooth and steady sea of life, but is lost to its proper sphere of action, when it encounters the whirlwind and the storm.

Unless the present alarming excitement of the public mind, and the cause of it are greatly misjudged, they present a most lamentable illustration of the prevalence of ignorance over intelligence, and of morbid passion over sound and deliberate judgment. It is a truth too, almost too fearful to be uttered, that this ignorance, and this passion, in the desperate and reckless enterprise in which all their worst attributes are enlisted, receive their impulse and direction from intelligence of the highest order, shamefully perverted to the unhallowed purposes of personal ambition; the accomplishment of which, proposes the elevation of a few leading political desperadoes, to the highest seats of power, at the expense of all the principles, all the virtues, and all the blessings which render the government of any value, in the administration of which, that power is legitimately exercised. Let it be admitted and believed, as it doubtless should be, that the American people are too honest to go wrong by design: It is still too true, that they are not sufficiently jealous to suspect, nor sufficiently shrewd to detect the arts thro' which a desperate combination of disappointed demagogues are assailing them, to resist, in any considerable extent the allurements by which those arts would decoy them into the most fatal errors. Hence, those imposing influences of military fascinations, operating upon the passions to prevent the wholesome discriminations of moral fitness and expedience, which had kindled up a flame throughout the union, threatening a catastrophe that shall burn up, indiscriminately all the good and evil of the land. Hence, that amazing and alarming popularity of a military chief, which for the last three years has brought so much distraction upon the country, and which threatens the introduction of a principle into the exercise of our elective franchise, as novel as it is dangerous, and which if successful in its projected application, must date a new era in the political history of our Republic.

The task is too great, for either friend or foe, to undertake the discussion of Gen. Jackson's pretensions to the Presidency, as an *abstract question*. The field of argument furnishes no resources in his favor, because truth and good sense can point to no principle that is properly connected with the subject, that can at the same time, be associated with one single qualification of his character, that marks him out as a fit candidate for such a station. That field is also equally barren of resources in opposition to him; for what man of common sense would resort to argument to prove that a fool was not a wise man, or that a political, or any other sort of knave, was not an honest one. The shrewdest of the friends of Gen. Jackson are abundantly aware of this dilemma; and accommodating the course of their discussions to an evasion of the inference which that dilemma fairly authorizes, are meanly content to rest his claims to elevation, upon alleged deficiencies in his competitor.—When driven from this paltry refuge by the almighty power of truth, and called upon again for positive, instead of negative recommendations, they urge upon you the very point, which of all others, in itself, and its connections, furnishes the most powerful argument against him. They refer you with affected confidence to his military services—the only ones with which history does any honor to his name thro' a long life of sixty years. They call him the saviour of his country—the Hero of two wars—the second Washington. Our language is too poor and too cold to express the half they feel towards him, and too limited in its number of high sounding and adulatory epithets, to keep pace with their phrenzied zeal in applying them. But they never remind you that the field of his military glory was also the theatre of his military usurpations:—that the soil which his bravery assisted to defend against *one* enemy, became the dominion of *another* in his own person. They never remind you that the precious blood of American citizens was shed

even to the last ebb of life, in the mere wantonness of power, without the remotest dictate of policy to recommend it, or even the common forms of law to justify or warrant it. They never remind you that the first and most sacred privilege of the Constitution—the writ of HABEAS CORPUS—was suspended—that the freedom of the press was outraged by the wanton imprisonment of an independent citizen who had the boldness to assert and exercise it; and, in fine that all the departments of the civil government were virtually handed over to the keeping of a soldiery, with the certain understanding, that the severest military inflictions would mark the slightest act of disobedience to a military despot's will!

These are matters which it is not convenient for the friends of General Jackson to remember. They either pass them over as venial errors, unworthy of serious discussion, or treat them with contempt, as false: according as intelligence or ignorance may happen to be the subject on which their efforts in support of the General's pretensions may chance to be directed. In the reading rooms and literary circles of our cities and our towns, where mind is fairly opposed to mind, and where a knowledge of *facts* is possessed by every one, common policy, as well as a necessary courtesy, requires the admission of certain indisputable truths. In such places, the heroism, the patriotism, the genius, the respect for the constitution and the laws, which the General's friends are so sedulous in their attempts to fix upon his character, are all understood, and, by honest men, regarded, with the degrading qualifications which properly belong to them. But in the taverns and the coffee houses, in the grog shops and the shambles, at the bear baits and in the race fields, the General is known only as "the Hero of New Orleans"—"the Saviour of his country," and every attempt, however honest and properly directed, to remove the veil which covers the gross iniquities of his military life, and the dark depravity of his moral character, is met with the gross abuse and bullying defiance that are suited to the *ears* which urges his pretensions, and to the *eyes* who is its *nominal* file leader, but in fact, its miserable tool. The decencies of deliberate discussion have no quarter in such places; and the characteristic modesty of sound argument always retreats disgusted, leaving the boisterous passions that opposed it, in full and confirmed possession of the field.

Hence the grand secret of General Jackson's popularity in relation to the Presidency. All the worst passions of the heart, undisciplined by moral principle and uncontrolled by thought, are warring in his favor; and honest but deluded ignorance is enlisted in the cause, because it knows no better. Yes, let it be repeated again and again, and let it go forth, as a solemn and alarming truth, to the furthermost corners of our land, that, with the honest mass of the people of these United States, General Jackson is sustained, solely, by that sort of high excitement which ignorance is always liable to, and which ignorance, however honest, always enjoys—an excitement, which, in the case in hand, has reached a point of delirium that struggles against all depleting remedies, and fights against all impressions but such as directly tend to add more fuel to the flame that keeps it up.—When it will end, and how much mischief it will do in the vast expanse of territory over which its contagion has to operate, God only knows, and time only can determine. Meanwhile it behoves every honest man and well wisher of his country, to do his utmost to arrest its course, and if he cannot altogether put it down, at least, in some degree, to neutralize its moral influence.

Anxious forebodings have frequently been expressed by some of the soundest Statesmen of our country, in reference to the great problem of the durability of our institutions. The spirit of the revolution is rapidly passing away; a new race of men, with new feelings and new motives to action, is fast superceding the generation of patriots to which the revolution gave existence and character. Men are more selfish now, than then, because they have less *palpable* inducement to be patriotic. They look more to themselves, & less to their country, because their country seems capable of taking care of itself without their

assistance: they have no enemy at their gates to dispute with them the possession of their firesides; no cry for the defence of liberty, to disturb the silent repose of the night, or, in the day time, to draw them from the honest labours of their peaceful lives, to the operations of the tented field. The question, then, of loss and gain, in the account current of individual interest, determines most men to look to the individual advantage they are to acquire, before they make up their minds to hazard personal interests upon the uncertainties of political affairs. If this be true, and we have examples of it every day, what great permanent and abiding principle of national character can we rely upon, to sustain us in future conflicts, with the storms of faction? Here is a difficulty full of danger to the permanency of our institutions; and, if the matter be not greatly misjudged, the period of time that shall change our form of government, will be marked with the *blood* of contending parties; who, if they each be asked whether a better form of government could be devised than the one they are overturning, would each promptly answer, NO; and yet would each sacrifice their country in the contest, rather than lose a paltry triumph to themselves. This sort of spirit exists in embryo now. It will grow with our growth, and strengthen with our strength, until its full maturity of gestation shall invite some future JACKSON to perform the office of its birth, and christen it with the cognomen of MILITARY DESPOTISM. We may not live to see that day, BUT IT MAY COME. G.

THE PAGEANT AT NEW ORLEANS.

There is one historical fact of undeniable correctness, which ought strongly to arrest the attention of every considerate American. England is the only country in which any thing like liberty and security has been permanently maintained through her whole national existence as detailed, in authentic history. In English history we have no instance of the nation, or any respectable portion of it, abandoning themselves to the idolatrous worship of a single man. No political pageant, or religious Juggernaut has been set up in that country for universal adoration, in the person of a mortal man. Her Alfreds and Williams, her Edwards and Henrys, her Elizabeth, Charleses and Georges, have had their parasites and puffers. But the nation recognized no one of them as an object of adoration. Nor did the Hampdens and Sidneys, the Fairfaxes, or the Cromwells of the Commonwealth, receive from the people the adulation, too commonly bestowed upon men in power or professed supporters of the public good. Englishmen have in all ages been bigoted, factious and vindictive, but never the suppliant idolizers of men no better than themselves.

When we turn to the history of other countries, we find that man-worship has been a very common idolatry; and we find too, that subservience to men, and the prostration of public liberty have, in most cases, been coincident events. I speak of general results, and do not mean to specify particulars.—Whoever has read history, knows that from Alexander of Macedon, to Bonaparte of Corsica, successful military chieftains have been deified, by their countrymen, the military chieftains of England alone excepted; and England alone has preserved even the semblance of liberty. This fact speaks volumes of instruction and of rebuke to the American people.

The recent events at New Orleans, associated as they are with surrounding circumstances, cannot be regarded with too much attention. All that servile sycophancy and impudent impiety dare attempt to confer honor upon a frail mortal was there attempted. The whole scene is calculated to create a loathing disgust, in an upright and independent mind. The following article, copied from the New Orleans Argus of the third of January, paints in strong colours, the follies that were expected to take place.

"No custom has longer received the sanction of mankind, than that of celebrating with solemn rites, parade and festivities, those days that have been

rendered memorable by the occurrence of great and important events. The advent of the Redeemer is thus commemorated throughout christendom. The birth of great and distinguished men, the achievement of victories, and the effectuation of great political accomplishments, are every where acclaimed by public celebration, to continue the impression of their importance upon the minds of the people. Who does not feel the fervor of patriotism upon the anniversary of our independence? Who does not feel gratitude to the great disposer of events upon the birth day of Washington? And what patriot is not proud of the achievement performed on the 8th of January, 1815? These celebrations arouse the best feelings of our nature, and keep alive the love of our country and its happy institutions. How baneful and degrading it is, that these sacred occasions should ever be prostituted to unhallowed purposes. Instead of offering up thanks to Almighty God for the greatest boon the world ever received, the day, on which the Saviour appeared, has been too often devoted to wicked and unrighteous purposes; and the jubilee of our national independence has often been spent in riot and dissipation. But the approaching 8th of January, will be the first instance of the sacrilegious violation of a day consecrated to our country's glory, to the purpose of promoting the political views of a man who has no qualifications for the office he seeks, and is only impelled to the aspiration by the vanity of his military renown, and the urgings of a faction, that hopes to profit by his gratitude if he succeeds, or to take advantage of his incapacity to bring themselves into notoriety.

"These signs of the times" are ominous of evil, and degrading to the moral sense of our countrymen. Far better would it be, to let the day pass without observance, than to have it thus abused. The roar of cannon, the ringing of bells, the shouts of a multitude, the strains of music, and all the pomp and circumstance that can be got up, are intended to exalt in public opinion a man, who stands condemned before the world, as a violater of the constitution and laws of our country—whose hand is stained with the blood of his fellow citizens, slain in premeditated malice and coldness of heart—who delights in blood and carnage!—who has outraged the best laws of social order and whose lips have habitually uttered the most hideous profanities—who, to repress the rising prospects of his rivals, has asserted the most calumnious falsehoods, and sealed them with an oath sworn by the God of Heaven and Earth.

"The puppet of a fiction he is to be made "to fight his battles o'er again," and like the ugly idol of Juggernaut is to be held up for the adoration of slaves and children, fools and demagogues.

"All this absurdity would only be worthy of contempt and ridicule, were not the sacred rites of religion to be infringed upon! It might have been hoped that these would not have been put in requisition upon this most unhallowed occasion. But the 'Hero' is to be conducted into the temple, dedicated to the living God, surrounded by the admirers of Voltaire and Tom Paine, and there the most venerable prelate of our land is to congratulate him upon his honors, and call down blessings from the skies upon a man who holds religion in contempt, and audaciously profanes the name of God by invoking it for the most wicked purposes! The venerable Father, who, bending under the weight of eighty years is to be dragged forth on this occasion, has the warmest affections of our population; and how painful will it be to see, (possibly) the last clerical act of his life, contributing to the fulsome purpose of offering incense to a man "unanointed and unanneal'd" by any redeeming act, feeling or sentiment, from a long life of violence and profligacy!!!

"After all this mummery, this modest and unassuming republican will return to his Hermitage, stuffed to bursting with the "vanity of vanities," and then claim the suffrages of the people of the United States for the highest office in their gift."

I have not yet seen a detail of all the particulars; but I have seen enough to satisfy me, that it was in truth a pageant for "*slaves and children, fools and demagogues.*" A pageant in which dema-

gogues were the principal actors.-slaves, children and fools the materials with which it was intended to produce an imposing effect. In the eyes of men of understanding it was a complete failure. But upon those it was never expected to operate. If it produced effect upon the minds of imbecility and ignorance, it has answered every purpose contemplated by its authors.

Some twelve months ago, one of your Jacksonian under workers, whom I do not remember, proposed to the Legislature of Louisiana, to invite Gen. Jackson to join in the celebration of the 8th of January, at New-Orleans, in 1828. No man could mistake the object, but that truckling spirit, which, in all ages, has sought to compromise with a mischief it was unwilling to encounter, because addressed to popular prejudice, assented to the proposition. The invitation was given, as if from the whole people, to a public character, upon account of his past services, and without reference to passing events. All parties knew the truth was otherwise. The object was palpably to produce effect for present purposes, not to consecrate good feelings upon account of deeds bygone. Yet the invitation was given, and accepted upon apparently totally different grounds.

In this course of proceeding, there was a fraud and meanness, on the part of those who gave the invitation and him who accepted it, that cannot be too much reprobated. There is an offence against municipal law, in matters of property, called deceiving by false pretenses. It is punished as infamous, and is seldom committed but by black-leg pretenders to character. The common thief is more despised, but is not generally esteemed so detestable as the perpetrator of this offence. The political practice of false pretences should be held in equal detestation.

The invitation to this pageant, affected to be given and accepted as a matter of general national feeling and sentiment, was, in reality, both given and accepted for the purpose of working political effect. It was a contemptible and fraudulent trick, which it was calculated would operate on the timid and the vain and thus enlist them in the cause of the hero, give him eclat, and strengthen his pretensions to distinction in the public mind. Gen. Jackson well knew such was the object, and contemplated result. When he accepted the invitation with this knowledge, he became a participater in all its meanness and in all its deception and baseness. He made himself the chief pageant in a show, the whole profit of which was to redound to his own advantage. In doing so, he evidenced a sentiment no more elevated, not one whit more honourable than that of Col. Pluck, who exhibited his own person, in ridiculous military decorations, for a given sum of money to each visitor.

Where is the difference in principle? Col. Pluck is a fool natural, and without any natural feeling of decent pride or intelligence. Mischievous wags play upon his credulity and puff him up with the most absurd notions of his own importance. Thus played upon he is brought out for the amusement of all concerned, to make sport for those who despise him. To stamp his folly with a mark peculiar & indelible, he is exhibited for pay. Gen. J. if not a deliberate participator in the fraud must be an idiot political. Interested demagogues have discovered his political imbecility, and have conceived that they can turn him to account, in subserving their own purposes. As in the case of Col. Pluck, they deck him out with fancied virtues and talents, all of which he puts on, as did Col. Pluck his military spurs and epaulets. The coarseness of his perception and the voracity of his appetite, in matters of self applause, are drawn out and practised upon, until it is discovered that the General, like Col. Pluck, can be made exhibit himself as a show, as a pageant, an automaton chess player, or any other automaton, for the profit of himself and those who use him. This being ascertained, the General is brought to New-Orleans as a show.—Where the whole scene is not unlike that, in which Vulcan convened all the Gods to witness his own dishonor, in the person of his wife curiously meshed, in the arms of a paramour, of which it is said:

"Each deity with laughter tired, departs:
"But all still laugh at Vulcan in their hearts."

The soldiers, slaves, and fools were no doubt delighted and astonished.—The master-spirits could not but laugh, as General Jackson, thus played off like a pageant of straw, to his own disgrace, and for his own political advancement. No alternative remains to him: "*aut caprimulgus aut fatuus.*" He is the partizan or the instrument, the hero or the Col. Pluck of the exhibition.

Sincerity is a cardinal virtue, from which no man can depart without jeopardizing his own morals. Whatever is so transacted, as to convince considerate men, that it is founded in false and heartless professions, generates a feeling of distrust and a sentiment of disgust and contempt towards all concerned. The attempt to connect personal adulation to General Jackson with national festivity: mere party advancement with national glory; to create effect in favor of a man under cover of manifesting patriotic feelings, is an offence against all propriety. Even those concerned, who have as much brains as an ostrich, cannot but feel that the proceeding is, in some degree, disgraceful. And each lend a hand to consummate the folly which he hopes others do not perceive as distinctly as himself. It is true men deceive themselves oftner than they deceive others; yet they are not always deceived, when they appear to be so. Hence we frequently find persons exceedingly testy, upon occasions, when they feel that the folly of their conduct is scarcely compatible with their character for understanding. Their good sense tells them that what they are about stamps fool or knave upon their foreheads: and they are enraged that any one should presume to read it there.

Those concerned in getting up a ridiculous pageant and acting a conspicuous part in it, are ever ready in their hearts, to doubt the sincerity and question the motives of others. Their own hearts tell them, that much, that produces public regard, is but a trick, practised on the senses of those who do not care to think. They make their own conduct the standard of their judgment and consequently pronounce condemnation.

Every step of this New Orleans pageant has been characterised by effort to produce effect. The managers know well enough that in all that concerns intellectual excellence, General Jackson is hopelessly deficient. They know also there is little of moral beauty in his character. Consequently he is not a man to gain upon the understandings or kindly social feelings of men. His way must be made good by recommendations altogether extrinsic of himself. Hence it is necessary to decorate him like a show bullock driven through the streets of a city previous to his slaughter. This is a common device of a butcher who wishes to sell his beef at an uncommon high price. He addresses the eye, not the palate of the gourmand, in which case mere vanity makes many purchasers. So Gen. J. is presented to the eyes of the people, tricked out in gaudy habiliments. And, lest this should not be enough, he is surrounded with all conceivable and practicable circumstances that may serve to excite the pride of life, and lusts of vision, by which men are deceived. Nothing need be more humiliating than a movement like this, when known to be the mere effort of party mummery. No man has been made more ridiculous than General Jackson, by exhibitions of this character. No one has ever been played off so frequently and so palpably for political effect alone, as this same hero, who for his very gullibility in submitting to be thus used, might incur the imputation of an egregious blockhead.

It is now something more than four years, since he was first brought out. During the last Presidential canvass, the east had their candidate, the south their candidate, and the west their candidate for that high office. General Jackson was got up, a sort of South-western candidate. It is asserted upon apparent good authority, that the friends of the Eastern candidate set him up, to break down the candidate of the South, and this wears a goodly face of probability. But far from suspecting the manœuvre, the Gen. persuaded himself that his pretensions were of the first grade, and thought of nothing less than being made a mere man of straw. The conceit that he

was deemed fit for President, infused a belief into his mind, that he was a statesman and politician. Full of this notion, he began to look wisely and talk obscurely; and finally took a station in the councils of the nation, as Senator from Tennessee. When he proceeded to Washington, the scheme of playing him off to make a division in favor of the Eastern candidate, was prosecuted with increased activity. We all remember the party given by Mrs. Adams, on the eighth of January, 1824, in honor of Gen. Jackson. The Hero did not take up the distaff, as he of old, to cultivate a tender passion. But a misguided ambition made him the pageant of a lady's fete, for belles and beaux to wonder at: and whilst he attracted attention, like the newest rarity in a museum, he was unconscious that even then, he was showed off for political effect.

The friends of the Southern candidate perceiving that the General was likely to be a useful puppet for those of the Eastern one, determined to work with him also. They plied him with presents and praises, which were received with equal relish. And the General was actually worked up into a kind of universal hero. The "*admirable Crichton*" was nothing to him. Ladies and dancing-masters, gourmands and antiquarians made court to him, until the general imagined himself, not merely a hero and statesman, but an Adonis, connoiseur and virtuoso. Tents, pistols and jewels, cards and compliments, almost overwhelmed him. The puffers and donors regarded him as one, from whose political pretensions nothing was to be apprehended; whilst he, poor man, attributed all the honors and attentions bestowed upon him, to the irresistible attractions of his own perfections. It was amusing enough to see the south and the east blowing up Gen. Jackson, as, they supposed, boys blow bubbles in a tub of soap suds, which they can extinguish again by touching. And see them finally inflate him to such a pitch as actually to press him before both their own candidates, and give him a character, which rendered him a dangerous rival to both.

This result disclosed the buoyancy of the General and his peculiar fitness for a political pageant: and, since the election of Mr. Adams, he has been dexterously used to turn the tables upon those who first puffed him into notice. In 1828, Mrs. Adams would feel no disposition to make the 8th of January a gala day, in honor of Gen. Jackson. Pageant as he is, he is now in other hands. He is used as he was in 1824, for the same purpose, but by different managers. The present pageant at New Orleans, is but a new and enlarged and embellished edition of the pageant at Washington, in 1824. How far this folly and extravagance can be yet extended, and how long the General may be preserved for similar exhibitions, are matters for curious speculation. It may be that four years hence, other hands may play him off, to the great annoyance of his present managers. Van Buren may put him at Calhoun, or Calhoun at Clinton. So long as he lives, those who wish to delude the people with a pageant, will some of them make Gen. Jackson the principal puppet.

We learn that the late exhibition has produced no effect favorable to the chieftain or his cause. It degenerated into the grovelling rancour of party, and was as remarkable for virulence of sentiment as the dining party at Washington. The General, we understand, had not been well instructed in his various parts. His speeches were so written that he read them with difficulty, and once or twice commenced the wrong one. The show in the Legislature, the church and the theatre, was not of the talents and character and property of the country;—but rather of "*slaves and children, fools and demagogues.*" There was a parade of gunboats, and a roar of cannon, and a crowd of such as attend a crim. con. trial or an execution. Such as threw up their greasy night-caps and shouted when Cæsar refused the crown. And the General dined, and drank toasts, and thumped the table, and huzzaed, for our noble selves, with as much glee as any of the company. And modestly esteemed himself the great desideratum of all, until startled by a slight suspicion that all was got up, and himself

exhibited, not for his own sake, but to "*put down the present administration, tho' pure as the angels that minister in heaven.*"

Every thing appears well on paper. Speeches upon speeches were made at the General, and replied to by him. His replies, more than any thing else, expose the true character of the pageant. No man can suppose that they were prepared by the General himself. The style betrays them, for they bear the impress of a scholar, and a practised writer. When a great man submits to have speeches put in his mouth, we can be at no loss to estimate his true character.

The addresses to the General, abound in the most extravagant hyperbole. The following extract from one, may serve to give some idea of their general character:

"The Legislators of our country have suspended their deliberations—the multitude cover the banks of this great river—the temples are opened—the incense burns, ascending to heaven, together with the blessings of a grateful people! Go, happy conqueror, go! and hear the voice of mothers greeting the hero who brought them back their sons—Go! and hear the cheering of the wives and daughters from whom you averted the insults of a lawless soldiery Go! and meet the kind, the rapturous welcome of the new generation—the children born since 1815, the future men of Louisiana, await also the deliverer of their fathers—the Chieftain who already lives in history, *the chieftain equal to the heroes of ancient days.*"

Those who could make, or receive such an offering as this, might well play their part in a pageant at Ispahan. They evince a taste for other habits than those of plain republicans; other governments than one founded in equality, and resting upon the supremacy of law.

Throughout the speeches and replies the General's violations of law, at New-Orleans, are studiously misrepresented, and most unqualifiedly vindicated. Pursuing the false impression made upon the public mind, from the first, they are asserted to have taken place while the danger was imminent, and the necessity imperious. This generality of assertion serves to protect those who make it, from detection abroad, except amongst such as have made themselves acquainted with the facts. Its true character could not but be known to many who had heard it made.

The delegates from New-York, through Mr. Hamilton, delivered a speech. It was nothing behind others for fulsome flattery and bold assertion. Let one specimen suffice.

"In discharge of the numerous and highly important civil trusts to which you have been called from a very early period of our national existence almost to the present day, you have invariably evinced talents, prudence and integrity, alike honorable to yourself and conducive to the public welfare."

Alas! that the son of Alexander Hamilton should hold this language to Andrew Jackson!!

Mr. Hamilton presented the General "in the name of the corporation of the city of New-York, with a medal, struck in commemoration of the completion of the Erie Canal, and a copy of Mr. Colden's memoir on the Canals of New-York." The General was almost overwhelmed by the "flattering distinctions" of the present, and the superadded compliments and congratulations of the "Republicans of the city and county of New-York." His managers make him reply thus:

"I am MORE THAN COMPENSATED *for my services*, gentlemen, in being allowed to accept the tokens you present, of the approbation of so numerous and patriotic a portion of my fellow citizens."

What blessed humility! What unaffected modesty! "*More than compensated.*" Then the nation owes the General nothing. He has subscribed a receipt in full! What further claims can he have upon the Presidency? How can so modest a man continue his aspirations for an office to which he has no claims—for which he has no qualification?

We see no account of a speech from the Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, or Mississippi delegations. Their names are not even mentioned, though their position, at the Natchez dinner, is noticed by an anonymous puffer, who hopes the public may be gratified with the "courteous toasts" of "the *veteran Piatt* and the *accomplished Walker!*"

Some queer things took place in the cathedral. "A discourse *prepared* by the reverend father Antonio de Sedilla," a very aged father of the Catholic church, was delivered by a young clergyman. A reply was delivered by

General Jackson, but we are not informed by whom it was "*prepared.*" It contains, however, the following passage:

"To your pious labours in this community, do I attribute in a great degree, that deliverance from the invading foe, which crowned the valor of my comrades on the day of which this is the anniversary; for a moral and religious life is a constant appeal to the favor of heaven, and is a sure guarantee of faithful and heroic patriotism."

What a commentary upon the General's own life! What a precious specimen of complimentary nonsense!

The "pious labours" of father Sedilla in the "community" of New Orleans, "*in a great degree*" achieved the victory, which "crowned the valor" of the General and his comrades. It must then have been the "*moral and religious lives*" of the New Orleans militia, which secured "*the favor of heaven*" upon the army of defence. Of course the General himself, and the men of Kentucky and Tennessee had no part or lot in the matter. They had not been benefitted by father Sedilla's "*pious labors*," they had no pretensions to "*a moral and religious life*," could make no "appeal to the favor of heaven," and were without "guarantee of faithful and heroic patriotism"!!!!!! Such is the plain reading of this sentence. It is absurd enough to have been manufactured by General Jackson himself—but the style is not that of "*a mirror to stimulate to future exertion.*"

One of the most reprehensible parts of this pageant is the attempt to make religion bear a share in it. There can be no proper connection between religious feeling, and a cause so unholy, or an individual whose life has exhibited such unmitigated profanity as that of General Jackson. There is a daring, in attempting the association, that evinces the profligacy of the managers. There is an unhallowed impiety in some of the movements calculated to shock and confound a truly religious mind—a political Juggernaut, attended by a rabble of political enthusaists, and put in motion by political demagogues, is to be wheeled into the temple of the living God; and there under the impious pretence of worship, is to be made the spectacle of curiosity and an object of adoration. No common mind conceived this daring. It is not merely converting a church into a political arena, or into an amphitheatre for the exhibition of political gladiators. It is perverting the very offices of religion themselves. Divine service was performed, a divine blessing invoked, a divine benediction dispensed. And carnal pride, and worldly ambition and political rancor were the predominant sentiments of the pretended worshippers! And holy men sanction such an abuse of holy offices, and commend the profligate Uzzahs, who put forth their unhallowed hands, to touch holy things, and were not stricken dead!

The Ursuline nuns too, were introduced into this pageant, all carnal, sensual and voluptuous as it was. That these holy Virgins acted upon their own impulses is not to be believed. The trick is more gross than all the rest.—They, who are retired from the world, and its vanities and strifes, its enjoyments and delusions! they, voluntarily mingle, in political disputes, to invoke heaven's blessings, upon one of the chief combatants, a profane and relentless man! The thing is incredible! But they have been brought before the world in this character. And so introduced, the Ursuline nuns, have found favor where pure and undefiled religion could never hope to find it. In the Bachanalian orgies of a political feast: at the Washington, 8th of January dinner, the Ursuline nuns were made the subject of Volunteer toasts!!—There is impurity in the association.—To be applauded by such company cannot but affix a stain, on vestal purity, unless the applause be altogether gratuitous. Have vestal nuns so conducted, as to be in fit association, & naturally call forth approbation at a political carousal? Then have they certainly forgotten their characters. For light and darkness cannot be more opposed than the proper avocations of a religious recluse, & a political bacchinal; a timid, a virtuous female, and an impudent, and presumptuous political aspirant. I doubt not, the simplicity of these nuns was imposed upon, by some intriguing ecclesiastic; and the fact shows the profligacy of the means used

to give eclat to the pageant. Nothing is too pure to be defiled, if thereby the opposition can further its great objects. With them it is nothing to degrade the moral sense of their fellow citizens, by amusing them with shows and spectacles for political purposes. It is nothing to calumniate the wise and the good—it is nothing to lavish applause upon the undeserving: it is nothing to palliate crime, to vindicate seduction, adultery and homicide: it is nothing to attempt elevating to high office a weak and a wicked man, a contemner of law, an indulger of his own appetite, a follower of his own will.—It is nothing to subvert principles, to desert connections, to abuse religious offices, and mislead religious votaries. All this is nothing, is venial, nay laudable, if it do but tend to promote the great political end—of prostrating the present administration.—Can that be right, in itself, which attempts to effect its accomplishments by means so irreconcileable with good morals? I should answer NAY. Let every good man answer for himself.

JOHN WOODS.

The case of this militia man, executed under the direction of Gen. Jackson, at Fort Strother in 1813, is a curious instance of giving color to the manner of telling a story. Gen. Jackson's eulogist, Maj. Eaton, thus relates it:

"The execution of a private, (John Woods,) who had been sentenced by a court-martial, on a charge of mutiny, produced at this time, great excitement, and the most salutary effects. That mutinous spirit, which had so frequently broken into the camp, and for a while suspended all active operations, remained to be checked. A fit occasion was now at hand to evince, that although militia when at their fire-sides at home, boast an exemption from control, yet in a field, those high notions were to be abandoned, and subordination observed. Painful as it was to the feelings of the general, he viewed it as a sacrifice essential to the preservation of good order, and left the sentence of the court to be inflicted. The execution was productive of the happiest effects; order was produced, and that opinion, which had so long prevailed, that a militia-man was privileged, and for no offence liable to suffer death, was from that moment abandoned, and a stricter obedience than had been practiced, afterwards characterized the army."

Maj. Eaton is careful to say nothing of the circumstances of Woods' offence. It is thus stated by a writer in the Kentucky Reporter:

"The day on which Woods committed the offence for which he expiated with his life, he was on guard. The officer who commanded the guard, had permitted Woods after his relief to go to his tent and snatch a hasty breakfast. His mess had finished, and left something for him in a skillet. Seated on the ground by the side of this skillet, he was enjoying an humble repast, perhaps thinking of his home and the friends he had left behind, when a petty, self-important *assistant* to a staff officer, passed along, who ordered Woods to pick up and carry off some bones that lay scattered about near the place. Woods refused to comply with the order, stating that he was on guard;—the other with an oath swore that he should do it, and also cursed him for leaving his guard-fire. Woods still refused, and rose to return to his guard, saying that he obtained leave of his officer for his absence. By this time the *half-officer* fairly swelled with rage, and flew to a gun that was laying in the mouth of a tent, to compel him to obey, or to take him prisoner; but poor Woods, nothing daunted, primed his gun, and told the little officer or any one else, not to approach him at their peril; and then deliberately walked to his guard, and surrendered himself prisoner to the officer on duty.

Who, but Gen. Jackson, would have thought of putting a militia man to death, for a transaction like this? By the way Major Eaton says not a word of Harris and his comrades who were shot. He is silent even about their desertion.—He knew it was a dark affair that could not bear the light.

From the Marylander.

GEN. JACKSON.—The late election ering trip of this personage to N-Orleans, should, we think, disgust all men of proper feeling. If the system of personal solicitation which has been practised by candidates for inferior offices is to be extended to that of the President there will be an end to every thing like dignity about the situation. That nothing but the selfish motive of fishing for the votes of Louisiana, could have induced him to travel that far no one will doubt. Indeed nothing short of that could have prevailed on him, after the very pointed neglect of the legislature of that state in 1815, to accept their invitation at this late day. And considering the General's aversion to overlooking supposed or real injuries he is really presenting himself in a very humiliating posture. He must indeed consider his cause as desperate, when he stoops to such miserable artifices to create an excitement in his favour. However, the imperial Cæsar wooed the people in the market place.

TRUTH'S ADVOCATE

AND

MONTHLY ANTI-JACKSON EXPOSITOR.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, MARCH, 1828.

GENERAL JACKSON'S MILITARY PRETENSIONS.

A pamphlet entitled, "TRUTH IS NO SLANDER," published at Natchez, in 1827, and written by *Captain* CLEMENT, has been sent to us by the printer: we make from it the following extract.

In submitting to the public this portion of the pamphlet, it is proper to state that Capt. CLEMENT is a man of integrity, and veracity, and known to be such by gentlemen of the highest reputation in this city. What he has said is spoken in a plain ungarnished style, and coming from a person who was an eye witness, is entitled to a sober and candid examination.

We know it is considered by the General's sychophantic admirers to be high treason to doubt of his military qualifications and capacity. Because he won the battle of New Orleans, or rather because that battle *was* won, he has been compared to WASHINGTON and set down beside the greatest military heroes of the world. History, however, will do him justice in this respect. A single successful engagement gives no warrant for military skill. General Jackson can never justly be compared with many of our military leaders.—Brown, Scott, Miller, Harrison, Ripley and several others, were, to say the least of it his equals in the last war. In the Revolutionary war, leaving *Washington* out of the question, who should be compared to none of them, Generals Greene, Lee, Hamilton, Gates, Marion, and others were superior to him. For impetuosity and rashness, Allen, Putnam, Wayne, and Morgan, besides combining other qualifications were in every respect his superiors. They all went through a series of hardships and difficulties never experienced by Gen. Jackson. Yet we are told he is a second Washington, the second Saviour of his country, &c. He did his duty merely as a soldier—for this he has been amply rewarded. To exalt him higher is fulsome and disgusting adulation.

Extract.

"TRUTH IS MIGHTY, AND SHALL PREVAIL:" thus Gen. Jackson begins a letter to a gentleman in Baltimore, dated 4th of September, 1826, which has been published in many of the newspapers.

After such an introduction and appeal, it is but fair to conclude that the General meant, not only to call in the aid of truth, to refute charges injurious to his character, but to challenge, thro' truth, an investigation of his morals, his veracity, his public services, and whatever else might concern the public, in order to enable it to form a just estimate of his fitness and capacity to discharge the duties of the office for which he is a candidate.

Whether the General intended to invite this liberal application of the truth or not, I think it ought to be extended to him, in common with every candidate for public favor. I think it is the duty of every American, who takes an interest in the prosperity of his country, and in the wisdom and integrity of its rulers, to set forth facts relative to a candidate, as they come under his own observation; or as he has conclusive reason to believe they did transpire. Upon this principle I shall proceed to make a few remarks on what occurred at New Orleans, and its environs, during the time that the General was in command there; and in order to be explicit, or as much so as my scope of mind will enable me to be, I shall have sometimes (perhaps

free [illegible] speak of myself, and of the manner in which I was engaged during the time; which, by some, will no doubt be thought egotistick, and a mark of vanity.

On the 9th of December, being in command of the steam-boat Vesuvius, while lying to, at the bank of the Mississippi, a little below St. Francis river, repairing some damage, and taking in wood, I was passed by Gen. Carrol's brigade, embarked on board of flat boats, amounting, as I afterwards understood, to 2,900 or 3,000 men. The next day I proceeded down the river, overtook and passed Gen. Carrol, and either at this place, or somewhere below, received his aid, Col. Hayne, on board, as passenger for New-Orleans. On the evening of the 12th I arrived at Natchez, and on the following day took on board 120 recruits, belonging either to the 7th or 44th regiment, which of them I do not remember; I then proceeded to New-Orleans. On the 15th I made a stop at Baton-Rouge, where in a group of persons, who evinced a great deal of anxiety, I was told that our gunboats near New-Orleans had been taken by the British; that the number of British troops upon the coast was computed at 17,000, and that they were fully of opinion that New-Orleans would be captured before I could get there. I went on, and arrived at New-Orleans the next day, where I found great anxiety, and much despondency prevailed: and indeed the apprehensions of the citizens are not to be wondered at, for the British forces, the amount of which was variously estimated, but by all exaggerated, were hourly expected to land; and at the time, the only defence of the place consisted of the town militia, amounting to about a thousand men, with parts of the 7th and 44th regiments, mostly raw recruits and a small number, probably 150, sailors and marines, under the command of Commodore Patterson.

Here let it be particularly remarked, that there was at this time, and had been for a month previous, within three hundred miles of New-Orleans, a force under Gen. Jackson's command, [illegible] different points, of more than four thousand men: one body of which, according to Col. Russel's statement, consisted of the "2d, 3d, and 8th regiments; none of them," he says, "but little more than half full, and some not that; detachments of the 24th, with a few companies of artillery, and the militia." In another part of his letter, he says, "the militia were from Georgia, Tennessee, and Mississippi, with about six or seven hundred Chickesaw, Choctaw, and Creek Indians." This force was stationed at Mobile, and from the above statement we may safely conclude that it amounted to, from three to four thousand men; indeed I understood at the time that the number was much greater than I have now estimated it. The other body was General Coffee's brigade of mounted rifle-men, containing 1,550 men, stationed at Sandy-creek, a place more than 140 miles in the interior.

Again: let it be remembered, that it was not until the morning of the 15th, four days after it was known in New-Orleans, that the British were on the coast, and two days after an attack upon, and destruction of one of the gunboats, that Gen. Jackson sent an express to Gen. Coffee, ordering him to march with haste to New-Orleans.

Now, I will ask any impartial man, whether it is not strange and unaccountable, that a place containing the wealth, and being in every way as important as New-Orleans was, should have been thus jeopardized? Can Gen. Jackson—can any man, give a plausible reason why more than three thousand men, some of them the best troops in the United States' service, and equal to any in the world, should be stationed at a place so insignificant as Mobile then was, when New-Orleans (some of the ware-houses of which contained more moveable wealth than the whole town of Mobile, and all its dependencies) was left destitute. I know that Gen. Jackson's biographer, who by most impartial persons is considered as the General's mouth-piece, or amanuensis, has said that the General was greatly concerned for the safety of Mobile, and the settlements on the Alabama and Tombigbee rivers. But who will allow this to be a sufficient reason

why three or four thousand troops should be allotted for its preservation, and a place of a hundred times its value left defenceless.

What would now have been said of Gen. Jackson's talents, had New-Orleans have fallen in consequence of this injudicious distribution of the forces under his command. And it was mere accident that it did not; for had the British landed any day previous to the evening of the 19th, there would have been none to defend it, except the town militia, in whose patriotism, it has been argued, the General had no confidence, and six or seven hundred undisciplined soldiers. Moreover, the General's biographer in defending him against the charge of having tyrannically continued martial law, after not a shadow of necessity for such a measure existed, defended him by alleging that the British were still upon the coast, and that a few hours might bring them to the shore. If he meant that in a few hours they might land, and again attack New Orleans, in their then discomfited and greatly reduced condition, it was untrue. But when they first arrived upon the coast, they might have landed in a few days, almost without opposition; for Jackson had neglected, strangely and culpably neglected, to concentrate his forces to oppose them.

As for Coffee's brigade, it would seem that Jackson had entirely forgotten he had such a body of men at his command; for it was not until the fifth day after he knew the British squadron was upon the coast, that he sent for them. His biographer has indeed made some remarks which may perhaps have been intended as an excuse for this egregious blunder, or neglect; he says the General apprehended that the British might capture "Mobile, the left bank of the Mississippi be gained, all communication with the western states be cut off, and New-Orleans be thus unavoidably reduced."

I cannot find language to convey my idea of the futility of such an apprehension, and of the means apparently taken to prevent the occurrence.—What, a general station his forces at Mobile, and at Sandy-creek,* in order to prevent New Orleans falling into the hands of an invading enemy? Leave the capital, the emporium defenceless, in order to protect some of its dependencies, when it was known the capital, if not the entire, was the ultimate object; and when that capital, left defenceless, was as assailable as any of those dependencies—cover the limbs with mail, and leave the heart exposed. How absurd, how nugatory such fears and such arrangements—a fear of their landing in the province of Texas, and thence gaining command of the Mississippi, would have been much better founded. Whoever will take the trouble to look at a map, and observe the bearing and distance of these different places, will see that the idea suggested by this biographer, was almost as chimerical as to have imagined the Britons had turned dragons, would take wing and alight, not at New-Orleans, but somewhere in the interior.

Some will excuse themselves from passing judgment upon these proceedings of Gen. Jackson, upon the ground that they are not military men, and therefore cannot presume to judge of the propriety, or impropriety, of military operations; but every man knows that to effect any purpose whatever, it is necessary to have the means within his reach, and that it is culpable remissness to omit collecting those means, when they are attainable, and when great disaster and molestation, may ensue from such neglect.

On the evening of the 18th, I received orders from Gen. Jackson to proceed up the river, with the steam-boat, to meet Gen. Carrol, for the purpose of taking as many of his men on board, as the boat would contain, and bringing them direct to New-Orleans. On the morning of the 19th, I met him, about twenty miles above New-Orleans; he having by great and praiseworthy exertions, retarded as he was by wind and weather, descended the river much further than could have been expected. The weather, when I met him, having become fine he de-

*Sandy-creek empties into the Mississippi twenty-two miles above Baton Rouge.

clined letting any of his men leave the flat boats, and that afternoon he landed with his command at New-Orleans.—The following day Gen. Coffee, by exertions and fatigue sufficient to prostrate both man and beast, arrived at New-Orleans with twelve hundred of his brigade, having marched over excessively muddy roads, more than one hundred and forty miles, in less than three days.

At this time the American forces at New-Orleans, consisted of Carrol's brigade, which I understood at the time contained 2,000 men, but the writer of Jackson's life rates it at 2,500, therefore, that must be considered the number; by the same writer Coffee's brigade is rated at no more than 1,200; the town militia amounted to about 1,000; the regulars of the 7th and 44th, 700; the marines and sailors under Com. Patterson, 150; making a total of 5,500 men.

The knowledge that the British had reached the bank of the Mississippi, at Villere's plantation, was conveyed to town at about 1 o'clock in the afternoon of the 23d. At first it was generally thought that not more than a thousand men had landed at this point, and that there would be a simultaneous attack from some other point. That this was the opinion given to Gen. Jackson, and that he coincided with it, I am induced to believe from the circumstance of his taking no more than 2,167 men with him to attack that body of the British, and leaving the residue in the town and its precincts.

I will here relate an incident which perhaps by some, may be thought worthy of notice, and a matter from which an inference may be drawn. Major Plauche's battalion, of about 400 men, who had been encamped several days on the bayou St. John, and who had now started to go with Gen. Jackson to the attack, were under the necessity of being halted, until a supply of cartridges could be obtained from the fort; the men not having in their cartridge-boxes more than from four to seven cartridges each. Had the British approached New-Orleans by the way of lak Ponchartrain, the direction in which they were expected to approach, this battalion, posted where it had been, would have been in a condition somewhat similar to the Dutch sea captain, who, when he got upon a foreign coast, found he had left his anchors at home. Now I will not profess to know much of infantry exercise, or whether Gen. Jackson is justly censurable for this lack of preparation: but I have seen officers, and I believe general officers, when reviewing their men, require each to raise the cover of his cartridge-box, so as to enable the officer to see whether it was filled with cartridges or not: and further I know that Com. Barron was suspended from service, five years, for going out of port in the frigate Chesapeake, unprepared for action, during a time of peace, when too, captain Gordon was on board, with the requisite number of lieutenants.

The General, in his letter to the Secretary, giving an account of the action of the evening of the 23d, says, "I arrived near the enemy's encampment about seven, and immediately made my disposition for attack. His forces, amounting at that time on land to about three thousand men, extended about half a mile on that river, and in the rear nearly to the wood. Gen. Coffee was ordered to turn their right, while with the residue of the force, I attacked his strongest position on the left, near the river. Com. Patterson having dropped down the river, in the schooner Caroline, was directed to open a fire on their camp: which he executed about half after seven, this being the signal of attack."

Now let it be remarked, that General Jackson, by this statement intended that it should be inferred that Commodore Patterson was under his command. This I can unhesitatingly say is not true. Commodore Patterson, like all other naval officers, would have disdained to obey the orders of General Jackson, or any other General. Patterson would not have delivered a cartridge of powder to the order of Jackson: this I know, whether the General knows it or not, and could relate an occurrence that goes to prove it, but it is unnecessary.

Captain Henley, under Patterson,

commanded the Caroline that evening; and on board the steam-boat in company with myself and several others, he related the occurrences of the evening nearly as follows. But let it be premised, that at that time the river was not more than a foot or eighteen inches below the level of its banks; and the banks and country are almost as level as the water itself. "The British," said Captain Henley, "were encamped along the bank of the river, and were standing and sitting, in groups around the fires, cooking. I dropped down, and came to anchor abreast of them, about one hundred yards from the shore. At first the British appeared to take us for a friendly vessel, for several came to the water's edge and hailed, "schooner ahoy, what have you got to sell," I made no reply, but got every thing snug. As soon as I had got all ready, I fired a broadside of grape and cannister shot among them, and there never was a finer time for killing men. Immediately I heard the orders of, "out fires; bring the rockets." Some of the rockets they threw at us without any effect; our fire on them was as brisk as possible; they fled from the shore, and soon after that the firing on the land commenced. Shortly after this I found the Americans were beyond the British troops, and between them and the wood, and thought that my fire would be as likely to kill the Americans as the British, I therefore ceased firing."

I think Captain Henley remarked, that he thought the fire of the Caroline, killed and wounded as many of the enemy, as the whole of the land forces, under General Jackson did; if he did not make this remark, many others were of that opinion; and the account of the action, given by a British officer whose book has been reviewed in one of the late numbers of the Edinburg Review, confirms this opinion.

Jackson and Patterson had an agreement, no doubt, as naval and land officers ought to do, upon the manner of attacking the enemy; but I feel safe in asserting that Jackson no more commanded Patterson, than Patterson commanded him. The General appears to have thought, that it would add to his fame, to be considered as the commander, not only of the soldiery, the militia, and the judiciary, but of the naval forces also.

The General, in many instances, shows his fondness for telling a good story; not a mere dull matter of fact tale; but one that has pith and nerve in it. This disposition is evinced in another part of his statement respecting the events of the 23d. Of the New Orleans rifle company he says, "they having penetrated into the midst of the enemy's camp, were surrounded, and fought their way out with the greatest heroism; bringing with them a number of prisoners." Now one of this company was my brother, and I am well satisfied that neither he, nor any of the rest, intentionally, penetrated into the midst of the enemy's camp, armed as they were with rifles and knives, although there were as brave men in the company as any in the field. The facts of this incident are nearly these. In the darkness and general confusion that prevailed, this company got divided, and separated into two nearly equal parts; one part, twenty-five I think in number, seeing a body of men standing, took them to be Americans, and marched up to them; when very close, some of them cried out "huzza for Tennessee;" the British soldiers, for such they proved to be, ordered them to lay down their arms; this they immediately obeyed, and surrendered, for resistance would have been vain. The other part of the company took a different direction, and got to the main body of the Americans, and on their way picked up several stragglers of the enemy.

Perhaps no action which ever took place in this country, has been more misrepresented, and which the people of the United States are more in error upon, than on this: no one can, or ever could, I conclude, give a true detailed account of it. I have seen many statements in print respecting it, some of which were so inflated and bombastic, indeed so ridiculously false, that I suppose no man in his sober senses, would for a moment believe them. Even General Jackson's statement is not to be relied upon; I even think that when he made it he did not give it to the best

of his information. From all the information which I have been able to gather, of the manner in which it proceeded, I believe it commenced with very little concert, and ended in total confusion. "I arrived," says the General, "near the enemy's encampment, about seven, and immediately made my disposition for attack. His forces, amounting at that time on land to about 3,000, extended about half a mile on that river, and in the rear nearly to the wood. General Coffee was ordered to turn their right, while with the residue of the force I attacked his strongest position, on the left near the river."

This I believe is correct as respects Coffee's brigade; but Plauche's battallion, owing to its detention, waiting for cartridges, had not yet got up. In his advance he was met by an officer of one of the regular regiments, and ordered to repair to a certain point; but the officer was evidently so much intoxicated, that his orders were not obeyed, and, as I have been informed, and believe, Plauche took a different direction, and was fortunate in arriving at a place just in time to meet, and to baffle the right wing of the British: and probably, by his unexpected appearance, impressed them with an idea that the American force was much greater than it really was, and thus prevented a total route of our forces. The General admits there was some confusion, and the British officer who has written upon the subject, says it was total confusion. I presume he meant on both sides.

Towards morning, after a consultation of the officers, General Jackson concluded to fall back, about a mile and a half, toward town, and post himself on the bank of an old saw-mill race, through which, when the river was full, as it was at this time, the water ran in considerable quantity, and spread in the swamp, or annually inundated woodland, which every where borders the Mississippi river. To this place the Tennessee militia, or Caroll's brigade, who had been left in and about town, were collected in the morning. During the day (the 24th) the idea became general of erecting a breastwork on the upper bank of this saw-mill canal to extend from the river to the overflown and miery ground, in the wood. This idea, from statements I think to be relied upon, originated with, and the work was commenced by some of the privates of the militia. The next morning, pursuant to orders from General Jackson, a great number of spades were collected in town, for the purpose of effecting the work, and it was consequently executed, but in a very unskilful manner, which will be perceived by a description of the manner in which it was constructed. It will be understood that the earth which had been thrown out of the canal, in digging it, had raised a ridge upon its side. The object now was, to elevate this ridge to the height of a man's head. To effect this object, earth was taken from the upper side, and thrown upon the ridge; thus the level and smooth surface was broken, where the men had afterwards to stand. The surface was taken off from six to ten inches deep, and to the extent back from the breast work, of from twenty to forty feet; thus in many places making reservoirs for rain water, which were soon converted into sloughs of mud. It will be judged whether this rude piece of military engineery did not greatly contribute to the sickness which afterwards so extensively prevailed amongst the men.—Had a new ditch been formed, immediately above the old one, of twelve or fourteen feet wide, the earth from it would have been sufficient to raise the desired breastwork: and thus an additional barrier would have been opposed while the defenders would have had a smooth surface to stand upon, and a much more healthy, and in every respect eligible situation; and all this, with the men that were there, could have been effected in six hours.

The sides of the breastwork, owing to the adhesiveness of the earth, could be formed almost as perpendicular as a brick wall. This wall of earth, situated immediately upon the bank of a ditch nearly filled with mud and water, was almost a perfect security to the men behind it.

While the breastwork was in progress, cannon were brought down from town, and were mounted along with it and embrasures formed. Thus for

titled, the defenders had an immense advantage over the assailants. The enemy could not advance upon it in any direction, but directly in front; for at one end, the river rolled wide, deep, and rapid: at the other, trees, mire, and water, prevented all access; one thousand men in the defence were equal to four, if not five thousand in making an attack.

Jackson's historian says, General Jackson left Mobile on the 22d of November, and went direct to New-Orleans, to prepare for the expected invasion. That shortly after his arrival there, he visited Fort St. Philip, situated seventy miles below New-Orleans. That afterwards he visited the works (fortifications I presume he meant) upon the lakes, in order to ascertain their condition. In these visits of the General we may safely conclude he visited Fort St. Charles, mounting about fourteen pieces of artillery, some of them of large calibre, situated a few hundred yards below the city, in order to ascertain its condition, and the degree of protection it could afford. On this subject I will state a fact, which came under my own observation, from which the public, or those who have any knowledge in the art of gunnery, may judge what degree of knowledge the general possessed upon the subject of artillery, and to what extent the public service was probably benefited by these visits.

Early on the morning succeeding the evening on which the British landed, I took the crew of the steam-boat, went down to the Fort St. Charles, and offered my services to captain Humphrey, who had been in command of the fort. He told me he had received orders, and was then preparing to go down with his light artillery, to join General Jackson; he referred me to Major Nix, of the infantry, who from an accidental wound, was unable to join his regiment, and was in consequence placed in command of the fort. The Major immediately accepted of my proffered service, and captain Humphrey then went with me round the fort, to shew me the condition of the guns. He made some remarks explanatory of the reasons why some of the guns were in their ruinous state, and wished me to do what I could to render them fit for service. Two of the eighteen pounders which ranged down the road to the point whence the enemy must come, if he advanced upon the town, were in a shameful condition; they were both loaded, and fresh primed, with match-stocks and lighted matches standing by them; they were mounted on ship carriages, with iron trucks, or wheels; the trucks of one of the guns had settled up to the axle-trees, through the platform, it being rotton, on which the gun stood, the lower part of the gun, near the muzzle, rested on the embrasure in such a manner as to give it an elevation of ten or twelve degrees; or, in other words, to point it so much in the air, that at the distance of fourteen feet from it, the ball would have passed over a man's head. The other of the two guns abovementioned, was in a somewhat similar condition, though not so bad. These guns I afterwards raised, and placed temporary platforms, of new three inch plank, under them. Before this was done, they could not be brought to bear upon any object that stood upon the ground at a greater distance than five yards from them, and were of course entirely useless; and had the enemy advanced upon the town, firing them would have had no other effect than that of making a noise. Had Gen. Jackson been as well skilled in the use and management of cannon as from all accounts he is in the art of gaffing, trimming and preparing cocks for battle, he never could have passed those guns, without seeing they were in a condition that made it impracticable to use them to any effect.

I have several times adverted to statements made by Jackson's biographer; that in many instances they were made by the General's dictation is probable, considering the relation in which they stood to each other, but that they were made by his approbation, no one can doubt; I cannot refrain from referring to another of those statements. It is written by this friend of the General's, that the vigilance in Jackson's camp to prevent any supplies, or intelligence, being carried from New-Orleans to the enemy, was so great, that a log could scarcely pass down the river unobserved: as an evidence he says (page 323.)

"Two flat bottomed boats in a dark night, were turned adrift above, to ascertain if vigilance were preserved, and whether there would be any chance of passing safely to the British lines: the light boats discovered them on their passage, and on the alarm being given, they were opened upon by the Louisiana sloop, and the batteries on the shore; and in a few minutes were sunk." What a notable expedient: who but Gen. Jackson would have thought of one so excellent: who but him would have thought of turning two flat boats adrift at the same time, in order to ascertain whether in (seamen's phrase) his sentinels were on the look out. Those who have not seen this kind of boats, will from a description of their form and dimensions, be able to form some idea of the sagacity of the expedient, and the argus eyed vigilance, which it required in the sentinels to discover them as they passed. The flat boats which bring produce from the upper country to New-Orleans, are from fifty to seventy feet long, from twelve to eighteen feet wide, and from five to eight high, square bow and stern, planked up at the sides, and roofed over, a man that could not see one of them, could scarcely see a ship: spies and traitors have generally travelled in smaller vehicles, and more clandestinely.

However well planned such a device might have been, there is one strong objection to the story, the circumstance never took place as related by the General's friend, at least no one ever saw it but the General, and he only as he has seen and heard many other things—in *imagination* or *influence*. Something like it, however, did occur towards the last of the siege:—a flat boat, that had been in use at the steam boat, was during a squall at night, blown adrift, and went down the river: when she got abreast of the camp, several shot were fired upon her, and a skiff went off and ascertained that she was empty and unmanned: but although in the latter part of the siege, there was so much vigilance kept, that a flat boat, or perhaps a keel boat, could not pass the encampment in a clear night unnoticed, this was by no means the case in the early part of the siege. I will give my reasons for this assertion: I have stated that the day after the British landed, I had engaged in fort St. Charles. I remained in the fort during the night of the 24th, but the weather being cold, and having no place in the fort but the floor to sleep upon, and the steam boat being not far off, I afterwards lodged on board.

On the evening of the 27th, between 9 and 10 o'clock, Mr. Charles Harrod, deputy quarter master, came to me, and told me, that he had just received orders from head quarters, to send down immediately, a quantity of thick plank and scantlings, which were in a saw mill yard, above town: that he could hire nobody, and there was no way of getting it down, unless I would, with the crew of the steam boat take it down: of course I could not refuse, or even hesitate. I received from Mr. Harrod, written authority, to take any boat that I could find at the levee, of suitable size: I soon found one, manned her, and went up, and got the timber on board, and proceeded down the river; when from the distance I had descended, I had as I supposed, approached near the American camp, I steered in towards the land, and kept along about fifty yards from the shore, expecting to be hailed by the first sentinel that I came to, not doubting but at that time of night, it being between one and two o'clock in the morning, a vigilant watch would be kept; when hailed, I intended, after satisfying the sentinel who I was, to enquire where the timber was to be landed: the night was not dark, but there was a little bank of fog resting upon the margin of the river: I soon heard men talking upon the shore, and had no doubt, but when I got abreast of them, I should be hailed, and ordered to give an account of myself, but although making a noise with the oars that might be heard a mile, I passed them without being noticed: I began to think of hailing the shore myself: but, thought I, what hail a military camp? I shall be considered a real bumpkin. I certainly shall be hailed when I get low enough. I kept on, under this impression, passing several groupes of men without being noticed, until not a voice was to be heard

in either direction. I then concluded it would be imprudent to proceed further without knowing more of my situation: I might I thought, get down to the British camp, in which case I had not a doubt but I should be invited to give an account of myself. I accordingly turned the boat to the shore, and finding nobody upon the bank, was at first in doubt whether the men whom I had passed were not loiterers, and whether I had yet descended low enough to reach the camp, but I resolved to go back and enquire. I therefore rowed up by the shore, and soon with a good deal of anger, discovered men about the breastwork: and did not fail to taunt and reproach them for their seeming ignorance of duty. I forthwith went to head quarters, to report myself, and related to the General's volunteer aids-de-camp, this most unsoldierlike negligence of the sentinels: or unmilitary police of the camp.

The people of the United States have heard so much of the Hero of New-Orleans, and of the glorious eighth of January, so much exaggeration, and misstatement respecting it, that they have learned to consider the repulse of the British, on that day, as a brilliant victory, and an evidence of superior generalship and valour in the commander: but this opinion never would have prevailed, had they have had a true knowledge of the situation of the two armies. Had Gen. Jackson and his army met the enemy upon equal ground, hand to hand, and foot to foot, as Gen. Brown did at Chippewa, and at Bridgewater, and had the British in such a contest, been defeated and destroyed, as they were at New-Orleans: then might the General have been lauded with propriety. But let us for a moment consider what the real situation of the two armies at New-Orleans was: and from it draw conclusions what degree of generalship was displayed. Their positions were nearly as follows: the Americans, as I have before stated, were on the upper side of a high wall, made of adhesive and slippery earth: beyond this wall at its base, was a ditch twelve or fourteen feet wide, from three to four feet deep, nearly filled with mud and water.—The British encampment was about a mile and a half lower down the river: they had at this time no breastwork, but relied solely upon their arms for safety, their business, was to attack, not to keep under cover and defend themselves. In making the attack, upon the Americans, they had to march up over a plain so level, that from the first step in advance, they were exposed to the American's cannon, and to the uninterrupted fire of the musketry and riflemen, when they had arrived near enough for such arms to take effect; when arrived at the ditch, they had it to wade before they could charge the Americans; its opposite bank to climb, and then to mount the breastwork, both muddy, in doing which, their hands would unavoidably become so besmeared with mud, that they could not use a musket or any other weapon to any effect, and all this time the Americans had nothing to do, but raise their heads above the breastwork, to point their guns down upon them, and shoot them—it is proper to remark that the river bank, and after a short distance from it, perhaps an hundred yards along the breastwork, the ditch, owing to the falling of the river since the 23d of December, had become nearly dry, so that here the obstacles above mentioned, to the success of the enemy, or their close encounter with the Americans, was not so great as in other parts.

The numbers of the British have by some of the busy newspaper "slang whangers" been greatly exaggerated, and the number of the Americans as much extenuated. I have seen a chronological table printed at Boston, in which the number of the British troops on the 8th of January, was set down at thirteen thousand: and the number of Americans at considerable less than four thousand: but why rate the force of the British at only thirteen thousand —if the object is to make a marvelous tale, why not give the round number of twenty thousand, or forty thousand, but if truth should prevail, the superiority of numbers will be found much to preponderate on the American side, for from the best sources of information respecting the numbers of the British,

and to feed the only sources that are entitled to credit, which is Gen. Jackson's own account, and that of the British officer before alluded to, there were eight regiments of the British, and from six hundred to nine hundred marines and sailors. Admitting all the regiments to have been full, when they landed, a circumstance totally improbable, they amounted to eight thousand, and the marines and sailors, eight hundred, the whole force which was eight thousand eight hundred: it must be taken into account however, that previous to the eighth of January, there had been several conflicts, and according to all accounts their efficient force, had been reduced about eight hundred, leaving seven thousand two hundred regulars; this number, however, did not all advance upon the American lines. Colonel Mullen, refused to lead his regiment to the attack; the force, therefore, that did advance to the attack on the left bank of the river on the eighth of January, did not exceed six thousand three hundred men. Gen. Jackson rates his own force at the breastwork, at three thousand six hundred men; and says nothing of the thousands which he had in the rear. There are public documents and other proofs to show, that Jackson had at his command on that day at New-Orleans, more than nine thousand men; the following list will be found very near correct, or rather a low estimate.

New-Orleans militia and volunteers,	1000
7th and 44th regiments of regulars,	700
Louisiana and Mississippi militia and volunteers, at least	1400
Com. Patterson's sailors and marines,	150
Coffee's Brigade Tennessee riflemen,	1250
Carroll's Brigade Tennessee militia,	2500
Thomas' Brigade Kentucky militia,	2200
	9200

Beside, it is but reasonable to suppose, that some, if not all the 350 men of Coffee's brigade, who were left at Sandy Creek, had ere this followed and joined the army. Patterson's sailors and marines, were not indeed under Jackson's command, but they acted in concert.—It must be understood, that about fifteen hundred of the above enumerated men, were on the right bank of the river, where Col. Thornton, with the English sailors and marines, made his attack.

If Gen. Jackson had no more than 4,600 men at the breastwork, it must have been because more could not be engaged at it to any advantage. Indeed considering the length of the breastwork, which certainly did not exceed twelve hundred yards; and further, taking into view that men cannot act in battle in a less space than three feet, it is probable there was not more than that number immediately at the breastwork; for if each man occupied a space of three feet, or one yard, twelve hundred men, single file, would have occupied the whole length of the breastwork, and 3,600 would have filled it three deep, which is as many I think, as could be advantageously engaged. The General had more than twice 3,600 men on that side of the river, but where posted, or what their condition for battle was, I do not know, at least I did not see; I was that morning employed in Fort St. Charles.

If Gen. Jackson could not employ more than 3,600 men to advantage at the breastwork, how can it be imagined the British General could attack to advantage with a greater number, when he had no greater space to act upon than Gen. Jackson had. The British troops could not fire while they were advancing, except the front file, and they but once without stopping to reload their pieces: and if they could have fired, it would have been mere accident if they had hit any of the Americans, for there was nothing of them to be seen by the British but their heads and shoulders, and these only when they rose up to fire. As I have before remarked, one thousand men, situated as the Americans were, would be equal to four, if not five thousand, situated as the British soldiers were. And where, I would ask, was there any generalship displayed by our commander? Where was there an opportunity to display military skill? There was no marching; no pressing or charging upon the enemy: no bringing up of corps of reserve to strengthen any weak part, or to counteract any evolution of the enemy: there was not even any changing of position. Any of the first settlers

of Kentucky, or Tennessee, would in their little forts have arranged themselves in this manner, to repel an attack of the Indians, or any other assailants.

Gen. Jackson undoubtedly has one of the qualities of a good General; he has intrepidity—but has he strength of muscle? strength of eye? hardihood of constitution? and above all, where has he ever given any evidence of superior genius, either in this profession, or any other? He has never met the troops of any civilized nation in the open field, and without a cover, except on the night of the 23d December, and then it was under circumstances that neither commander knew scarce any thing of the other's force or position.

I am, and always have been, as much delighted at the success and glory of our arms, as any man that lives between the Sabine and the Passamaquoddy. But I have always felt a little disgust, a little ashamed, when I have heard the slaughter at New-Orleans spoken of as an evidence of military prowess, and genius. It always seemed to me, too much like boasting of cutting off men's heads when their hands were tied. The victory of Hull, of Perry, of McDonough, or almost any other of the naval victories, and indeed Gen. Brown's successes on the land, were in a military point of view, and as examples of chivalrous warfare, worth fifty, aye a thousand such repulses as that of New-Orleans.

Gen. Jackson laid on the 26th, ordered the steam boat which I commanded, to be prepared for receiving guns, to be used against the enemy; at the time the order was given, the British had not used artillery, and it was not known that they had landed any; the boat was ready to receive the guns on or about the 2nd of January: late on that day, I got an order from Thomas L. Butler, the General's aid-de-camp, who was stationed in town, to go up the river a few miles, to take wood on board, preparatory to taking the guns on board, and to proceeding down to the lines. I accordingly went up the river to the point of destination: when I first arrived at the pile, I concluded to lie at the place all night, and take a large quantity of wood on board, but on examining it, and finding it would not answer my purpose, I concluded to return immediately to town, and inform the aid-de-camp, and make arrangements that evening, to go early in the morning, to some other place, where better wood might be procured; on the way down it became exceeding dark and foggy, so that nothing could be seen but the faint glimmer of lights on shore. I thought, however, that I could get to my usual landing place, by the aid of two lamps that stood before the custom house. I was so unfortunate, however, as to mistake lights which stood a few hundred yards above the custom house, for the custom house lights; I had a sailor constantly heaving the lead, but the bank of the flat, which is called the batture, was so bold, that although the engine was stopped the moment soundings were obtained, the boat forged ahead so much as to stick upon the bar; after trying to force her back by the engine, without effect, I sent out a kedge upon the starboard quarter of the boat, which moved her considerably; but at the distance of fifty fathoms from the boat, the water was from fifteen to twenty fathoms deep, and the current very rapid. I immediately tried a large anchor, but the bottom was so soft, the water so deep, and the current so rapid, that it was impossible to get a sufficient scope of cable out, to enable the anchor to hold; the flat or bar was so soft, that it was impracticable to shove her off. Another circumstance transpired against me: the wind had for several days been blowing from the south, which had considerably raised the water; that evening it became calm and foggy, and the wind soon came from the north-west, which caused the water to fall very rapidly. Having worked all night, and all the next day, with my utmost strength and action, suffering the keenest mortification, and having tried every expedient which I thought likely to succeed, without effecting my object, I was compelled to yield to what I considered at that time, a great misfortune.

The above statement respecting the grounding of the steam boat, may appear to some quite superfluous; but in these ill-omened days of strife and pre

varication, to have omitted it would have appeared to many, that I was desirous of hiding facts; and some, who, like the modern judge of Israel, think that all is fair in politics, would eagerly seize the opportunity of manufacturing a tissue of falsehood.

On the night of the 18th of January, the British force retreated; at which time, owing to the loss which they sustained on the 8th, and the previous conflicts, their whole number, regulars, sailors, and marines, could not according to Gen. Jackson's estimate of their losses, have exceeded five thousand men. The joy of the citizens of New-Orleans was unbounded. The French people are said to be less phlegmatic, or in other words, more enthusiastic than the Americans, and now, in the overflowing of their joy, they wanted to select some object, tangible object, on which to bestow their benedictions. They too, some at least of them, had in their native country been accustomed to shows and pageants. The present they thought was an occasion which would justify such an exhibition; they, as well as the Americans, were in that mood, in which they have raised up and crowned an idol, or a man, whom they have called their king, or emperor, and who soon became their tyrant. Gen. Jackson was the man they selected, on whom to bestow these insignia of honor, or tokens of adulation, and he it would appear, nothing loth, became, as some would say, the puppet of this most anti-republican spectacle. A triumphal arch was erected in the public square, before the church, and Gen. Jackson pompously marched under it, went into the cathedral, and was crowned by the bishop. "Freedom shrieked when Kosciusko fell," and Freedom frowned and sighed, when Gen. Jackson was crowned.

It is a matter for speculation, whether the honor, and homage, that on the above named occasion was in so high a degree paid to Gen. Jackson, was not the cause of his acting in so tyrannical a manner as he afterwards did. Men of much more strength of mind than Gen. Jackson possesses, have by honors and distinctions, been led to believe they held their power by divine right, and that it was little short of blasphemy to censure, or even enquire into the propriety of their conduct. General Jackson had declared martial law when there was this justification for it: it was necessary that every man should be a soldier. But it is very doubtful whether by this violation of the constitution fifty men, or even one man, was brought into the ranks, who would not by the existing laws, or their voluntary will have placed themselves there. It will be seen, by referring to the acts passed by the legislature of Louisiana, a few days previous to the landing of the British, that that body of men, unpatriotic, or traiterous as Gen. Jackson would make it appear they were, had taken the most zealous and energetic measures, to bring every man that could be found into the defence of the country. Two of these acts are contained in the appendix, and there are several others, passed in the same animated spirit. There was nothing in the conduct of these men, in their legislative capacity, that goes to show they were less earnest or desirous for the successful defence of New-Orleans, than Gen. Jackson himself was. Indeed they had as strong, or stronger incentives to protect the place from the ravages of an enemy, than the Gen'l. had: they, many of them, had their families, their honour, and their property to protect, while Jackson had only military fame to acquire.

But the circumstances under which Gen. Jackson had declared martial law, had long ceased to exist. When he incarcerated a member of the legislature, a national judge, a district attorney, and banished the consul of a foreign nation; when martial law was declared, and invasion by British troops in great force was hourly expected, but a month before those high-handed measures were enforced, the British had been discomfited, had lost nearly half their number, and had gladly effected a retreat, or escape from the banks of the Mississippi; and further, at this time, our force was near or quite double what it was when the British landed for in addition to the arrival of the Kentucky, the Louisiana, and the Mississippi militia, the 3d regiment of the

United States' infantry, six hundred strong, had arrived from Mobile, and all were completely equipped with the best of arms, for, in addition to about one thousand stand of arms taken from the British on the eighth, a boat had arrived from Pittsburgh on the 10th or 11th of January with 5000 new muskets; Gen. Jackson himself proves by one of his official despatches, that he had no apprehension the British would return, and if they had returned, it would only have been to be captured, for Jackson had more than double their numbers. The General writes as follows. "Whether it is the purpose of the enemy to abandon the expedition altogether, or renew his efforts at some other point, I do not pretend to determine with positiveness; in my own opinion, however, there is but little doubt that his last exertions have been made in this quarter, at any rate for the present season, and by the next, I hope we shall be fully prepared for them. In this belief, I am strengthened not only by the prodigious loss he has sustained at the position he had just quit, but by the failure of his fleet to pass fort St. Philip.

"His loss on this ground, since the debarkation of his troops, as stated by the last prisoners and deserters, and confirmed by many additional circumstances, must have exceeded four thousand, and was greater in the action of the eighth, than estimated from the most correct data then in possession by the inspector general, whose report has been forwarded to you."

But although there was not a single enemy on our shores within three hundred miles of New Orleans, and although not a pretext of necessity remained for military law, being continued paramount to civil authority; yet General Jackson found that dictatorship was convenient and very pleasant. His brow too, still retained the exalting sensation which the crown had impressed upon it: he felt that he had the power, and that consciousness gave him the disposition to overcome all opposition to his mandates, and to silence all public enquiry into the propriety of his arrangements. Jackson at this time, had at New Orleans the 3d, 7th and 44th regiments of regulars, containing upwards of thirteen hundred troops; these men he kept in garrison near his person; for what purpose, I will scarce venture a conjecture. It is well known, however, for what purpose tyrants have generally used troops of this description.

The militia of the town, some of them at least, were kept off at a distance, stationed at disagreeable posts; it was this arrangement, and the General's treatment of French subjects, that Mr. Louaillier, a member of the Legislature complained of in a newspaper; and for this complaint, Gen. Jackson sent a file of these regulars, and took him into custody. Mr. Louaillier, by a friend, applied to the district Judge for a writ of habeas corpus, the Judge granted it, but Jackson instead of obeying the writ, sent another file of these regulars for the body of the Judge, whom he kept in custody for a week, and then banished from the town; from these, and many other illustrations of character, and disposition in the General, I should, were I to hazard an opinion, conclude that if he had at his command an army of one hundred thousand of these regulars, under good discipline, and good pay, no man within these United States, could with impunity, publicly speak, or publicly write, any thing which the General in his wisdom, would deem an improper meddling; and if he should be elected President, the very first year of his administration would probably involve us in a broil with some other nation, and the General would deem it expedient to raise an army; then what his friends now boastingly call his energetic character, would incite him to have an energetic or numerous army; and by the time this army was well drilled, he would find that martial law throughout the United States was necessary; and then, if any man, in any part of the nation should complain of his proceedings, he would find, as he did in the case of Louaillier, that they had committed a dozen offences against the rules and articles of war, each of which, ought to be capitally punished; perhaps he might mercifully mitigate their punishment, and only consign them to a dungeon.

But (say his advocates) after peace took place, he surrendered himself to the judicial authority of this same judge, and thus proved his respect for the laws, and for the civil authority. I would ask these advocates, what could he have done else, could he have taken any other course without open rebellion to the government of the United States. And could he have rebelled successfully; none I presume will believe he could; then I ask, where was the evidence of his meekness—because a man yields with apparent readiness to authority which he knows he cannot resist, is it an evidence that he respects or honors that authority? or is it not more an evidence that he yields with a good grace to that which he knows he cannot successfully resist, and must finally yield to?"

THE OPPOSITION.

It has been somewhat amusing to observe the efforts that have been made, by the opposition to the present administration, to effect an amalgamation of the discordant and heterogeneous materials of which their party is composed. The object of all the *leaders* is the same, viz: to obtain place and power for themselves, and this object has united in a common cause a great number of political mendicants from as many different parties as existed previous to the last Presidential election. But it is not considered prudent to avow the *real* motive which governs them: something that shall have the appearance of political principle is thought necessary to justify, to the public, the extraordinary efforts they are making to obtain their ends. To ask the people directly and openly to dismiss tried and faithful servants merely for the purpose of giving their places to those whose chief recommendations are their impudence and ambition, is not supposed to be the course most likely to insure success.

But to discover any thing which should serve as a common bond of union, and have at the same time any semblance of principle, has been a difficult task. At first it was supposed that the character of the person fixed upon as [illegible] demagogue possessed sufficient b[illegible] to dazzle the understandings [illegible] community to such a degree th[illegible] his elevation would [illegible] them.—But this [illegible] mistake. The people, although [illegible] influenced for a time by show of pretension, have still a habit of reflecting, after the immediate impulse is past. This habit constitutes the most formidable difficulty to be overcome by the opposition, and it is one which for a long time they totally overlooked. But having at length perceived it to be necessary to pay some attention to it, they founded themselves in a very awkward dilemma: for having fixed their attention solely upon the object to be obtained, they neglected to observe the effect produced by the steps they were taking to obtain it. The inconsistency of pretending that the elevation of a particular individual would cause the adoption of a course of policy to suit different parts of the country in which the views and wishes of the people were in direct opposition, was disregarded until it was feared that to neglect appearances entirely, would jeopardize their plans. It was discovered that the people were not sufficiently versed in the opposition doctrines of political economy to understand that a desire for office and an utter recklessness respecting the means by which it is to be obtained, are sufficient qualifications for their public servants. The prompt and perfect refutation of the various slanders which had been devised as substitutes for sound doctrine and patriotic principle, was a misfortune which they found it difficult to remedy. In this emergency it seemed expedient to avow some political doctrine that should be common to the whole party throughout the United States. And as has usually happened in such cases, the southern politicians have been able to dictate the doctrines that are to be supported by the party. In former times, according to Mr. John Randolph, the southern members were able to *buy* as many 'dough faces' as they required to carry any particular measure. But on the present occasion, it

does not appear that they have incurred any pecuniary expense. An opposition to the American system seems now to be the bond that unites the demagogues of the south and west, although it is well known that in nothing have the people of the west ever been so unanimous as in the opinion that the adoption of that system is indispensible to the prosperity of the country; and it must have been a very grievous affair for our opposition members to be obliged to adopt it without receiving any pay in advance. But in truth, it would have been asking too much of them to require that they should withstand the dictation of the valiant "hero of lutestring and Cologne," backed by the redoutable champion of Roanoke, who might "nail them to the counter like a piece of bad money," if they refused to believe that the constitution is a "fanfaronade of abstractions," or "blow them sky high," if they refused to abandon the interests of their constituents at his bidding.

But how are the people of the west to be made to adopt doctrines contrary to those they have so long cherished? In this Congressional district, indeed, the powerful talent, of our representative will do much, and if *he* should not be entirely equal to the task, our late representative will aid him. Of these distinguished characters it is difficult to decide which is the greatest man: either of them would in ordinary times, be sufficient for one state, but the old remark, that when great events are to be achieved, great men are raised up to accomplish them, is doubtless the best method of accounting for their appearance in the same age and country. It will unquestionably require the exercise of talents of the highest order to induce our people to relinquish their most favourite doctrines, merely because the people of the south require it. One of our great men, indeed, seems to possess the proud consciousness of being more than equal to this task, and he therefore devotes some of his surplus talents to the additional modest one, of overturning the christian religion. In this attempt Hume, Gibbon, Voltaire and many others, were very zealous, tho' unsuccessful: but they did not possess the talents of the editor of the Tiller, and therefore failed.* Not satisfied, however, with these two tasks, our great man in his course is accomplishing a third, viz: the destruction of the English language, and substituting one in its stead, entirely independent of rules of grammar or any such like restraints upon his genius. In this latter work he goes on prosperously, and by the time the people are enlightened enough to understand what he writes, the other two tasks will undoubtedly be accomplished. To these powerful supporters of the opposition in Ohio, another has been lately added, *perhaps* somewhat inferior in talents but equally useful: we mean the equestrian statue lately erected by Mr. Letton at his museum. This last would have been more efficacious if Mr. L. had attended to the advice of a friend, and exhibited the six militia men with their general. These would have given more character to the exhibition. The mere representation of one man on horseback, dressed in regimentals, is rather too much like our every day exhibitions of dressed up officers, and the latter possess *one* advantage over the former,—they are able to parade the streets. As to their comparative real utility, there will be, doubtless, much difference of opinion.

The importance of the task of supporting Gen. Jackson for the Presidency, is surely manifest from the importance of the characters we have referred to, who, with many others of a similar stamp, in other parts of the U. States, have assumed it. And the labors and sacrifices required of all his partizans attest it no less strongly. In speaking of the sacrifices required, we do not refer to that of consistency, which was made by most of the leaders, nor to those of an external regard for truth and decency. These seem to have

*We are informed that the Tiller has lately passed into other hands and will in future be conducted with decency. Of course the above remarks will not be supposed to be applicable to the present editor, who we are informed is a gentleman of good education, good morals and good sense.

been made without any effort. But to be obliged to adopt such sentiments and such language as John Randolph, Gov. Gil-, Duff Green, and McDuffie are in the habit of retailing—to be forced to adopt these, as the sentiments and feelings of the party, is really tasking human endurance to the uttermost.—The poor Egyptians who were forced to acknowledge as Gods, the most loathsome and unclean animals in nature, furnish the only instance we recollect of such a hardship. And if the merit of any work is to be measured by its disgusting nature, the followers of such men may fairly assume a high degree. But will all the offices and all the treasures of the nation be sufficient to reward so many men for such sacrifices? Truly, we fear not. A Republic must always be too poor to satisfy such claims. They would require an Emperor who could make Dukes and Princes of the leaders, and who could establish a legion of honor to reward the subordinates: an Emperor who, if the treasures of his own country were not sufficient, could rob his neighbors to enrich his followers.

To foster and cherish manufactures and encourage industry, would enrich the nation, but would the riches thus gained go into the pockets of the leaders of the opposition? If they would not, can they be expected to do otherwise than oppose these interests? Could my lord John of Roanoake be expected to descend so low as even to touch wealth gained by a manufactory? Why the very idea would be as horrible as that of his coachman's giving a vote at an election, and thus neutralizing that of his master. And can it be supposed that Lord McDuff could use cologne water of the manufacture of *this* country? Why he would think it a decoction of oak-bark. And the sublime Governor of Virginia, what would become of all his ideas, if he were once to see a manufactory in operation? Would not the whirling of the wheels and the noise, and the inexplicable varieties of motions, completely annihilate them? And Mr. Van Buren, what can he do in the way of his vocation with a parcel of factories? Their wheels will always keep whirling the same way in spite of the most deep and ingenious intrigues in his power. They would never know any thing more of his peculiar talent than his countrymen do of his political principles. How then can such men be expected to countenance manufacturing and the mechanic arts. No power less than that of an Emperor could create rewards sufficient to satisfy such men. If industry should be cherished and protected, where should we be able to find men to gaze at the pageants got up in honor of the Hero? Where would be the "greasy knaves to throw up their caps" and cry "hurrah for Jackson." And if habits of attention to business should become universal, where should we find suitable materials for the distinguished leaders above referred to, to operate upon, and what would prevent their talents from being lost to their country? The American System therefore cannot be expected to find favor with such men: and its supporters must endure the dreadful apprehension that the powerful states of S. Carolina and Georgia, will withdraw their support from the Union if they do not abandon it. The secession of these states, would leave the rest of the union as weak and feeble as an oak if the support of an ivy should be taken from it. But this is not all, there are the New-York and Boston merchants, who are opposed to the American System, and the latter have already published a memorial, ponderous enough to overpower the senses of a whole army, and if need be, the New-Yorkers can import another from England equally weighty, and equally correct, both as to facts and inferences. They have long had it in their power to check any particular branch of American manufactures by glutting the market with importations from England, and thus preventing the American fabrics from becoming known and preferred, and they are endeavouring in the same way to prevent our own doctrines of political economy from being adopted. In both cases they are in the habit of sending to this country inferior articles, such as have for their chief recommendation cheapness and external polish.

of such as are very little used in G. Britain.

If by this course,—by thus lending themselves to become tools of the British manufacturers, the merchants secured to themselves the advantage of even being *the last* to be devoured, their conduct would not appear so extraordinary, but as they are among the first to be ruined by those charges which are occasioned by an extraordinary glut of the market at one time, and a forced scarcity at another, their combining with the enemies of the American System is a course of policy truly unaccountable. As long as they pursue this course successfully, they can calculate upon what they have hitherto experienced, viz: at periods of five to seven years, regularly, a number of bankruptcies sufficient in the course of an ordinary life, to include nearly all the members of the mercantile community. A suitable encouragement of manufacturing industry, by diverting some of the competition, would render commerce more secure and safe for those who choose to pursue it; and would offer to those who choose to embark in other pursuits, opportunities of safe and profitable investment of capital.

It seems somewhat singular, that no one has yet undertaken to inform the eastern merchants and southern planters of a fact, which from the reasonings of their remonstrances, resolutions of Chambers of Commerce, &c. they seem to be profoundly ignorant of, viz: that the manufacturers of the United States are not a distinct and separate class into which no one else can enter, and that the protection that may be granted to them, is not for the exclusive benefit of existing manufacturers.—That every citizen can, and a goodly number always will, embark in any pursuit that they observe to be profitable; and the wealth acquired by successful occupation, is as likely to be generally diffused among the people, if that occupation be mechanical, as if it be mercantile.

Among the strange associations which the nomination of Gen. Jackson for the Presidency, has caused, none appears more singular, than that of the Southern planters with the Eastern merchants. These two bodies have hitherto been more regularly and constantly in opposition, than any other, and it would be very pleasant to see them at length united, if it were not for the circumstance that they have united to oppose what their own interests, as well as those of the country, should have caused them to unite to support. The planters, however, are not so exclusively governed by interest, as their new associates. They possess a great deal of pride and much magnanimity. But to carry the latter quality so far as to restore, voluntarily, to G. Britain, all the benefits she either derives or asks from colonies, viz: those of taking all their raw materials, and supplying all their manufactures, is really carrying this good quality a little too far. It has been supposed by some, that where slavery exists, a state of colonial subjection in the masters, is their only proper political condition. We hope our Southern brethren are not anxious to prove the truth of this maxim. Considering that the slavery which now exists among them, is not their fault but their misfortune; those of us who know from experience, the many excellent and amiable traits of character they possess, would willingly believe that this misfortune cannot so obscure and cloud their mental faculties, as to carry them such lengths as this. We all know that the blind enthusiasm, which, among the ignorant, supplies the place of political knowledge, does not, in the case of General J. exist in the South. Too many of his peculiar traits of character, have been exhibited there to admit of this belief. Perhaps if they could be brought to forgive Mr. Adams for having been born north of the Potomac, they might yet be induced to refuse their assistance toward elevating to the Presidency a man, whom they surely cannot love very heartily, and whose success can hardly afford much gratification to their pride.

If Gen. J. should be elected President, the task of pulling the wires will not occupy a sufficient number, to quiet all the restless spirits that are expecting to be engaged in the busi-

ne's, and then what will become of those unfortunate wretches that must be crowded out of the places they have set their hearts upon occupying? It is really melancholy to think what a number of men are disqualifying themselves for engaging in any laudable pursuit by endeavouring to qualify themselves for this. To a majority of the supporters of the General we believe a more dreadful disappointment would be caused by his success, than his failure, and it would be really praiseworthy to save them from this shock. They would certainly feel much less chagrin in being defeated by their enemies, than in being shaken off by their pretended friends. We have many of these unfortunate beings in the west, and what is to be done with them after the election, is a subject which ought to occupy the attention of the humane and charitable. We have many charitable societies, but we have not yet established one for the relief of disappointed office-seekers. As this is almost the only one that is really needed in the west, it is time that our leading philanthropists should take it into consideration; and we hope it will not be neglected. It might, if properly organized and directed, be the means of reforming many young men, whose brains have been turned by political ambition; and of restoring them to usefulness and in time to a correct estimate of their own talents. The patrons of such an institution, would receive the blessings of a community which would by their means be delivered from a constantly increasing evil; and the portion of peace and quiet which would be restored to the public, would be an ample remuneration for the expense. X. Y.

"THE BARGAIN."

In republics there is no political relation so interesting, and so sacred, as that which exists between the people and their representatives. This connexion is the result of that species of confidence and trust, which are alone the support of all elective governments. Destroy these, and confusion and anarchy must inevitably ensue; and all our free institutions tumble into ruin. The importance, therefore, of keeping up a correct and proper understanding between those who *grant*, and those who *exercise* official power, must be obvious to all:—in order to do this, it is equally obvious, that both parties are bound by every consideration of patriotism and honesty, to be candid and just. Their reciprocal intercourse should be characterized by mutual acts of kindness and confidence. As on the one hand, all pride and consequence of official station, should be avoided; so on the other, every mean prejudice and unfounded suspicion should be discarded.—There should exist a harmonious coincidence of feeling, a confirmed habit both on the part of the governors and the governed, to promote the happiness and prosperity of the country. The man who has spent his life and talents in the service of the public, has a right to expect, and receive from the people, the reward of their confidence and approbation. A contrary treatment, is not only an attack upon *him*, but upon the very spirit and essence of the elective franchise. Has not all history, proved the truth of this remark? How often did the citizens of Greece and Rome weaken the force of their free institutions by unjustly assailing and condemning their public men? The reputation, therefore, of magistrates and rulers belongs to the country. It should be treated as a pearl of great price; and when, sullied by doubts and suspicions, the accused should be heard with the utmost candour. Is not this doctrine correct? If public men are amenable to the people—if a reliance on their fidelity is the foundation of the elective system, it is our *interest*, to say nothing of *justice*, to hear and appreciate their defence, when accused? Not to hear a man who has been falsely assailed is a dereliction of the plainest principles of equity. Not to award him a verdict of acquittal, when proved to be innocent, is unmanly and cruel. To persist after all this, in a repetition of *false and exploded slanders* is worse than

open and direct assassination! If a spirit of this kind could be stopped with the destruction of a *single* victim, it might be lamented and endured. But whenever manifested in a republic, we may be sure it is fed and nourished by a morbid excitement, which, as it is without reason, has no limits. It is connected with the ambition of political aspirants, who have poisoned the public mind, and its deadly march bears down every thing before it. It is blind to every consideration of reason and justice, inflames the worst passions of the heart, and has often, in other countries, led to the most terrific scenes of "blood and carnage."

With the above introductory remarks, I pass to the consideration of the alleged "BARGAIN," between Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay. The latter gentleman, it is known, has been charged with prostituting himself to the ambition of the former, and of receiving as a reward of his infidelity, the office which he now holds. A more wicked and unfounded accusation was never made. It has not, and never has had, a single well authenticated or plausible fact to support it. And notwithstanding it has been refuted by testimony as strong and as irrefragible as holy writ, there are found those in our country, calling themselves just men and republicans, who will not only *not* publish the refutation, but continue with greedy appetites to swallow and to circulate the slander.

Having filled for twenty odd years some of the most useful and responsible stations under the government—having discharged them to the satisfaction of the people—and having been invited without solicitation to become a member of a cabinet, strong at the time, and since honored for its wisdom and energy, Mr. Clay could not but view this wanton attack upon his reputation, with feelings of the highest indignation. Conscious of the purity of his motives, he met the charge at the threshhold and declared with pardonable warmth of feelings that the accuser, whoever he might be, was an "*infamous calumniator, a dastard, and a liar.*" For this expression of excited feeling, Mr. Clay has been frequently censured. I will not say he was *justified*, but I *will say*, that he obeyed the impulse of an honest but indignant spirit, betrayed into an indiscreet expression by the wantonness and brutality of the charge. The accuser, George Kremer, of Pennsylvania, who acted as has been since proved, as the pioneer of a more detestable and abandoned corps of slanderers, was soon unveiled and brought to an open confession of the fact, on the floor of Congress.—At the solicitation of Mr. Clay, a committee of investigation was appointed. It consisted of Messrs Barbour, Webster, McLane, Taylor, Forsythe, Sanders, and Rankin. They organized, and notified the *Honorable* prosecutor that they were ready to hear his testimony or any communication he had to make. HE SHRUNK FROM THE INVESTIGATION!! Here it is proper to remark, that when Mr. Clay called for the appointment of the committee, and stated the charges which he conceived to be prefered against him in the Columbian Observer, Mr. Kremer responded to *the issue which was tendered*, and avowed his readiness and ability to prove it. But in a day or two he recoiled, denied the authority of the committee, and refused to appear before it!

With the result of the Kremer affair, the community is already acquainted. All parties at the time, were astonished at the man's alternate boldness and imbecility. Until his PRINCIPALS, to whose unhallowed purposes he had lent himself a willing but detestable instrument, had provided and published a lame apology for his conduct, he was universally despised—he was regarded in the light of a detected and degraded slanderer! Of him I shall have nothing further to say, in the present paper, except incidentally. I have only noticed him at all, in order to come more pertinently to the point, which has been more misrepresented and misunderstood, than any other matter connected with this subject. I allude to the proceedings of Mr. McDUFFIE and the resolution which he submitted, authorizing the committee of enquiry to "CALL FOR PERSONS AND PAPERS." The opponents of Mr. Clay, and more par

ticularly the Jackson editors, from one end of the United States to the other, seized upon this *species of finesse*, and have spared neither labour nor pains to turn it to their account. Not one word, however, of the resolution, nor the *real* purpose for which it was introduced, has been candidly and fairly represented. Nay, it has been most grossly perverted. From the Jackson presses, every thing in relation to it, has been distortion, falsehood and deception. Because Mr. Clay's friends in Congress, *opposed* the resolution, his enemies have declared that he shrunk from the investigation! They have had the gross duplicity to publish this statement, without the candour to give at the same time, Mr. McDUFFIE'S *own sentiments and views upon the subject.*— Had they have done so, the public would have understood his object. They would have seen that the trial of Mr. Clay was abandoned—that all hope of proving the charges against him was given up, and that the *only* intention was to provide some plausible retreat of the accuser. If there be yet left in the Jackson ranks a single desire for truth, or a spark of honest investigation, they shall be correctly informed on this subject. I will state the case fairly, and appeal to their most intelligent men for its truth.

Let it be remembered that when Mr. Clay made his application for the the appointment of the committee, he put enquiry upon the *broadest grounds*, and challenged the most rigid and severe investigation. Mr. Kremer rose and with a great show of confidence, accepted the issue. The committee as already stated, was appointed—finding Mr. Kremer would not appear before them, they reported that fact, and added, that "*if they knew of any reason for the investigation, they would have asked the house to clothe them with the power to send for persons and papers.*" It was previous to this, and during the discussion, in the house, of Mr. Clay's application for the enquiry, that Mr. McDuffie foreseeing the event of the proceedings and wishing to save *Kremer* from a total prostration, both political and moral, introduced the resolution referred to, as an amendment to the one which was then pending. I repeat that this resolution was *not* for the purpose of convicting Mr. Clay, but to keep the ball of slander still rolling and to show that *Kremer* had really heard certain things "*hinted, reported* and *intimated*;" but whether true or false, was no part of Mr. McDuffie's intention. He expressly stated his object, which I shall notice presently, to have no reference to Mr. Clay's trial, but to Kremer's. But here is the resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the said committee be instructed to enquire whether the friends of Mr. Clay have *hinted* they would fight for those who would pay best, &c.; and whether overtures were *said* to have been made by the friends of Adams to the friends of Clay, offering him the appointment of Secretary, &c.; and whether the friends of Clay gave this information to the friends of Jackson, and *hinted* that, if the friends of Jackson, would offer the same price they would close with them, &c.; and whether it was *said* or *believed* that in consideration of this abandonment of duty to his constituents, Mr. Clay was to be appointed Secretary of State, &c.; and that said committee be authorized to send for persons and papers!!"

Now what is the purport of this resolution, and what bearing had it upon the question before the house? Mr. Clay had been wantonly assailed in a public newspaper, by a fellow member of Congress. Insinuations and charges of the blackest character had been publicly circulated against him. Every body at Washington city, had "*heard*" them! True, they were couched in the language of slander; but until Kremer appeared in the "*Columbian Observer*," they had assumed no tangible shape, and could be traced to nothing but vague report. Mr. Clay appealed to the House to have a committee appointed to INVESTIGATE THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER—to ascertain whether he was *guilty of* the crimes with which these "*insinuations* and *reports*" had charged him. But Mr. McDuffie's resolution had no such object in view.— It asked nothing of this kind. It proposed to invest the committee with power to ascertain that which Mr

Clay and his friends admitted, viz: that certain *calumnious statements* had been "*made, hinted, reported, said, and believed.*" It was not an investigation of this sort that Mr. Clay sought. If it had been proved by a thousand witnesses that such *hints, insinuations* and *reports*, were in circulation, the question would still return, are they TRUE? This was the point, and the only point, he made in his appeal to the house. He had heard enough of *reports* and *insinuations* and was determined to bring the matter to a close, by an honest and open investigation. He challenged these reporters of *hints* and *nods* to come to the test. His promptness alarmed them and interrupted their schemes. The *scape goat* of the party, assumed at first a bold front, but was obliged to yield at last to the fate of all slanderers—the contempt and indignation of all good men. Mr. Clay's friends saw the object of Mr. McDuffie's resolution and opposed it. It amounted to a mere nullity, and was very properly and honestly rejected, by a large majority of the house. Now to make this matter perfectly plain, suppose the committe *had* been invested with the power desired. It is clear, they would have been bound to pursue the provisions and instruction of the *resolution*. In that case, they would have proceeded to enquire whether this celebrated charge of "*bargain*" had not been "*hinted, said, reported* and *believed!*" To this extent they would have gone, and no further. Supposing all this had been proved, that is, that it had been HINTED, SAID, REPORTED and BELIEVED, that a bargain had been made? Would this have reached the case proposed by Mr. Clay? Certainly not. As I have already remarked, all these "*hints* and *reports*" were *conceded* to be in circulation. It was to PROVE *THEIR* TRUTH, and to bring the vile retailers of such slanders to the *book*, that Mr. Clay made his appeal.—Neither he or his friends would accept of the contemptible quibble offered to screen the accuser. But hear what Mr. McDuffie further says upon the subject: "The object of my resolution," said he, is to accord to Mr. KREMER, (who, and *not* Mr. Clay, is the *real* object of this investigation) *the poor right which belongs to every individual when he is to be tried!*" Here then we have a developement of the whole matter. Mr. Kremer, and *not* Mr. Clay, was to be tried! Pray what was Mr. *Kremer* to be tried for? Why, truly, to ascertain whether he had not *heard* certain slanders "*hinted, reported* and *said*" against Mr. Clay—*not* whether these things were *true*, but whether he had not *heard* them!! Now was there ever any thing more ridiculous, and foreign to the real subject which was in hand! In the name of common sense, what light would this kind of proceeding have thrown upon the subject?—Appoint a committee;—for what purpose! to try the *truth* of the charges against Mr. Clay. Give them power to send for persons and papers:—for what purpose? Why really NOT *to prove the* CHARGES, but to prove that the *accuser* had heard them "INTIMATED and REPORTED!!!" Now, this is the real state of the case. It was so reported at the time, in the proceedings of Congress; and yet it is said, that *Mr. Clay shrunk from the investigation!* It is a base and malicious slander, propogated by political knaves, to gull the weak and the simple. The truth is, Mr. McDuffie found Kremer in a difficulty. He had been imprudent in declaring, that he was ready to *prove* what was not true, and what was never intended to be circulated, except in "*hints, reports* and *insinuations!*" The efforts of the party were therefore exerted to relieve him. For this purpose they *changed the ground of Mr. Clay's application*—made *Kremer* the party to be tried, and vainly hoped to succeed, by showing before the committee, that the poor wretch had published nothing more in the 'OBSERVER,' than what he had heard "*hinted, reported* and *said!!*"

I should not have dwelt so long upon this part of my subject, but for the constant misrepresentation by the Jackson party, of the nature and object of Mr. McDuffie's resolution. Thousands have believed that Mr. Clay recoiled from the investigation. Thousands have reported it, who knew to the contrary. I have now stated the matter

fairly, and put it to every honest man to determine for himself, whether the assertion is founded in truth? Even Gen. JACKSON, in his letter to the public, has lent himself to this miserable and contemptible misrepresentation! He says that Mr. Clay is "*rejoiced* that a specific accusation, by a responsible accuser has at length appeared." Then referring to the resolution, he says: "*it covered more ground than his communication to Beverley!*"—Again: "More than two years ago, an *accuser* respectable, and an *accusation specific*, were both before him!" Thus he goes on through two or three paragraphs, alleging in substance, that Mr. Clay and his friends avoided the investigation! Yet General Jackson is represented by his supporters as a man of *discernment*, integrity, and honour! After the exposition given of the resolution, comment upon the General's assertions is unnecessary. They betray great ignorance and stupidity, or a want of candour in every way derogatory to the character of a gentleman.

The failure so prove the "*bargain*," and the mortification which attended it, provoked the opponents of Mr. Clay to many acts of hostility, which at present, I shall forbear to notice. I pass therefore to his late address to the public, and to some documents accompanying it, which have also been the subject of much misrepresentation.—The *extent* and *nature* of the charge against Mr. Clay, I believe is well understood. The slander has been so often repeated by the Jacksonians, so widely extended and circulated, that every inhabitant, even in the most obscure parts of the union, must have heard it over and over again. But for the purpose of comment, I will here repeat it.

In substance the charge is this:—"That Mr. Clay went to Washington city, and after learning that he would not be one of the three highest candidates returned to the house, "*held himself in reserve*," in order to make the best arrangement he could for himself. It is not alleged he said or did any thing *personally* in the business, except by General Jackson, and his assertions have been promptly disproved, both by Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Markley. His *friends*, however, it is said, first tampered with Mr. Adams, and then with Gen. Jackson, and finding the latter would make no terms, *then* Mr. Clay closed with the former, and received as the reward of his vote and influence, the office of Secretary of state." I think I have stated the charge fully and fairly:—now let us examine it.

In the first place, if this vile tale be correct more than *twenty* gentlemen of Congress have *perjured* themselves! For in order to make the charge at all plausible, it is alleged, that Mr. Clay's *friends* and *colleagues* were influenced by him to vote for Mr. Adams! A great majority of these have unequivocally and solemnly stated, that they were *not* thus influenced, and that they knew nothing of the matter. Now what a strange and improbable case is here presented? Certainly Mr. Clay *alone*, could not have elected Mr. Adams!—He might have given *his* vote in any manner he chose, & still it would have been the vote of a single man. How then is the pretended bargain made out? Would Mr. Adams intrigue with Mr. Clay and promise him the second office in the government merely for *one vote*? Surely not. To get on with the charge then, Mr. Clay's *friends* must of necessity be brought into the account. But these have declared that he said not a word to them about it, and many of them did not know how he intended to vote himself. Are they all foresworn? Has it come to this, that twenty or thirty men, members of Congress, chosen from the bosom of the people, and noted heretofore for their talents and integrity, will perjure themselves? For what purpose? Setting aside all moral considerations, what had they to *gain?* I appeal now to honest, considerate men; not to the Simpsons, the Greens, and the Dawsons of the day, but to honest men, what had these persons to gain? Did they seek office? No. Have they received office? No: not a single man of them! What then, I repeat, had they to gain? Surely nothing. If these men, therefore, have spoken the truth, and were not influ-

enced by Mr. Clay, the "bargain" falls to the ground; for his single vote would have been of no avail. On the contrary, if they *were* influenced by him, they have all perjured themselves, and this too, without motive or reward! Men do not act in this way.—None but knaves and fools will either circulate, or believe, that they do. Review the subject. Mr. Clay made a "corrupt bargain" with Mr. Adams, for a thing he had been offered, but would not take, before, and which he and all his friends, and even many of his ENEMIES knew and granted he might receive, if he would, without a single effort! Why then should he bargain for it? But further, twenty or thirty of his friends, elected from different parts of the country, of different views in politics and religion, accountable to GOD and their country, for the honest and faithful discharge of their duties, ALL CONSPIRE IN PROSTITUTING AND PERJURING THEMSELVES! and for what purpose? Why, really, to OBTAIN FOR MR. CLAY AN OFFICE HE COULD HAVE HAD WITHOUT THEIR ASSISTANCE!! Can any man, in his senses, believe a tale so utterly destitute of all human reason to support it? I have thus far proceeded upon the grounds as assumed by Mr. Clay's opponents: I will now attend to other matters.

The charge alleges that Mr. Clay held himself "in *reserve*—that through the medium of his *friends*, he bartered with both parties," &c. &c. Now, if it can be shown, that he had determined to vote for Mr. Adams in preference to Jackson *while he himself was a candidate*, and *before*, and *after*, he went on to Washington, the whole charge must fall to the ground. For this purpose, let facts be submitted.—As early as November, 1824, it is testified by a number of respectable gentlemen, and among them Dr. Drake and John J. Crittenden, Esq., that Mr. Clay declared, that in a contest between Adams and Jackson, he should unhesitatingly vote for the former—nay, he declared that he could *not vote for Gen. Jackson under any circumstances!* The communications of these gentlemen are before the public, and it is unnecessary at present to notice them further. I will only add, that such is their reputation at home and abroad, that no honest man dare question their veracity. For all the purposes of truth, I might here rest the argument; for, if Mr. Clay had determined to vote for Mr. Adams, there could certainly be no reason for the supposed bargain.—But I proceed still further.

General Lafayette, a man whom we all prize for his exalted character, and especially for his services to our country, is a witness on this occasion. If the Jacksonians will not believe *him*, they would not believe, though one rose from the dead! He says, in answer to Mr. Clay's letter to him, in substance as follows: "In the latter end of December, you being out of the Presidential candidature, I allowed myself to put to you a simple, unqualified question respecting your electioneering *guess* and YOUR INTENDED VOTE.—Your answer was, that in your opinion, the actual state of health of Mr. Crawford had limited the contest to a choice between Mr. Adams and Gen. Jackson; *that a claim founded on military achievement did not meet your preference, and that* YOU HAD CONCLUDED TO VOTE FOR MR. ADAMS"! This conversation took place between Gen. Lafayette and Mr. Clay while the General was in this country in 1824. Now, what are we to make of it! Has the good Lafayette lent himself to the "*bargain*"? Has he also perjured himself? For I consider every man as *morally* guilty of perjury, who will tell an untruth upon any serious and important occasion. Mr. Clay, then, had formed and expressed his determination to vote for Mr. Adams long before the election took place, or all these witnesses, including Lafayette, are guilty of the most wanton and unpardonable falsehoods! Will any man believe a conclusion so monstrous, and derogatory to human nature? Where, then, is the "*bargain*"? where the "*corruption*"? where the "*reserve*," or holding back to see "*who would pay best*"? The charge and the proof cannot both stand together. One or the other must be given up, and I submit it to the public to determine the matter for themselves. But one word further.

Col. Thomas H. Benton, a political enemy of Mr. Clay, and a warm supporter of Gen. Jackson, in a letter dated at Washington city, the 7th of last December, says: "*I was informed by* Mr. Clay *in the fore part of December*, 1824, THAT HE INTENDED TO VOTE FOR MR. ADAMS"!! I would publish the whole letter, but it would swell this communication which is already longer than I intended.—But in another place Mr. Benton, says!—"Since that period and especially during the last summer, I have on several occasions, and sometimes in the presence of political opponents, when the course of conversation led me to it, *mentioned what I knew of Mr. Clay's early intention to vote for Mr. Adams.*" I will not remark upon Mr. Benton's long and unaccountable silence upon a subject so interesting to Mr. Clay and upon account of which he was daily recieving the most unparalleled and wanton abuse. But I ask the Jacksonians, if they will not believe the witnesses produced by Mr. Clay, to believe their own. This they are bound to do by every principle of honor and of justice. What then can they make of it? Connect it with the testimony of those already mentioned, and what does it prove? Does it prove that Mr. Clay was guilty of the "*bargain*"? No. Does it prove that he held himself in "*reserve*" till just before the election? No. Does it substantiate the statement made by General Jackson in reference to his suppositions in the case? No. It proves directly the reverse. It shows that Mr. Clay, though he did not publish it in the Newspapers, nor proclaim it in the Capitol, had determined to vote for Mr. Adams, and that he had so declared himself to a great number of his friends. At the time of these declarations he had neither motive nor opportunity to bargain with Mr. Adams. He was himself a candidate and spoke of his intention as predicated upon the relative characters and fitness of the two men between whom a choice was to be made. The story of "bargain and sale is but a new version of the old charge of corrupt coalition" prior to the election of the colleges. The cry then was, that Mr. Clay and Mr. *Crawford* were intriguing together. The Jackson prints were full of plots and counterplots, in all which Mr. Clay was the chief manager. At last the day arrived, and all their schemes were exploded, as in that case so in the present, the mightiness of truth must prevail!

In conclusion I have a word to say to the Jackson Editors. Why have they not published the letter of Col. Benton and General Lafayette? I have no recollection of seeing either of them in a single Jackson paper in the Union! Ought not this circumstance to put the people on their guard? Shall a prominent citizen of the United States, be accused of the basest corruption and then be denied the privilege of defence? And what better is it, than a *denial*, when the Press through which the slander was circulated refuses to publish the refutation? What is there in these two letters that makes it necessary to withhold them from the Jackson community? I answer, they contain a triumphant vindication of Mr. Clay, and show him to have been an injured and persecuted man. I ask therefore, the people to read and examine for themselves—they have no interest in being deceived, and I am confident that investigation will lead them to the truth.

JACKSON'S
CIVIL QUALIFICATIONS.

The happy government under which we live, is singularly unique in its character, profound in its general provisions, complicated in its details. It was established in an age extraordinary for its moral and political cast, and by a class of men, distinguished for their virtue, their wisdom, and the sternness of their patriotism. Designed to embrace several provinces, this form of government was necessarily the result of compromise, in order that these provinces might be induced to unite in a general confederacy. These different provinces, or states as they were subsequently called, lying in different latitudes, with separate, and in many in-

stances, opposite interests, could only be brought together by a surrender of some, and a partial modification of many of the various interests and opinions by which they were severally distinguished. It is, moreover, a government of checks and balances. To preserve the integrity of the proposed union, it became necessary to clothe the general government with power. To secure the independence of the state sovereignties, it was necessary to limit that power. Within certain boundaries, each is independent; beyond these, neither can exercise any control without a violation of those fundamental principles upon which the union was established. "Whatsoever is of domestic concernment, unconnected with other members of the union, or with foreign lands, belongs exclusively to the administration of the state governments. Whatsoever directly involves the rights of the federative fraternity, or of foreign powers, is the resort of this general government. The duties of both are obvious in the general principle, though sometimes perplexed with difficulties in the detail."

Our government is one, deriving its very existence from, and upheld by, the will of the people. It is not a government of power, where the sword and the purse are relied upon to ensure its permanency at home, or among the nations of the world. Based as it is, upon the will of the people, and dependent for its perpetuity upon their virtue and intelligence, not less than the integrity and ability with which it is conducted, the difficulties attendant upon its administration are numerous and complicated.

To preserve our amicable relations with other powers, and thus secure to the citizens of the United States, not only the blessings of peace, but the advantages of commercial intercourse, is a matter of the highest moment, and can only be accomplished by placing the executive functions in the hands of those, who possess a profound knowledge of the policy and intricate relations of those powers. It is true, that all treaties made by the President, must be ratified by the Senate; but in this very circumstance there is a powerful reason why the Executive should be possessed of the proper qualifications for forming such treaties as will meet the wisdom of the Senate; inasmuch as the national character and the national interests may often be seriously impaired by the disappointment and delay attending the rejection of a treaty by that body. Whether viewed as it regards the condition of the state governments, the exercise of the powers delegated in relation to commerce, revenue, internal improvement and the protection of home industry, or whether contemplated in its extended and multifarious foreign relations, it is equally obvious, that a successful administration of the government of the United States requires great political experience, talents and wisdom. It may indeed be questioned, whether any station can be pointed out, requiring in the performance of the duties incident to it, a greater exercise of the moral and intellectual energies of a public officer, than is necessary in discharging the functions appertaining to the Presidency of the United States.

Talents of the highest grade, developed by a long course of study,—embracing within its range civil polity, the law of nations, and particularly the system which has grown out of the federation of the United States, and the republics of the South, conjoined with prudence, moral intrepidity and decision of character, comprise a portion of the requisites in a Chief Magistrate of this country. An individual may be qualified in an eminent degree for the performance of the duty of a Secretary at War, but it would by no means follow that he is prepared for that of the Presidency. He may be intimately acquainted with the general arrangements and minute details of the navy, or he may be an able financier, and preside with dignity to himself and honor to the nation over the Treasury department, and yet be found unqualified for the discharge of the duties belonging to the executive chair. These are propositions, which may be so readily comprehended, that they need not be enforced by argument or illustration. It is useless, therefore, to dwell longer on this part of the subject.

When a candidate for the high office of President is presented to the community, either by himself or a portion of his fellow citizens, it becomes an imperative duty that the people of the United States should institute an inquiry of the most rigid kind into his claims and qualifications to the office, and having divested themselves of both prejudice and prepossession, to decide with a single reference to the good of the country. It is a question in which no feeling of personal consideration, nor passion, nor gratitude, unless for civil services, should ever be suffered to mingle. Stern patriotism should bring the claims of the aspirant to the proper standard, and love of country should be the only principle of decision. In the present canvass for a Chief Magistrate two candidates are before the people. They are from different sections of the Union, possess different qualifications, and are respectively supported from different feelings and with opposite views. Without embarking at present in the question of the qualifications of the one who is now the incumbent of the Presidential chair, it is my purpose to bring those of his competitor to the test, and endeavor to ascertain whether they are of that kind which entitle the possessor to a preference over Mr. Adams, and whether, indeed, the former has under any circumstances a legitimate claim to the office. If it can be demonstrated that he has not, it becomes a sacred duty to oppose his elevation by all honorable means.

Throughout the whole of the protracted effort to secure the elevation of General Jackson to the Presidency, notwithstanding the warm and infuriated zeal of a large part of his supporters, I have never yet, met with an individual who would so far hazard his character for candour as to say, that *had General Jackson not fought the battle of New Orleans, or had he been unsuccessful in that engagement, he ever would have been thought of, much less seriously urged upon the American people, as a candidate for the Presidency.* I wish to be distinctly understood on this point; it is an important one, and I design to urge with some considerable earnestness the deductions which may be drawn from it. I then ask, whether it will be seriously urged, that if Gen. Jackson had been defeated on the plains of New Orleans he would now be a candidate for the Presidency. I do not hesitate to make the assertion that no one of his followers who values the character of a candid, sensible man, will risk his reputation by an affirmative answer. It then resolves itself into this, that a single successful battle, is sufficient to qualify a man for the high civil duties inseparably connected with the office of the Chief magistracy of the Union. This is a simple deduction from the premises and one from which the followers of General Jackson cannot escape. It does but little credit it is true to their judgment, but it necessarily fastens upon them, and I feel no hesitancy in making the application.

Now admitting for the sake of argument, and it is only for that purpose that I am willing to make that admission, that in gaining the battle of New-Orleans, General Jackson displayed all the requisites of a great and skillful commander;—that his generalship on that memorable day entitles him, to a rank among the distinguished warriors of ancient and modern times, and that it had not been for him, defeat would have ensued, and the city have fallen into the hands of the enemy, and what does it avail his followers? By what system of logic will they seek to prove his civil qualifications from the fact that he has led his countrymen to victory? Now it is contended that a man may be eminently qualified for the camp, that he may possess bravery, coolness and fortitude, that he may be gifted with the power of winning the love of his soldiers, prove himself an able tactician, and be possessed of that energy of character which prepares him for every emergency, and notwithstanding all these exalted endowments he may be wholly unprepared to comprehend the civil polity of his country, much less to take charge of the helm of State, which is to guide it to ruin or glory. So, on the contrary, a wise and accomplished civilian might entirely fail in making a successful military commander. One could lose an army, the other destroy his country.

But it is said by some of the supporters of Gen. Jackson, that although he is only tolerably qualified as a civilian, yet such have been his military services, that from a *feeling of gratitude*, we are bound to support his claims to the Presidency. Has it then come to this? Is gratitude for a successful campaign to confer on a mere soldier, the highest civil office in the gift of the people? Heaven forbid. When that period arrives, the funeral pyre of the liberties of our country will be lighted up, and the shout of applause announcing the elevation of a Military Chieftain to the executive chair of this republic, will be the knell of its freedom. If there be yet an uncancelled debt of gratitude for the military services of Gen. Jackson, let it be liquidated. I only oppose its being paid by his election to a civil office, the duties of which, I believe him unable to discharge. If the General still have claims upon his country, let a golden statue be erected to him at the Capitol,—let the national coffers be laid open to his grasp, and let those whose breasts are heaving with these violent emotions of gratitude, harness themselves to the car of the Hero, and drag him in triumph through the land; but spare, oh spare, the temple of liberty, from the reckless violence of a Military Chieftain.

It has been remarked, that if Gen. Jackson had not fought the battle of New-Orleans, he would not have been a candidate for the Presidency. Let us recur to this subject and test the truth of the proposition. Gen. Jackson has been placed under such circumstances, during a large portion of his life, that he has possessed every opportunity for a display of genius and attainments. Such indeed have been the stations filled by him, that it is the fairest of all possible deductions, to believe that his greatest efforts have been made, and his most masterly displays of learning and greatness called forth.

The Profession of the Law in this country, is more than any other, the road to civil preferment, and the best school for the attainments necessary to constitute an eminent civilian. Gen. Jackson is a lawyer, but without that distinction as one, which elevates him above mediocrity. I cannot, therefore from his legal career, draw any conclusions favorable to his fitness for the Presidency.

Gen. Jackson was a member of the Convention which formed the Constitution of Tennessee, but I am unable to ascertain that his fame is connected with that instrument, or that his participation in its formation affords the smallest evidence of his talents, nor even of his republican feelings.

Gen Jackson has been twice a Senator in Congress, a station affording a fine theatre for the display of those qualifications more particularly requisite in the discharge of the duties of the office to which he now aspires; but I have sought in vain for any thing more than a silent vote, while a member of that august assembly.

Upon the bench of the Supreme Court there was ample opportunity for the exercise of juridical learning and talents; but I am not apprised that his decisions are ever referred to, nor is the name of Jackson to be found in connection with any of the judicial authorities that are daily cited in our courts of justice.

Am I referred to his acts while Governor of Florida for evidences of his qualifications in civil affairs? I remember, among other things connected with the exercise of the functions appertaining to that office, that Congress passed a law, to relieve the inhabitants of Florida from some of the oppressive ordinances under which he left them groaning.

These are some of the offices which Gen. Jackson has successively filled. They were all speedily resigned. His biographer and bosom friend, gives us the impressive fact, that Gen. Jackson assigned as a reason for his resignation of several of these offices, that he felt his own incompetency for the discharge of the duties incident to them. And yet we are gravely told that Gen. Jackson is qualified for the Presidency!

But, say the advocates of Gen. Jackson, if he be elected, he will call to his Cabinet the best talents of the nation. This is a presumption contradicted by the whole history of his life. No man

perhaps, is more under the influence of strong passions than Gen. Jackson, and none more accustomed to form strange associations with individuals than himself. It would hence be a singular course of induction, to conclude that in filling offices he would lay aside all prepossessions for and against his friends and his enemies. He may, or he may not; the weight of evidence is certainly against his doing so: but for the sake of argument let it be granted, that, if elected, Gen. Jackson will call to his aid the best talents of the country. What will the admission avail in the present argument? I will examine this matter, and endeavour to give a simple illustration of it.

The members of the cabinet may be said to perform, in regard to the President, what the senses of the body perform for the brain. The sense of touch may be acute, the eye, the ear, and the taste, may all be good and exercise their various functions in the most perfect manner, but unless the capacity of the head be such as to enable the brain to arrange and combine the impressions carried to it, it matters not how well these senses may have performed the duties assigned them in the economy of human life. It is not only necessary that there should exist the intelligence for deciding upon the accuracy of the report made by *one* of the senses, but upon the correctness of *all* of them. Nor is this all. There must also be the capacity of combining them: Deficiencies must be supplied, redundancies lopped off, and such modifications made as will promote the union, harmony, and integrity of all the parts. Such are the indestructible relations between the different members of the Cabinet and the President. He must have intelligence to enable him to preside over all the departments of his cabinet,—to keep each within its proper sphere,—to pass, if necessary, upon the details of each in all its multiplied ramifications,—and finally to adjust the reports from each, in such a manner as while it accords with the spirit of our Constitution and the genius of the Government, will most effectually promote the happiness of the people and the glory of the nation. Was it alone in reference to the secretaries that this duty was to be performed? The same is required in regard to the various communications from our ministers at foreign courts and from the resident ministers of other powers at our court. With a weak executive, having duties to perform, such as have been feebly pointed out, what would be the result? I ask if the objections to General Jackson's want of qualifications is sufficiently answered in the fact of his having around some able Secretaries? To my plain understanding it is not. On the contrary I should infer, that without an able Executive, there might be something to apprehend from having men of very distinguished abilities connected with the Cabinet.

I am not laboring for the purpose of meeting the declamation of demagogues, nor is aught expected but contumely from those supporters of General Jackson, whose only argument in favor of his election, consists in shouting, hurra for the hero of New-Orleans. I would address myself to the sober and thinking portion of his advocates, those who are searching for the truth, and are willing to be guided by it. If the positions and conclusions here enforced be *incorrect*, I ask from this class their refutation. If the duties appertaining to the office of President, or the talents required for the performance of them, be overdrawn, it may be easily pointed out. If the civil qualifications of Gen. Jackson are such as to enable him to discharge those duties with credit to himself, and advantage to the country, the proofs of it are urgently demanded. It is believed that no man can live to the age of sixty years, and successively fill the civil offices which have been conferred on Gen. Jackson, if he be truly a great man, without leaving behind him the way-marks of his towering talents, of his uncommon attainments. In vain may the vestiges of the General's greatness be sought for,—having no existence, they will never be found.

If General Jackson would have been taken up for the presidency, were his name not associated with the battle of New Orleans, it is certainly susceptible of some species of demonstration, and an important benefit will be conferred

upon the public by having the proofs exhibited. This need not be expected, for no such proofs are in existence. I deny that the whole ranks of his supporters can furnish a solitary individual with the hardihood to venture the declaration, that he had contemplated General Jackson before the battle of New Orleans, as destined to preside over the councils of the nation at any future time. I deny that from the period of the battle which conferred distinction upon the General, down to the present time, any thing has occurred in his career, calculated to make him a prominent man for the office to which his inordinate ambition now prompts him to aspire.

I appeal to the candour of every man of both parties to say, what were his impressions when he first heard of the nominations of Gen. Jackson for the Presidency which were made in one of the Western counties of Pennsylvania and in Tennessee. Where is the individual who did not consider those nominations as importing nothing more than a compliment to the General's military services? And why were these impressions univessal. Simply because no man entertained the belief that the qualifications of General Jackson were such as to qualify him for the Presidency. These first impressions were the correct ones, and must still be entertained by candid, reflecting minds. Other nominations followed those referred to. Some of the partizans of the other candidates, in order to favor their respective leaders, promoted these demonstrations, by dwelling upon the military renown of the General, a matter which addresses itself more directly to the passions of the great mass of mankind than any other; and thus was commenced the tide of popular clamor in his favor.

If the superior claims of his competitors were mentioned, it was immediately met by the reply that "the General is a second Washington, he has saved his country."

If his want of civil qualifications was urged against his election, the unanswerable reply was given "Gen. Jackson whipped the British at New Orleans."

If the violent and ungovernable temper, which has marked his whole life, was called up, "hurra for the Hero of two wars," has been shouted in reply.

If General Jackson's disregard of the constitution and the laws of his country, which has characterised most of the public acts of his life, was adduced as an objection to his elevation, it has been met by pointing significantly to "the plains of New Orleans."

If those who "cannot look upon blood and carnage with composure," have raised their voices against a military Chieftain, who both in public and in private has manifested a carelessness of human life, and has rather sought than avoided the blood of his fellow citizens, their ears have been astounded by the shout of "gratitude to the defender of the booty and beauty of New-Orleans."

If the question be here asked why should we elect Gen. Jackson? we are met by the resistless argument, "he is the Saviour of his country, because he saved New Orleans"!!

Those persons who are determined to put down the administration right or wrong, the opponents of internal improvement and the protection of domestic industry, the disappointed office hunters and noisy demagogues of the nation, have arrayed themselves under the banner of the "Hero of two wars," and shouted hosannahs to his name, until a feeling of enthusaism has seized upon all those whose capacities enable them to comprehend the meaning of the word *battle*; and has also borne down the discretion and good sense of a large number of worthy and respectable citizens. Where it will carry the nation and when it will subside cannot be predicted. It is a flame the progress of which it is not easy to resist, for it sets at defiance both reason and judgment, and appeals directly to the passions; it spreads like the wild fire which occasionally overruns our forests and savannas, and like that must run, perhaps, its course in defiance of human agency. Its duration cannot be long, but in its progress, it may scathe the noblest institutions which freedom has ever erected, and consume in its

desolating march, those who, like the hunters of the prairie, have wantonly applied the torch. MANLIUS.

"EXTERMINATION."

"This morning we killed sixteen."

If General Jackson is a man of correct and honorable feelings, is it not remarkable that his official as well as private life should be connected with so many acts of inhumanity and violence? Is he charged improperly? if so, he is one of the most unfortunate men in existence. For there is hardly a transaction in which he was ever engaged, that does not present something of questionable policy, if not of direct and barbarous outrage. Were I here to enumerate them, they would present a catalogue of dark and bloody deeds, shocking to humanity and sufficient to appal the stoutest heart. But I shall refer to but a single instance, and to Gen. Jackson's own account of it.

In 1814, the General proceeded against an Indian village situated at the bend of the Tallapoosie. It contained about a thousand Indians, and, in his own language, with their *squaws* and *children* "running about among their huts." In a letter, dated the 28th of March, 1814, to Gen. Pinckney, Gen. Jackson gives the following account of his plans and operations:

"DETERMINING TO EXTERMINATE them, I detached General Coffee with the mounted men and nearly the whole of the Indian force, early on the morning of yesterday, to cross the river about two miles below the encampment, and to surround the bend in such a manner as that none of them should escape by attempting to cross the river." He then says: "*Five hundred and fifty-seven* were left dead on the Peninsula, and a great number of them *were killed by the horsemen in attempting to cross the river*, UNTIL WE WERE PREVENTED BY THE NIGHT! WE CONTINUED TO DESTROY *many of them who had concealed themselves under the banks of the river*, until we were prevented by the night. THIS MORNING WE KILLED SIXTEEN, WHICH HAD BEEN CONCEALED"!!

Now this is Gen. Jackson's own account of a transaction, which for cold-blooded cruelty is not exceeded in the annals of the most relentless and savage warfare. "DETERMINING TO EXTERMINATE" them, he fell upon these poor deluded and half starved wretches with all the ferocity of the tiger; nor did he stay his hand, so long as a trembling victim of his vengeance could be found. Do we carry on wars of *extermination?* Do we butcher in cold blood? Will a Christian people suffer a public agent to "exterminate," without regard to age, sex or condition, even the miserable remnant of a tribe of native Americans? Did not the imperious Spaniard hunt with blood-hounds the fugitive Mexicans, and has not all posterity cursed him for the inhuman and bloody deed? How much better are we? One would suppose it was a sufficient hardship for a humane man, to be obliged to destroy at one time FIVE HUNDRED human beings! But this was not a sufficient offering of blood. The wretched fugitives from slaughter were pursued to the caves and banks, were dragged from their hiding places, and were cut down the next day, like beasts of the forest. How many women and children were sacrificed in this fatal war of "extermination," heaven only knows; and I pray God, for the honor of the American name, it may *never* be known! Was this foul deed like Washington, like William Penn, like Franklin, like the good Lafayette, or like any other great and good man? Had we not mingled in the poor Indians' cup of affliction enough of bitterness and bloodshed? Was it reserved for Jackson, after we had driven them from forest to forest, from river to river, from the Atlantic almost to the foot of the Rocky mountains, to commence upon their enfeebled tribes a war of "extermination"? He, who can look with composure upon such blood and carnage, and avow the intention above quoted, is unfit for any civil station in a free country. I know the Indians are a subtle and a cruel foe; but they are men, and should be treated as men. I

conclude with an extract from a Baltimore paper on the same subject.

"We ask you to pause and reflect that the above tragic narration of cold-blooded and merciless cruelty, is taken from an official communication made by General Andrew Jackson,—and that after being the chief actor in this detestable butchery, and so fixing an indelible stain upon the character of our country, for bumanity, he has the hardihood to ask those whom he thus dishonored, to lend themselves to his ambitious purposes, and by their sanction of his conduct to adopt it as their own. We all recollect the sensation created throughout this land when we heard that at the battle of the river Rasin, our countrymen had been murdered by the *savage* allies of England, while Britons looked on without raising an arm to rescue from the tomahawk and scalping-knife, those who had sprung from the same stock as themselves. We recollect that the vengeance of this nation was then invoked against the British, for quietly overlooking those horrid transactions, the recital of which had filled every breast with unspeakable sorrow and indignation. If the British were so justly censured, and that they were so, no one will attempt to deny, how much more so was General Jackson:—they plead in extenuation of their crying sin, that, the Indians being so much more numerous than their own troops, they could not control them; not so can plead General Jackson—he has nothing to offer in palliation of his outrage upon humanity: nor does he attempt to conceal his monstrous determination "*to exterminate*" the miserable race exposed to his fury. His crime was commissive—that of the British omissive; they, perhaps, left undone what they ought to have done; but he absolutely did what he ought not to have done.

Let us recapitulate:—The General, after sleeping (with what composure we cannot say) through the night ensuing the tragedy we speak of, awoke in the morning, surrounded by the corpses of "five hundred and seventy" fellow creatures, to cause by way of worthy afterpiece, sixteen others to be dragged from their concealment, and put to death in cold blood. We cannot boast of more than common sensibility, but we must think, that to witness such an act would make ours a little cold also. What are the General's words? These: "this morning we killed sixteen which had been concealed,"—and the man who acts and speaks thus: who has half as much blood upon his conscience, as he has upon his hands,—he, forsooth, is to be called the peer and *like* of Washington the happy warrior.

A DRAMA.

TO THE EDITORS OF TRUTH'S ADVOCATE.

I have designed forwarding to you some extracts from a dramatic piece called "The Hero of Two Wars;"—though it is not yet time for its exhibition on the American stage. Yet when truth shall have triumphed over falsehood, and time shall have thrown around it the drapery of years, it may be esteemed at least for its historical accuracy, and serve to hand the Hero down to everlasting fame, like Eratostratus of old. For while the annals of history retains the name of the incendiary of the Ephesian temple, the incendiary of political discord must also come in for his share of immortality. I have ventured to suggest something in shape of what you may deem proper to appear as editorial, when revised by yourselves. W.

THE HERO OF TWO WARS,

A DRAMA IN FIVE ACTS.

Act 1st, scene 1st—An Inn at the Capitol

ENTER HERO.

Hero. Kremer, importing charge of vile intrigue,
Corruption, management, and base design
Against the opposers of my great intent,
Has laid the corner stone on which I'll build
The glorious edifice of future fame.
Born in the tempest of tumultuous war,
I relish not these "piping times of peace;"
Hero must be foremost, or be nothing,
Sink to oblivion, and be known no more,
"Or mount the whirlwind and direct the storm."
Propitious now the season to begin,
I'll fan the spark of Slander's fiery brand,
Until I'll wrap the nation in a flame,
That shall consume my foes, though they were pure
As min'string angels from the realms of light.
"Plots have I laid, inductions dangerous,"
By inuendoes, nods, and dark surmise,
That if the nation be as credulous
"As I am subtle, false and treacherous,"
Then shall my rival's triumph be but short.
The disaffected first I'll conjure up—
Mischief! how apt a counsellor art thou,
For now thou dost remind me of a wretch
Whom once his country at her bar arraigned
For deep conspiracy against the state:
And though he 'scaped the meshes of the law,
Yet dark suspicion fastened on his name,
For which he bears that country deadly hate
To him I'll write the account of my defeat,
And lead him to infer my rival *did*
Do that—which I'll with emphasis declare
I did not do.
(*writes*) *No midnight taper burnt*
By me—no secret conclaves held—no plans
No cabals entered into to persuade
The violation of instructions given,
And prostrate all the fundamental rules
Which should maintain the high supremacy
Of the People's will.
(*folding the letter*) He wants no prompter
But his strong revenge—no spur to action
But his, and kindred spirits' aggrandisement.
Thus will I start the quarry, and the pack
Of hungry office hunters will join in,
And raise the general clamor of the chase.
On drunken prophecies did Richard climb,
And seized the crown of England's sea-girt isle

Cæsar, and Cromwell, by their martial fame
Made empires bow to their supremacy.
Now both these aids have I, examples strong
To marshal me the way.

We pass over the remainder of this scene, in which the Hero meets his late competitor, and congratulates him on his elevation with all the seeming candor of an honorable and high-minded opponent. We purpose giving in our next an extract from the scene at the Hermitage.

LEGISLATIVE INSTRUCTIONS.

A large portion of the opposition to the present administration is directed to Mr. Clay. It is said, but for him, Gen. Jackson would have been elected President by the House of Representatives. Although the General's party had no claims upon Mr. Clay, yet they affect to be greatly disappointed, that he did not vote with them. He is charged with having "*cheated them out of their choice*, and among other things, is accused of having "*violated the instructions of his constituents*. This latter subject I propose to examine. I do so, because it has been a constant theme of wicked and wilful misrepresentation. Those who believe in the right of instruction, have been played upon and deceived.

Before I proceed, I admit with cheerfulness, that Mr. Clay declared on a former occasion, that he felt bound to obey the voice of his constituents—that if he could *know their will*, he cared not through what channel it was indicated, he would obey it. I admit also with the same pleasure, that a majority of the Kentucky *Legislature* "*requested*" Mr. Clay and his colleagues in Congress to vote for Gen. Jackson. But I do not admit, that by disregarding this request he violated his obligation to his constituents.

In the first place, the members of the Legislature of Kentucky had no right to instruct Mr. Clay or any other member of Congress in regard to the duties he had to perform there. They had no *power* to do it. They did not elect him;—they could not call him to an account for neglect of duty, nor prevent the people from again returning him to Congress if they chose. They, themselves were but the mere agents of the people, and when they undertook to direct another agent of the *same* people, sent abroad for a *different purpose*, they neglected their proper business, and travelled beyond the bounds of their authority. To illustrate the soundness of this position, let us suppose for a moment, that, at the same time the Legislature *requested* Mr. Clay to vote one way, his own proper contituents *instructed* him to vote in another. Which was he bound to obey? Surely those who elected him, clothed him with authority, and to whom he was accountable for his conduct. What then becomes of the power, or right to instruct, arrogated by the Legislature? It vanishes at once, and shows the utter absurdity of its assumption.

But it is said, that Mr. Clay had always agreed to obey the voice of his constituents, "in whatever manner indicated," and that the members of the Kentucky Legislature, *knowing* their wishes on the subject, DID BUT EXPRESS THEIR WILL! They became the *channel* of information. This is the argument; but how came they to know the will of Mr. Clay's constituents better than he did himself? At, or about the same time he went to Congress, the members elect from his district went to Frankfort. He had the same opportunities for information which they had. He had been recently elected; had lived in the district more than half his life; knew almost every man in it; and yet these few persons at Frankfort undertook to inform him what were the wishes of his friends and neighbors! Because he considered he knew as much about the matter as these gentlemen, and chose not to obey their *request*, he has been branded as an apostate from his principles! I have proceeded thus far in this paragraph, on the ground that the members in the Kentucky Legislature from Mr. Clay's district, voted "*to request*" him to support Gen. Jackson. Granting this to be the case, I have shown clearly that the request was without force. It is not allied to any known or acknowledged republican principle. It was predicated upon no additional infor-

mation or expression of the people's will; and could be regarded by Mr. Clay as nothing more than the wishes of a few individuals. But I am well assured, that a majority of the Representatives from that district were *opposed* to giving Mr. Clay any instructions on the subject; and I am equally well assured, that those of the delegation, who voted for the resolution, violated the wishes of *their* constituents. I am justified in these assertions, from the fact that those gentlemen still remain the friends of Mr. Clay, and also from the circumstance that a very respectable portion of his constituents signed and sent to him the following instructions:

"We, the undersigned voters in this Congressional district, having viewed the instruction or request of the Legislature of Kentucky on the subject of choosing a President and Vice-President of the United States with regret, and the said instruction or request to our Representatives in Congress from this district, being without our knowledge or consent; we, for many reasons connected with so momentous an occasion, hereby *instruct* our Representative in Congress to vote on this occasion agreeable to his own judgment, and by the best lights he may have on the subject, with or without the consent of the Legislature of Kentucky."

This was accompanied with letters to Mr. Clay, informing him, that so far as an expression of public sentiment could be had, "it contained the wishes of a majority of his constituents"! But further, at the very next election to supply Mr. Clay's seat in Congress, Judge Clarke, a warm and decided friend of his, and a strong *opposer of General Jackson*, was elected. He was one of the very men who subscribed the document above quoted, and was open and decided in his approbation of Mr. Clay's vote. Where were the Jacksonians at the time? Where were those who felt so much aggrieved at Mr. Clay's disobedience of instructions?—They existed not in the district, nor in the state; but among those in other parts of the Union, whose uncommon solicitude for the poor Kentuckians has led to an exposure and a just reprobation of their motives. The Honorable Mr. Kremer, in his address to the Pennsylvanians, was first and loudest in his lamentations. He was amazingly distressed, that the people of Mr. Clay's district should have been so cheated and abused! The small fry, if smaller can be found, joined in the wailing, till the bowels of compassion of the whole Jackson party yearned in sympathy for this degraded and insulted people! But how have they repaid the kindness? Instead of permitting six or seven men in the Legislature to control Mr. Clay, they, to a much larger number, had the temerity to "*instruct*" him to do as he thought best! When his seat in Congress was to be supplied, instead of electing a *Jacksonian*, they chose by a large majority, one of his warmest supporters and friends, and a decided advocate of the Administration! What demonstration of enmity and disgust! How must these constituents have loathed and hated Mr. Clay for violating their instructions! and how grateful they must feel towards those out of the state, who have so kindly interfered in their behalf!

From the circumstances and facts to which I have referred, I am warranted in the conclusion, that no reasonable man has a right to say that Mr. Clay violated the wishes of the people of his own district. They were pleased at the time with his vote, and have since, by every possible demonstration, manifested their approbation of his conduct. Who, then, has a right to complain? If *they* were satisfied, I ask, who has a right to complain?

I know the next point which is started. It is said that "*a majority of the people of Kentucky are for Jackson*," and therefore Mr. Clay ought to have complied with their wishes. Both of these positions I deny. The people of Kentucky were not *known* to be for the General, although the Legislature declared it. But granting it was so; still I maintain, that Mr. Clay had nothing to do with the instructions of any people but those of his own district. If he obeyed them, it was all that could be required of him. To illustrate my assertion, let us suppose that in the three electoral districts of Kentucky, at the last election for President, the vote for the colleges stood thus: In the first district, five for Jackson, chosen over the electors for Adams by a majority of,

twenty votes: in the second district, also five for Jackson, chosen by the same majority; in the third district, *four* for Adams, chosen over the Jackson electors by a majority of *two thousand*. In this case, there are *ten* electors for Jackson, and *four* for Adams. But if we take the majority of two thousand votes in the Adams district, and add them to the large Adams minorities in the Jackson districts, there would be a handsome majority of the *people's* votes in Kentucky for Mr. Adams. This fact being known to the electors, when they arrive at Frankfort, how ought they to vote? Should they obey the voice of their respective districts, or should they all vote for Mr. Adams? No reasonable man will hesitate for a moment in what manner to answer the question. Notwithstanding Kentucky as a state might be for Adams, still these ten electors would be bound to vote for General Jackson. They were elected on that condition, and were pledged and instructed to do so. What, then, becomes of the argument, in reference to Mr. Clay? His case is precisely the same as the one supposed. He voted agreeably to the instructions of his district: and if bound to disregard this, and vote according to the alleged wishes of the state, on the same principle the ten Jackson electors would have been bound to vote for Mr. Adams. In homely phrase, we cannot make flesh of one and fish of another. If it would be right for the ten electors to follow the instructions of those who elected *them*, and vote for Gen. Jackson, it was equally right for Mr. Clay to vote agreeably to the wishes of those who had elected *him*. They had each a single vote to give, and so had *he*.—Both referred to the same subject, and should be governed by the same principles.

In the above remarks I say nothing either for or against the right of instruction. I have, in a concise manner, discussed the subject as it was presented to me,—that is, whether Mr. Clay *did* or *did not* obey the will of his constituents. I think I have placed the matter upon its true grounds. Unless we confine the power to instruct, to the *district* of the Representative, it can have no force nor possible application. If those *out* of the district have a right to interfere, upon the same principle *every body* has a right to interfere. In such an event, the right of instruction would become a mere nullity. I need not illustrate this argument further—every reasonable man must see its force. The Representative is amenable to *no other people*, and should obey *none other*, but those, who created him and gave him the power to act. He is emphatically *their* agent, speaks for *them*, acts for *them*; and if *they* approve his conduct, no one else has a right to complain.

A FRAUD EXPOSED.

There, perhaps, never was a grosser attempt at political fraud and imposition upon the honest credulity of a confiding people, than that in which the friends of Gen. Jackson have laboured to establish the impression in the Nothern and Western States, of his devoted attachment to the cause of INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT and DOMESTIC MANUFACTURES. Nor is it at all singular, in a cause so desperate, sustained by men so unprincipled, and requiring the aid of an argument so indispensable to its success, that so base an attempt should be resorted to and prosecuted with such untiring zeal, and such unblushing impudence.

No man of common penetration, can hesitate a moment to believe, that in the states North of the Ohio and Potomac, the *known* hostility of any Presidential candidate to the policy of a TARIFF SYSTEM, with the express view to the protection of DOMESTIC INDUSTRY, would, to a moral certainty, deprive such candidate of every electoral vote which it belonged to those states to give. What, but his being the acknowledged file leader—the able and indefatigable champion of the cause of Internal Improvement, gave to Mr. Calhoun that towering political consequence in the state of Pennsylvania, which, had she been decidedly seconded by any other state as powerful as herself, would, four years ago, have pressed him upon the Union as the most prominent and the most deserving candidate for the Presidency? And what, but the deep rooted conviction of Gen. Jackson's entire and decided friendliness to the AMERICAN SYSTEM, admits of the strong hold

which *he* now possesses in that and other Northern states, in relation to *his* pretensions to the Presidency? Is it then a matter of surprise that the utmost efforts should be exerted to give the impression to the people of those states, that Gen. Jackson is friendly to that system? It certainly is not; but such efforts properly belong to that system of electioneering, which had *falsehood* for its beginning, *falsehood* for its career up to the present time, and will have *falsehood* to crown the final termination of its labours, in disaster, degradation and defeat.

But, whilst the friends of Gen. Jackson in the Northern states, are urging his pretensions there, by the strongest and most decisive references to his alleged attachment to the AMERICAN SYSTEM, his friends in the Southern States are almost treasonably violent in their denunciations of that system, and urge the elevation of Jackson to the Presidency with his KNOWN HOSTILITY to it, as the only present means by which its purposes can be defeated, and the system itself destroyed.

That there is a lie—a most base and abominable lie,—an imposition—a most gross and monstrous imposition, either in the NORTH or in the SOUTH, in relation to Gen. Jackson's sentiments on this subject, no man of common reading and intelligence can for a moment doubt. And whether the North or the South is to be made the dupe by which this impious lie shall send Gen. Jackson to the Presidency, can make no difference, as the criminality in either case must be equally the same. There would, however, seem but little difficulty in determining that the poor North is to be made the victim upon whose vitals this miserable dupery shall feed. For it is a FACT, borne out by the clearest moral proof, that GEN. JACKSON IS HOSTILE TO THE AMERICAN SYSTEM; and it is laid down as a proposition, equally susceptible of demonstration, that Gen. Jackson is the wire man by which the politicians of the South, propose to accomplish its destruction. In reference to these points, the following suggestions are submitted to the solemn deliberation of a candid people.

It is universally understood and *felt* by politicians in all the sections of the Union, that at the present day, the only real substantial line of party distinction, is that between friendliness and hostility to legislative protection of Domestic Industry, and to the appropriation of national funds to purposes of Internal Improvement. It is equally well understood, that this line rests for the most part, upon a *geographical*, rather than an *abstract* basis:—that it is indebted for its existence more, by far, to the suggestions of local interest, than to independent, national, and philosophical views of the real merits of the controversy which it represents. In a word, it cannot be concealed, that the real "bone of contention" is between a Northern and a Southern policy—between the peculiar views of the manufacturing and the non-manufacturing states, respectively.

In this great contest which has been carried on for some years past, between the manufacturing and the non manufacturing Representatives, on the floor of Congress, the superior strength of the former has given a decided and efficient predominance to the Northern or manufacturing policy; and so completely has that policy become identified with the essential administration of the General Government, that no hostile effort, however powerful, *operating through ordinary means*, can be rationally supposed capable, of destroying or radically changing it. Southern politicians cannot fail to be aware of this. *Ordinary modes of attack*, therefore, upon the established system, may be considered in effect, abandoned in despair. But the inveterate *purpose* itself, of destroying that system, or of so embarrassing its healthful operations as to render it nugatory in its effects, *is not abandoned*, nor will it be, as long as there remains an *expedient*, however extraordinary, daring, or indirect, that can afford a solitary hope of a successful influence to accomplish it

The first grand expedient, which has suggested itself to Southern policy, (and it is certainly one of no trifling import) is a change in the party character of the Executive department of the Government, by which they would substitute an ANTI-TARIFF, for a TARIFF President. The success of this expedient, although, to be sure, it would be but one step towards the accomplishment of their final object, would certainly impart a moral power to their hostility, which, by the skilful application of ingenious subsidiary means, would present to them a favourable promise of the ultimate triumph of their purpose.

With the views thus suggested, we will suppose the Southern politicians looking around them for a Presidential Candidate. In making up their minds to the selection,

were they influenced by no other considerations than those of fitness in the individual, their honest preference would doubtless fall upon some eminent citizen, distinguished for exalted abilities and long tried services as a Statesman and Civilian—a citizen, who, but for the single exception of his hostility to the Domestic System would properly unite the acclamations of the whole union in his favour. But the most common observation must admonish them, that the same Northern strength which for years had successfully resisted their attacks upon the Domestic System, by its Representatives on the floor of Congress, would, against such a candidate, meet them in the field of the Presidential canvass, and as successfully achieve a conquest there. A candidate of such a character, would therefore, not subserve their purpose They must then find one, who, to the same determined opposition to the Domestic System, which they themselves maintain, unites the advantage of its concealment from that portion of the people with whom that opposition would be regarded as an insuperable objection.—and one, in the general estimate of whose pretensions any palpable deficiency of qualifications for the office, is supplied by some peculiar and imposing quality of character, which, in its influence to enlist the passions, assures a truce to the exercise of reason, and is thus made to extort from the honest confidence of the people, those suffrages, which a wary and jealous investigation, and a perfect knowledge of the subject would never suffer them voluntarily to bestow.

Such a candidate, has fortune, in one of her blindest and most capricious moods, thrown across their path, in the person of GEN. ANDREW JACKSON; a man between whom, and themselves, there exists no similarity of character, except in the inveterate bitterness with which they can prosecute a purpose, and in the indifference with which they can bend their consciences in the choice of means for its accomplishment; a man between whom, and the McDuffies, the Hamiltons, the Haynes and the Randolphs, of the South, similarity of education has established no common sympathies, and similarity of pursuit no common interests; a man in fine, who, but for his accidental fitness to play the part of a pliant tool to carry a great political purpose, would be very justly discarded from the familiar intercourse of those men, as being very many degrees below *their* standard of intellectual association.

It is, then, solemnly contended, that upon every principle of rational investigation, independent of the positive proofs we have of Gen. Jackson's equivocations on the Tariff subject, the inference of his hostility to the protecting system, drawn from the political character of the leading [illegible] and men that unite in his support, is [illegible] conclusive For, when we consider the vast dissimilarities of mind, intelligence and taste, already alluded to between Gen Jackson and the men who form the phalanx of his strength on the floor of Congress; when we consider the universally recognized fact of his entire want of claim to pre-eminent, or even ordinary distinction, on the score of important civil services rendered to the state; when we consider, that but for the magic influence of military achievment, emblazoning his name in all the empty, but imposing glories of chivalry, he would not have been known beyond the limits of his own state, nor even there but as a very ordinary citizen; and when in connection with all this, we recollect that the wisdom, the intelligence, the profound and penetrating genius and civil abilities of the ablest of his supporters, must secretly unite in the denunciation of his claims, as founded upon those abstract considerations of fitness which every one acquainted with the subject, must grant to be, at least theoretically, indispensable to the character of the executive head of our government; I say, when we consider, or recollect all these things, it is impossible to escape the conviction, that some other powerful motive than that of mere reference to the fitness of the individual, influences the politicians of the South, to the support of Gen. Jackson for the Presidency. And what other motive can there be than that which identifies the elevation of a particular man with the triumph of a particular system? Yes, it is a fearful truth, and cannot be too boldly urged, nor too attentively considered, that the efforts to establish the Anti Domestic or Foreign System, in the ordinary mode of *legislation*, having worn out all the weapons of parliamentary discussion, have driven its supporters to a final and desperate expedient of manufacturing a weapon of another and factitious sort, without reference to its compatibility with the existence of civil liberty, or to its fitness to answer any other purpose but that great

ulterioun one, at which all their efforts aim.

Such, then, is the man, such the candidate, who, although but six years ago, the very mention of his name in connection with the Presidency, savoured much of the ridiculous, is now selected by Southern politicians, as the great engine by which they propose to prostrate the manufacturing energies of the North, and to punish the *presumption*, which, for the last ten years, has given such an impulse to the INDUSTRY of the country, as that millions and tens of millions would not balance the account of blessings which its auspicious influences has showered upon our land.

If the views hastily presented in this paper, be well founded, if it be true that a host of able and influential men, enjoying elevated confidence and distinguished honors, are perverting these powerful advantages to the purposes of a grand party enterprise, whose maxim is, that "*the end justifies the means*;" and that that end shall be accomplished, though desolation and ruin shall supervene, then it is time for the American people to awake and re-assert the majesty of virtue. The NORTH shall arise from her lethargy, and turn upon the enemy that would stab her to her very vitals. The SOUTH shall rebuke with honest indignation, the daring insolence that would falsely represent her as traitress to the genius of the Constitution; and the whole UNION, struggling with the agonies of a poison, which, but for the timely discovery of her danger, would inevitably have wrought her dissolution, shall exhibit from her deepest bosom, throughout all her territory, and over all her borders, the salutary demonstrations of a profound and intense alarm. The mischief not yet done, the means made use of for its consummation, shall then shrink from their unhallowed purpose, and carrying back their poison to the bosoms whence it sprung, shall witness in the disgrace and degradation of their authors, the majestic triumph of virtue, and the renovated vigour of the Constitution.

G.

GENERAL JACKSON'S DOMESTIC RELATIONS.

The article upon this subject, in our first number, has excited very considerable attention. The Jacksonians here very prudently forbore to notice it. And the administration presses appear to have been equally silent But it has been extensively read amongst the people. A large edition of it, in pamphlet form, has been published and distributed. It begins to be properly understood: and it will not much longer avail the Jacksonians to denounce the discussion of this affair as an unmanly and dishonorable act.—They have done much with this impudent fallacy but the moral sense of the community begins to assert its proper influence, and assign to seduction and adultery their appropriate estimation.

The following communication is from a plain, unlettered gentleman, of unquestionable character, who is perfectly conversant with the facts to which the interrogatories refer. The public may rely upon the correctness of the deductions to be drawn from the questions put. They show the despicable character of Jackson's defence and the more despicable character of Overton his principal witness. The pretence that Mrs. Robards descended the river with Col. Starke's family turns out to be a journey with a family of slaves, no white female being in "company."—After this, what can the world think of the parties concerned in this defence, or of those for whom it was made? Let any honest man give the answer.

TO THE EDITORS OF TRUTH'S ADVOCATE.

January, 1828.

Gentlemen—Your first number has just come to hand, and I have to acknowledge with astonishment the error into which we were going headlong, in placing a man in the chair of state, and a female as preceptress to the American fair of this enlightened age, who had lived in violation of the laws of God and man, as appears from the showing of the Hon. John Overton, from the winter of 1790 to January, 1794; and that from July, 1790, to September, 1793, this same female was the wife of another man (to wit, Lewis Robards.) Now, as you are Truth's Advocates, I wish through you to hear the whole truth and nothing but the truth. And as all the testimony from Nashville has been *ex parte* and unsolicited, of course the effusions of warm

feelings for a neighbor and friend, I wish you, in your next number, to put the following interrogatories to the said John Overton, Chairman of the *white-washing* Committee:

1. What is the distance from Nashville to Mercer county, Kentucky, the respective places of residence of Gen. Jackson and Lewis Robards in 1790 to 1794?

2. Do you not know there was much travelling on horseback and intercourse between Nashville and Mercer county, from 1790 to 1794, along the same road or path that you state in your letter to Robert C. Foster, of the 8th of May, 1827, you and Mrs. Robards (now Mrs. Jackson) travelled in the summer of 1790, when she went to see her mother, and you to commence the practice of the law at Nashville?

3. Do you not know and believe that Col. Stark had no white female family with him in descending the river from Nashville; and that he was not related to Mrs. Robards; and that it would have been rash in her to have descended the river with Col. Stark and his negroes?

4. Do you not know and believe that Starke and Jackson occupied two boats in descending the river; and do you not believe, if Jackson and Mrs. Robards had been married at or near Natchez, they would long since have produced some evidence to support their own assertions, and that you would have published it to the world?

5. Do you think it possible, that Mr. and Mrs. Jackson were ignorant of her being Robards' wife from the spring of 1791 to the winter of 1791, the date, you say, of their lawful marriage, after notice of Robards having obtained a divorce?

All these interrogatories present themselves to every impartial reader of your letter, and true answers are expected by all friends to the laws of God and man; for we are told in Holy Writ, that when the wicked rule, the earth mourns.

A FRIEND TO TRUTH.

There has a circumstance been disclosed recently, connected with this subject, which it is proper to notice here, because it serves to illustrate the true character of Gen. Jackson. Last summer, when the pamphlet of the white washing committee was published, vindicating the General for the seduction of Mrs. Robards, and vindicating also, the open and continued adultery of the General and his wife, a copy of that pamphlet was forwarded from Nashville, to the editor of the National Journal at Washington, upon a blank leaf of which, there is the subjoined note, in the hand writing of General Jackson.

To the Editors of the Washington Journal.

When the midnight ASSASINS plunges his dagger into the heart and RIFFLES your goods, the turpitude of this scene LOOSES all its horrors, when compared with the SECRETE ASSASINS POIGNARD levelled against FEMAL charEcter by the hired minions of power.

The sentiments expressed in this morceau, the grammatical construction of the sentence, and the spelling would all lead to the conclusion that it could not have come from Gen. Jackson.—The proof, however, is too strong for this presumption. No one acquainted with the hand-writing of the General, and who has any value for character, after seeing the copy, will assert that the General did not write it.

A short time since this note was published in the National Journal. It created a strong sensation at Washington. Mr. Senator White, and Mr. Representative Polk, of Tennessee, called to see it. Mr. White asserted himself well acquainted with the hand-writing of the General. But after examining the writing, he refused to say whether it was or was not in the General's handwriting. And its authenticity has not yet been publicly questioned. This fact leaves no room to doubt, that Mr. White considered it as genuine.

It is thus demonstrated, that General Jackson, when out of the hands of his keepers, can neither write nor spell with any regard to correctness. But this proof that he is grossly illiterate, is of little importance when compared with other facts involved in the composition of this note. It exhibits Gen. Jackson in the character of an anonymous libeller, distributing libels in manuscript through the post office.

This is the very lowest grade of slanderers, upon whom nothing but contempt and abhorence are visited by the universal consent of mankind.—And in this class Gen. Jackson has arranged himself!! What wonder that so many of his adherents follow the same course.

This delectable note gives us a key to the conduct of those who have the General in their keeping. It holds the very language, breathes the very sentiments expressed by them all, not excepting the indecent falsehood, that the investigation of the General's domestic relations, proceeded from men in "*power.*" "*The hired minions*" that surround and attend the General, and minister daily to his follies and his appetites, do well to keep him in this state of mind. He should always be stimulated to look out upon others, and should never be permitted to look in upon himself.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS TO THE EDITORS OF TRUTH'S ADVOCATE.

To those who are labouring disinterestedly for the benefit of their fellow citizens, the best reward, next to the consciousness of a faithful discharge of duty, is that of finding their efforts properly appreciated and productive of good effect. The conductors of this work have been stimulated to their undertaking, by the dangers that threaten the dearest interests of our country, from the efforts of demagogues careless what they sacrifice, so that their own private aims are successful; and from the indifference with which such efforts are viewed by some, and the thoughtlessness with which they are aided by others. To awaken a more general investigation of the political and moral principles, to which the election of General Jackson will give the sanction of the people of the United States, has appeared to them a duty which they owe to their country; for in the prevalence of such principles they see the greatest danger to our institutions, and the most fearful enemy of our republican form of government.

The voice of warning needs not only to be raised, but to be repeated and re-echoed until it reaches the ears and excites the attention of every citizen. If it be disregarded, we shall prove ourselves unworthy the blessings we enjoy, and we may rest assured that our continuance in the enjoyment of them will be brief and transitory. But we have better hopes; the cheering accounts, which we daily receive, of the zeal and co-operation of the enlightened and patriotic in various parts of our country, convinces us that there is a moral influence excited, which will dissipate the illusion created by a false estimate of military glory.

The assurances of approbation, which we have received from men eminent as well for their talents as their private virtues, convinces us, that adultery and violence in private life, and a disregard of the constitution and laws of our country in public, are not such venial offences as may be passed over without censure, far less, rewarded with honours and office. Some of these assurances we give our readers, believing that mutual encouragement among those who love their country is all that is required to save it from the dangers with which it is threatened.

The following is an extract of a letter from a gentleman of Pennsylvania, who has long been eminent not only for his talents, but for a diligent and successful application of them to the promotion of the best interests of our country, more particularly in its agriculture:

"Mr. Jones, of your city, has forwarded to me your first number, with your prospectus. I have yet met with nothing, arising out of the pending political controversy, calculated to be so useful. Your association have indeed gotten hold of the spear of Ithuriel, and know how to wield it. Mr. Hammond cannot be too much approbated for the article to which he has affixed his name. The prospectus is well suited to the time and purpose to which it is directed, and every article is able and well calculated to command public attention and a perusal. I learn

from the Massachusetts Journal, your first edition is distributed, and a second put to press. I hope you may find sale for as many editions of it as there have been of the Pilgrim's Progress."

From a Gentleman in Kenaway, Va.

"The Editors of the United States Telegraph, have announced their intention of issuing from their press, a weekly publication, devoted entirely to the subject of the presidential election; and so cheap as to place it in the power of the party to weild it with effect, by gratuitous circulation. If I have not much mistaken appearances, a large number of these have been ordered for distribution, among the honest yeomanry of Western Virginia. Should this be the case, it will be necessary and proper to take measures to counteract the whole scheme; and so far as my humble efforts can be availing, I intend they shall not be wanting. If the *Advocate* is of the character I have taken it to be, (for I have not seen it) it will be of great use to the cause of civil liberty, and the more it is circulated the better."

From a Gentleman in Nashville, Tennessee.

"Several persons in this place want copies of the work. I have read the first number, which was sent me, through the politeness of Mr. Jarvis Kibby, of your place.

"I sincerely hope, Sir, the friends of the present administration there, and elsewhere, will contribute to give "Truths Advocate" an extensive circulation—particularly in those states friendly to the "American System" so called, and who espouse the cause of the *Hero of two wars!* on the ground that he is in favor of the Tariff, for the protection of American Manufactures, and Internal Improvements. The fact is, his views and opinions on those national subjects are not well understood, nor can he be brought out to express them decidedly, either for or against.

From a gentleman in Indiana.

"I am determined, so far as my feeble efforts can be exercised, that nothing shall be omitted to sustain the *good cause*. I conceive it to be as great a struggle to guard and maintain the true spirit of our benign Constitution of government, as if an invading foreign foe, was about entering the borders of our country. It is more pregnant with alarm to the sober-minded patriot: a foreign enemy would meet with a prompt repulse from the united exertions of our citizens, whilst the present attempt to sap the foundation of our political edifice, by placing it in the care of an individual whose claims are solely bottomed upon military distinction, is of so insiduous a character, as to derive aid and support from the best feelings of our nature, and is calculated, before we are aware of it, to make us the slavish vassals of our *successful* military men. Forbid it heaven! I say, and to prevent such a dreadful result let every good citizen be at his post, and be engaged in using every fair and honorable means to avert the impending danger."

CORRECTION.

Circleville, Feb. 29, 1828.

Sir,—By mere accident, I saw last evening, your second number of a political publication, in which you have fallen into a most egregious error. You say, in substance, Governor Clinton induced Ethan A. Brown, to come to the Jackson field!

Now the truth is, Governor Brown, by the help of Col. Mack, got on the fence, and being there as is usual with him, he fell into a deep sleep, and finally, on the morning of the 8th of January last, he fell off, unfortunately for us, into our field! Several old federalists instantly took him up, brought him into our Convention, and without any authority, made him a delegate and placed him in the chair!

When placed at the head of our ticket, he modestly put it to a vote himself! whether he should be a candidate for an elector!!!!

Respectfully, though not politically, yours, &c.

CALEB ATWATER.

Charles Hammond, Esq.

P. S. Please Sir, correct your error.

TRUTH'S ADVOCATE

AND

MONTHLY ANTI-JACKSON EXPOSITOR.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, APRIL, 1828.

JOHN WOODS.

The military execution of this militia man, under the order of General Jackson, was adverted to in the second number of the Expositor.

The account given by Major Eaton was republished, and contrasted with a statement of the offence committed by Woods, copied from a then recent publication in the Kentucky Reporter. This exposition has led to various publications, which go to show, in a strong point of light, the desperate characters of those who support Gen. Jackson, and the desperate means they employ to sustain their idol. These cannot be more fully illustrated than by republishing the different statements, with proper explanations.

The publication in the Reporter, purported to be written by "A TENNESSEEAN," and contained several facts not extracted into the Expositor. These related to the personal demeanor of Gen. Jackson towards Woods, and were of such a character as to appear somewhat doubtful in my estimation, though it now appears they were solemn truths, from the statements which shall be here published. Upon the appearance of this publication at Nashville, a certain colonel Joel Parish, made the following publication:

"SIR—Your paper of the 30th of Jan. contained a publication, in the shape of a letter, addressed to you as Editor, detailing the circumstances which were said to have occured in relation to the trial and execution of John Woods, a soldier in the Creek War, while under the command of Gen. Jackson.

"Being one of the members composing the Court-Martial, which tried and condemned the unfortunate Woods at Fort Strother, I am compelled to say that the whole publication over the signature of "*A Tennesseean*," is false; and I do not believe that such as you have given publicity to, was in reality ever written by a "*Tennesseean*," but like the famous *Harris letter*, is another shaft of *iniquity* sent forth to sully the reputation and fame of *the great benefactor of the nation*.

"If however, I should be mistaken, and such a letter as you have published did emanate from the state of Tennessee, I pronounce the author of it to be a base and insidious calumniator who knew what he stated to be false, and whose tread pollutes the soil on which he walks.

JOEL PARISH.

About the same time, a person who calls himself Samuel H. Miller, a resident of Greene County, Ohio, made a publication also, in contradiction of the account published in the Expositor, which is here inserted.

"TO A CANDID PUBLIC.

Perceiving a false statement from the Kentucky Reporter, (which has been extracted into the columns of Truth's Advocate.) in relation to the execution of JOHN WOODS, a militia man I deem it a duty I owe to the public to give a *true* statement of the facts connected with that transaction.

The truth is as follows: John Woods deserted from his post, and started for home. On his way he was met by a company of men on their march to join the army. Woods, on seeing them, hurried from the path, and sought concealment in a cane brake. He was taken, however, and brought back to camp, where he was tried for desertion, found guilty and condemned to be shot. For this offence he was PARDONED by Gen. Jackson, and on promise of future subordination, he was returned to his duty. In about two or three weeks afterwards Woods was again placed on guard. On a certain morning he stuck his bayonet in the ground—hung his cartouch box on the butt of his gun, and deserted his post—on pretence of going to his tent for breakfast. In passing the lines, he arrived at Major ———'s tent, (I forget the Major's name.) The Major asked Woods where he was going.—Woods replied to get his breakfast.—The Major advised Woods very strongly to return to his post—observing that he would soon be relieved—and offering him some corn bread and meat, told him that if he did not return to duty, he would certainly be taken; but Woods persisted in his determination and would not return.

About this time the officer of the day came up, and having heard a part of the conversation, turned to the lines and enquired who commanded that company? The Captain answered "I do." The officer of the day then told him to send a guard, and take John Woods to the Provost guard; where he was tried by a Court Martial and a second time found guilty and condemned to be shot. When the day arrived for the execution of the sentence of the Court Martial, General Jackson came to the place of execution and delivered a discourse which affected every heart, but that of the hardened Woods. By this time disaffection prevailed among several of the militiamen. Woods in particular was very turbulent. General Jackson offered Woods his pardon a second time, on condition that he would serve his country like a true and faithful soldier; but Woods defied the General and Court Martial too; and swore with an oath that they dare not execute the sentence of the Court Martial. After many unavailing efforts to persuade Woods to conform to subordination, pointing out to him the consequences resulting to the army from such conduct, and Woods still remaining stubborn and irreclaimable—and swearing the Court Martial dare not execute their sentence—the General turned his horse and rode off; and Woods was shot before my own, and the eyes of the whole army.

SAMUEL H. MILLER.

Green county, Ohio, Feb. 21, 1828.

The reader will recollect that in Major Eaton's account of this transaction the particulars of Woods' offence are not stated. There was a publication made on this subject in Tennessee in 1824, vindicating the conduct of Gen. Jackson, which is in these words:

"With regard to the execution of John Woods, mentioned in the same page, we have only to remark that he was the second soldier tried for mutiny and desertion. The first was pardoned, and Woods condemned by a regularly organized court martial, who did not recommend him to mercy. The example was authorized by the rules and articles of war, and was no doubt considered by the court as indispensable to preserve subordination, and indeed the very existence of the army, by the suppression of mutiny and desertion."

It thus appears, that neither Eaton, or Parish, or the writer last quoted, has ventured to give the facts that constituted the offence for which Woods suffered death! This omission is full proof to my mind, that there was nothing in them of aggravated character.

Parish says he was a member of the court martial. But he contents himself with the round assertion, that the account published by a "A Tennessean," is "*false*," adding a daub of praise to Gen. Jackson, "*the great benefactor of the nation*," and concluding with a tissue of vulgar abuse in the true Jacksonian style of argument: "*I pronounce the author to be a base and insidious calumniator, who knew what he stated to be false, and whose tread pollutes the soil on which he walks.*"

This reckless publication, induced the "Tennessean" to procure and publish the following documents, which the reader is requested to peruse with care and attention.

State of Tennessee, Bedford Co.

February 14, 1828.

Being called upon to state what I know of the crime and circumstances, which led to the execution of John Woods in the Creek Nation at Fort Strother, while the Army lay there under the command of General Jackson; I hereby certify, that I was a private in the same company with Woods—that I occupied and messed in the second tent from him, distant ten or fifteen yards—that late one morning I was reposing in my tent, when my attention was arrested by a violent and loud altercation between some persons, which caused me to go out, when I immediately discovered that the dispute was between a man by the name of Camp, who I understood belonged to the Quarter Master's department, and Woods. I think Woods was in the act of rising from the ground or picking up his gun when I first saw them—the officer was ordering Woods very peremptorily to do something, which Woods refused to do, saying he was on guard—the other cursed him severely for leaving his guard without an officer, and still commanding him to do what he had bid him—Woods also swore, and started to go to his guard, stating that he had obtained leave of his officer for his absence. At this time the officer appeared in a great passion and snatched up a gun that stood in the mouth of a tent and

ordered Woods to surrender—Woods still refused, and examined his gun to see if it was primed, or primed it afresh, I am not certain which The officer commanded those who were standing around to assist in taking him prisoner—but no person helped him. Woods also swore that if the officer or any other person attempted to take him, he would shoot them, and then walked towards his guard fire. After he had started some distance, General Jackson came out of his tent and hallooed several times, shoot the damned rascal! The foregoing is the substance of what I know of my own knowledge—but I also heard, and it was a common talk in camp, that General Jackson had cautioned the Court Martial about finding him guilty, swearing by the *Eternal God*, if they did he would not pardon him—Woods was found guilty and executed for the above crime as I understood: and if there was any other charge I do not recollect to have heard it—I also believe the General was petitioned by a number of persons to pardon Woods, among whom I understood were most if not all the members of the Court Martial—Doctor Fore from this county handed the petition about, and I think I signed it as one, who also informed me that all the Court Martial had signed it except one.—And I further understood that a pardon was offered him if he would enlist in the regular service; this was told me by Capt. William Walker of the regular service from East Tennessee.

THOMAS COUCH.

Bedford County, Tenn., Feb. 14, 1828.

I have seen and examined the above statement made by Thomas Couch—and being requested to say what I know of the matter, have to state, that I belonged to the same company and messed with Couch—that I was standing present and near Woods who was eating his breakfast in a skillet by himself, he having just come from his guard-fire, when an officer came along and ordered Woods to carry off some bones that were lying about there, when the altercation took place, which I believe is correctly detailed in the certificate of Mr Couch And as to the balance of what Mr. Couch says, I was under the same impression that he was, as it was the common talk in camp, except that I do not recollect hearing General Jackson swear shoot the damn'd rascal—but I heard General Jackson myself say, that if the Court Martial found Woods guilty he would not pardon him—but afterwards gave him an opportunity of enlisting in the regular service to save his life, and this I also heard from Captain Walker of the regulars—And I further say that I always blamed the Court Martial more than I did Gen. Jackson.

ROBERT FERGUSON.

State of Tennessee, Bedford County.

FEBRUARY 16, 1828.

Being requested to state what I remember of the circumstances attending the arrest and execution of John Woods, a soldier under Gen. Jackson at Fort Strother, do hereby certify that the morning of the arrest, Woods and myself were both on guard, and in my presence Woods requested Lieut. Barret (who was the officer of the guard)to permit him to go to his tent and eat his breakfast, and get his blanket, as it was raining; the Lieut. told him he might go, as there was a Corporal just starting. Woods went, but had not been gone long before I heard a considerable noise near about the place where Woods messed, and turning my attention that way I saw Woods coming towards us and a Major Camp following him. I heard Camp demand his gun, but Woods would not give it up, and I think had his hand upon the cock Camp called upon some person towards the fort, and told him to tell Gen. Jackson that there was a soldier who would not be taken prisoner. Gen. Jackson came out of the fort and hallooed out, "By the eternal God blow ten balls through the damned rascal!" When Woods came near the guard fire, Lieut. Barret and myself persuaded Woods to give up his gun and surrender. Woods did so, and myself and another soldier were ordered to guard him to the fort; we did so, and were then ordered to take him into the blacksmith shop. While we were on this march the other soldier, who was a Mr. Rainey, had a musket with bayonet fixed. Woods did not appear willing to walk fast, when Major Camp, who was along, caught hold of the muzzle of Rainey's gun and pushed the bayonet against Woods' back; Rainey pulled back the gun to keep the bayonet from sticking in Shortly afterwards a guard from the regulars came and took him in custody. I left camp the morning the Court Martial was called for the trial, and before I started I heard it repeated earnestly in camp, that Jackson had cautioned the Court Martial about rendering

their verdict, for if they found him guilty he would not pardon him.

SAMUEL HANNA.

State of Tennessee, Franklin County,
FEBRUARY 15, 1828.

Being requested to state what I know of the circumstances attending the trial and execution of John Woods at Fort Strother, during the late war in the Creek Nation, hereby certify that John Woods joined the army at Fayetteville, about the 22d Jan., 1814, as a substitute in place of Will: Roger, who was a volunteer; and continued from that time until he was arrested to mess with me in the same tent. Woods was about eighteen years of I at this time, and was the youngest child of his aged parents, who were then, and had been for some time, living near neighbors to me. I have seen and examined the certificates of Thomas Couch and Robert Ferguson relative to this same matter. I was not present at the dispute which took place between Major Camp and Woods, but immediately afterwards heard the circumstances detailed by various persons in the same manner as stated by Mr. Couch and Mr. Ferguson. At the time of the quarrel I was in the fort near the tent of Gen. Jackson, and was present when a runner came from Maj. Camp to inform the Gen. that a man had mutinied: the General immediately rushed out of the fort and I followed him; when out, he commenced cursing and swearing, and asked which was the man; and Woods was pointed out to him, who was then walking in a strait direction to his guard fire; Jackson still continued cursing and repeatedly, and in a great rage, reiterated, shoot the damned rascal! shoot the damned rascal!! Woods by this time was approaching near to his guard fire, when Jackson commanded the guard, still in a great rage, to blow ten balls through the damned rascal! As soon as Woods approached the guard he gave up his gun and surrendered himself prisoner. The General also bemeaned and abused the officer of the guard for not obeying his orders. Woods was immediately put in irons, and conveyed to, and kept under guard in the 39th Regiment, but was not kept long ironed as I understood. After some days the friends of Woods, among whom was his brother, became uneasy at his detention in confinement, but without any apprehension of the sad catastrophe which was to follow. I was requested to speak to General Jackson, and accordingly I did so, and requested that his trial should be brought on soon, as we were as desirous, as he was a mere youth, that he might be placed among his friends again, and if there was to be any punishment, let him receive it and return to duty. The Gen replied that the case was a serious one, but he could have the opportunity of enlisting. I returned and consulted with his friends about it; and they all opposed the idea very strongly. After some further delay I heard part of a conversation between Gen. Jackson and an officer, who I believe was a Captain of the Rangers, (Capt Hannard.) in which conversation the Gen. told him that he must be in order on a certain day to set on the Court Martial of a fellow who had mutinied, and who he expected would have to be shot. The officer appeared very reluctant to act; neither did he sit on the trial. From hearing this conversation I became very uneasy, and got leave of the officer of his guard to carry Woods his victuals, which was generally cooked in our mess, while with Woods I persuaded him to enlist as I was fearful of the event from what I had heard; the prisoner appeared to acquiesce and I left him; but when I told his other friends what I had done, they opposed it violently, stating that Jackson knew that he could not be hurt for what he had done, and only wanted to scare him to enlist, and gratify their spite in that way.—From this time until his trial took place nothing particular transpired, and our greatest uneasiness was at his long confinement. I think it was on the 12th day of March that I heard his trial was progressing: I went to the spot, but was not permitted to enter within the lines of the guard; the Court Martial was in session between two tents, and Woods was seated eight or ten steps off on some logs, without any friend or adviser or counsel to defend him. Col. John Williams of East Tennessee was acting as I understood, as Judge Advocate against him, as he was making a speech and reading passages from books; and I think Lieutenants Partish, Davis and Ensign Hall were the Court Martial; if there were any witnesses called to testify in his behalf I do not know it, neither do I believe it; after looking on awhile my heart yearned for what I then considered was the perilous situation of the boy, and I turned away and left the place, and heard nothing more of his fate, until next day from ten to twelve o'clock, it was read in general orders that Woods was to be shot

at 12 o'clock next day (14th.) Soon after this I received intelligence that Woods wished me to go and stay with him, until he left the world: but before I went, in conjunction with Doctor Fore and others, I handed about a petition for a pardon which was signed as I thought and believed by most of the officers of the army, and I understood also by part of the Court Martial; I was present when these petitions were handed to the General, but whether they were handed by myself or some other person I do not recollect. After some general conversation on the subject, I approached the General and told him that the prisoner had requested me to go and stay with him until his death. This the Gen. did not refuse; but before I started I made another effort to obtain his pardon I begged the General to take into consideration his extreme youth and inexperience, that he had left behind him two aged parents who depended upon him for support and comfort in their declining years, that such a death would cause them great sorrow and distress. The General replied that he was sorry for his parents, that there had been several cases before approaching to mutiny in the camps, that there was need of an example, and said he by the Eternal God he must be the example, or he must die. I left him and went to the prisoner, where I staid until the guard came to take him to his death.

I will further remark that at the request of the prisoner, I wrote down a statement of his feelings, and his last farewell to his Father and Mother, and sent them in a letter to my wife, which was done in rhyme and the public are at liberty to see it.

On the news of the death of her son, old Mrs. Woods (as I have been informed by my wife) fainted and appeared like dying all night, of this I feel certain that she never recovered the shock, and in a few years laid her grey hairs with sorrow in the grave.

GEORGE A. BROCK.

The documents presenting both sides of the question, so far as any have been published, are here placed fully and fairly before the reader, without omitting any part of them. Every candid man is asked, to say for himself, whether he does not believe that the TENNESSEAN gave a true account of the case of Woods? and whether those who have attempted to brand him with falsehood, did not know that they were themselves falsifiers?

The statement of Miller, the Green county witness, is nailed on high, as one of the most profligate falsehoods, that faction ever attempted to use, in an intelligent community. He stands convicted of the atrocity of calumniating the dead, from whom he never received injury, to flatter the living, from whom, he no doubt, hopes for reward. To me he is unknown, and with such a wretch I have no wish ever to become acquainted. His story, that General Jackson came to the place of execution and offered Woods a pardon, upon condition he would promise to conduct himself with propriety, and that Woods not only refused to do so, but cursed and defied him, is absolutely incredible. No man of sense, who bestows a moment's reflection upon the subject, can believe it. Such an offer could not have been made by Gen. Jackson, without great impropriety; and no man under sentence of death, could expect pardon, upon other terms. The wickedness that could invent such a falsehood, and the folly that could give it currency, are lamentable evidences of the blindness of party zeal, and of the intemperance of party passion.

It seems to me, that upon the certificates from Tennessee, there can remain no doubt, that Woods was a mere youth of about eighteen years of age, who had been in service only about six weeks, when the alleged offence was committed. Mr. Brock states, he was mustered about the 22d of January, 1814, and he was executed on the 14th of March following. As some days intervened between the commission of the offence, and the time, it is evident he could not have been more than about six weeks in service, and during this short period there is no allegation of misbehaviour, on his part, except in the case for which he suffered. When I say there is no allegation of this nature, I lay the statement of Miller out of the case, as wholly undeserving of the slightest credit, for the reasons that have been already stated. Let us then look at the character of Woods, the nature of his offence, the conduct of the commanding General towards him,

and the cruel punishment inflicted upon him, and ask ourselves, honestly, if there could well be a more wanton and barbarous execution perpetrated under the forms of law?

Major Eaton admits that the execution of Woods produced "*great excitement.*" He adds, it produced "*the most salutary effects.*" The first allegation is true—I shall show bye and bye, that the second is NOT—Why did the execution of Woods produce "*great excitement?*" This is not usually produced in an army, by the execution of one, who has committed a military offence deserving death. The admission of Major Eaton, proves conclusively that there was something uncommon and extraordinary in the case of Woods. And who that reads the facts, can say, there is not?

The "*sacrifice,*" Major Eaton says, was "*essential to the preservation of good order.*" The General said "*there was need of an example.*" Woods was made this "*sacrifice,*" this "*example.*" And Woods was a youth, almost a child. He was executed for the first offence: an offence committed in camp, upon sudden excitement, and under great provocation from an insolent subaltern superior. Surely there could be nothing salutary in such an example! Commisseration and indignation were necessarily the predominant sentiments.—Hence the "*great excitement*" spoken of by Major Eaton.

The conduct of the General, too, was calculated to effect any thing rather than a salutary example. He acted like a savage partizan,—"*Shoot the damned rascal! shoot the damned rascal! put ten balls through the damned rascal!*" Three witnesses certify that the General used this language.—Witnesses who live in Tennessee, and expose themselves to all the vengeance of the General and his partizans. We cannot suppose that they would thus expose themselves, unless they felt all the consciousness of asserting truth, that makes an honest man regardless of consequences. What salutary example could be effected by the execution of Woods? None other than that of fear and horror. If the first was executed, so a deep abhorrence of those concerned, must have pervaded the minds of all independent men. The first might operate upon the worthless coward: nothing but indignation and defiance could enter the minds of the brave. Such were, in fact, the consequences, as stated by Major Eaton himself, in direct contradiction to his own assertion, that "*the execution was productive of the happiest effects.*"

This assertion is to be found on page 152, of Major Eaton's book, and the time relates to about the middle of March, 1814. Only two pages further, on page 154, we are informed "that "every thing was moving in opposition to his [the General's] wishes. The east Tennessee brigade, under the command of Doherty, having been instructed to halt, until adequate supplies should be received at head quarters, *had already manifested many symptoms of revolt, and was with difficulty restrained from abandoning the field, and returning immediately home.*" And again, upon the same page it is asserted, "on the morning that General Doherty was about to proceed to head quarters, he was astonished to hear the drums beating up for volunteers to abandon his camp and return home. *Notwithstanding all his efforts to prevent this injurious measure, one hundred and eighty deserted.*"

Major Eaton's book is miserably defective in many particulars. With respect to dates, it is so remarkably confused, that one may well doubt whether this confusion does not proceed from design rather than from any other cause. We have days in abundance, but it is often impossible to find by any reference to the preceding narrative, in what month the days are noted. It is so in this case. The execution of Woods is placed "*about the middle of the month.*" What *month* we seek for in vain, in the Major's book. It is connected, however, with the advance of the troops under General Doherty. The disposition to revolt, and the actual desertion of one hundred and eighty are related as occurring in Gen. Doherty's command, as subsequent to the execution of Woods, and prior to the battle of the Horseshoe, which was fought on the 27th of March, 1814. Now let these facts be

connected, and we see at a glance with what easy nonchalance Major Eaton asserts the thing that is not. Woods was shot on the 14th of March, 1814. The Major tells us—"*The execution was productive of the happiest effects*: ORDER WAS PRODUCED, and *that opinion which had so long prevailed, that a militia man was privileged, and for no offence liable to suffer death, was* FROM THAT MOMENT *abandoned and a stricter obedience* THAN HAD BEEN PRACTISED AFTERWARDS, characterised the army." Two pages "*afterwards*" in the book, and between the 14th and 27th of the same month, we are informed that the east Tennessee brigade "*manifested many symptoms of revolt*"—that "*one hundred and eighty deserted.*" And on page 155, we are told that "*instructions by Major Gen. Cocke, had been given, than in the event any number of the troops should be marched back, he would take upon himself to discharge them from all responsibility, on their return to Knoxville.*

All these acts of insubordination, and of actual desertion appear to have taken place immediately after the execution of John Woods. Yet Major Eaton has the assurance to allege that "the execution was productive of the happiest effects." Surely never man wrote biography with such ardent zeal to exalt his hero's reputation, and with so little regard to his own.

The facts I have collated, and the reflections I have made, in my opinion, clearly demonstrate that the execution of Woods, however it might be strictly legal, was a most cold blooded and barbarous act. It was not calculated to be useful as an example, and it had no such effect. It was a wanton sacrifice of life, in a case where every feeling of the human heart, every sentiment of the soldier, every motive of a sound and just policy called for mercy instead of severity. It shows how injudicious as well as cruel, Gen. Jackson would act, and it places beyond all reasonable doubt, his unfitness for the station of chief ruler, either in the camp or out of it. The conduct of his vindicators, from Major Eaton to Samuel H. Miller, demonstrates a determination to sustain their hero, no matter what sacrifice of truth or of honor is necessary to effect it. I trust there is a spirit, in the country, that will rise superior to these efforts of falsehood and domination, and that, standing forth in the majesty of truth, will, consign the perpetrator of the wrong, and his sycophantic minions to the contempt and neglect they all deserve, verifying the maxim "*that truth is mighty and shall prevail.*"

SIX MILITIA MEN.

The general outlines of the case of the six militia men, executed at Mobile, in Feb. 1815, under orders from Gen. Jackson, are familiar to every political reader. Much has been said and much written and published concerning it. There has been some confusion as to the true state of facts, and some attempts on both sides, to disguise if not misrepresent them. The documents recently laid before Congress, connected with other facts embodied in history, enable every candid and fair man to take a full view of the whole ground. This view I have taken carefully and attentively, with the fixed determination to inform myself rightly and make up a judgment, upon which I would be willing to rest my character as a lawyer, and a man of integrity. I never have deliberately and knowingly attempted to pass any deception upon the public: and, in a case of such high importance as this, I should deem it highly criminal to make such an attempt. My present purpose is to present the whole subject, in the light in which it is impressed upon my own mind. This I shall do with reference to its different bearings upon the legal rights of the individuals who suffered, upon the considerations which must have operated with Gen. Jackson to inflict that suffering, and upon the consideration which ought to have induced a different result.

The military committee in Congress, with all those who support the General's course elsewhere, seem to think that if the legality of the sentence of the court martial is made out, they have made a complete defence for the General. I entertain a very different opin-

ion. In cases involving the life of a fellow citizen, technical legality is important, but it is not of the highest importance, especially to those who are empowered to administer the laws without strict regard to their letter.—This is the province of a commander-in-chief, whose duty it is, as it should be always his primary object, to temper justice with mercy. Such an officer may be deeply reprehensible for permitting the law to take its course. Indeed he may incur a more severe censure for an omission to moderate the rigor of the law, in an extraordinary case, where full time was allowed to deliberate, than for the hasty execution of an illegal sentence, under peculiar circumstances.

The Military Committee of the House of Representatives state that the first question presented by the documents is:

"Whether the Governor of Tennessee, had the power to order out the detachments of the militia of that state, for a six month tour of duty?"

They pronounce an opinion that the Governor of Tennessee did possess this power. This opinion they ground upon an authority conferred upon the Governor of Tennessee, by the President, dated January 11th, 1814. I entertain an opinion directly the reverse of that advanced by the military committee, for which I shall proceed to state my reasons.

On the 28th of February, 1795, Congress passed a law "to provide for calling forth the militia, &c." This law authorized a general call of the militia, according to the exigency of the case. It contained the following provision:

"No officer, nor commissioned officer, or private of the militia shall be compelled to serve more than three months, after his arrival at the place of rendezvous, in any one year, nor more than in due rotation with every other able bodied man, of the same rank in the battalion to which he belongs."

Under this law no militia man could be required to serve more than three months. One thing must be remembered. This law was general and contained no limitation of the number of the militia to be called into service. On the contrary, it authorized the President "*to call forth such number of the militia of the state or states most convenient to the place of danger, or scene of action, as he may judge necessary.*"

On the 10th of April, 1812, Congress passed another law "*to authorize a detachment from the militia of the United States.*" This latter law was of a different character entirely from that of Feb. 1795. It directed the President "*to require of the Executive of the several States & Territories, to take effectual measures to organize, arm, & equip according to law, and hold in readiness to march, at a moments warning, their* RESPECTIVE PROPORTIONS *of one hundred thousand militia, officers included, to be* APPOINTED *by the President of the United States from the latest militia returns in the Department of War.*"

There is this marked distinction between the two acts: Under the first the President could call "*from the state most convenient to the place of danger,*" "*such number of the militia as he may judge necessary.*" Under the second he could only call from each state, its "PROPORTION" of one hundred thousand. Both laws remained in force. If the exigency could not be met by a call under the law of 1812, the law of 1795, was in force to enable the President to make a call for the defence of the country. But there was a wide distinction in the situation of the militia called into service under the different acts. Under the first they could be compelled to serve only three months, but they were subject to be punished as regular soldiers, even to the degradation of whipping. The third section of the act of 1812, provided "*that the said detachment should not be compelled to serve a longer time than six months after they arrived at the place of rendezvous*". And the 5th, 6th, and 7th sections provided, that whipping should not be inflicted, and substituted other punishments. Thus stood the law when on the 11th January the President conferred upon the Governor of Tennessee, the power relied upon to legalize the draft for six months in the case before us.

To give a correct construction to this power we must consider, the laws in force when it was given, and the particular facts and circumstances that gave rise to it.

The authority given by law to compel the service for three or six months, depended upon the nature of the call. If called under the act of 1812, as part of the "DETACHMENT" of one hundred thousand, the militia might be compelled to serve six months. If called under the law of 1795, it was limited to three. In neither case was any particular discretion vested in the President. The draft was made according to the exigency. The persons drafted could not be detained longer than the legal period of service. The officer in command could discharge them earlier if the objects of the draft were earlier effected, and not otherwise. Such was the law in January, 1814, when the power in question was conferred upon the Governor of Tennessee. I will now explain the circumstances under which that power was given.

The first letter from Gov. Blount to the Secretary of War, which is published, is dated December 10, 1813.—It states the nature and character of the Tennessee troops called out to act against the hostile Creeks: and it states also the claims they advanced to be discharged at particular periods.—Of the militia the Governor says: "*I understand* [*they*] *are of opinion that their term of service will expire at the end of three months from their entrance into service: that being considered by the militia law of the state, passed prior to the act of Congress under which the detachment was made, as a tour of duty.*" He adds:

"When these troops were called into service, the term they were expected to serve was not mentioned, in the instructions I received from the War Department, or in the act of the General Assembly of this state, under which a part of the force was called out, neither was it mentioned in my orders calling them out. I not having been advised of the most acceptable term to the Government, and knowing no other limitation to their service than such as was provided by the act of Congress, unless sooner discharged by the order of the President."

It is proper to remark here, that these documents show that the General Government and State Governments acted upon the construction of the acts of Congress, that I have assumed to be the correct one. The drafts were made for no specific period, being considered subject to "*no other limitation to their service, than such as was provided for by the acts of Congress.*"

In this letter of the 10th of December, Governor Blount having stated the claims of the troops and the nature of the call, proceeds to explain the grounds upon which the claims are made, in a manner favorable to the troops, and asks the determination of the President as to their discharge, and if discharged "*by whose order, and how their places are to be supplied?*"

To this letter the Secretary of War wrote an answer, dated January 3d, 1814, which in respect to the militia contains this direction:

"The militia may be considered as having been called out under the law of 1795, which limits the service to three months. The President is the more disposed to make this decision, as the state law provides that a period of three months shall be deemed a tour of duty, and AS THE SPIRIT AND PATRIOTISM OF TENNESSEE LEAVES NO DOUBT, THAT A SUCCESSION OF CORPS, COMPETENT TO THE OBJECTS OF GOVERNMENT, WILL BE REGULARLY FURNISHED."

This letter contains nothing in answer to Governor Blount's inquiry, if the troops were to be discharged "*by whose order and how their places are to be supplied?*"—The letter of the 11th of January is evidently written for the purpose of conveying the information required, and is in these words:

"You are authorized to supply, by militia drafts or by volunteers, any deficiency which may arise, in the militia division under the command of Gen. Jackson, *and without referring on this head to this department.* It may be well that your Excellency should consult Gen. Pinckney on such occasions, as he can *best judge of the whole number* necessary to the attainment of the public objects."

These two letters from the Secretary of War of January 3, and January 11, relating to the same subject, and evidently written to make a complete reply to the application of Governor Blount, in his letter of December 10, preceding, must be considered in connexion, and such construction given to them as shall comport with the fair meaning of both.

The military committee conceive that the letter of the 11th "vested plenary powers in Governor Blount, until it was *revoked* either by express order, or by peace, to call out such militia drafts, as, in his discretion, he might think necessary, for the obtaining the public objects under the *existing laws*."

This position, if confined in interpretation, as it is in terms, to powers under the laws *existing* when the authority was conferred, that is, under the laws of 1795 and 1812, there would be no occasion to controvert; for it does not affect the argument. Nevertheless, it is proper to enquire whether this "*plenary power*" was intended to vest a discretion, in the Governor of Tennessee, as to the time of service, as well as in relation to the propriety of the call, and the numbers to be called. My opinion is, that the terms in which the authority is given, and the attendant circumstances concur, in showing, that the power conferred relates, not to the time of service, but to the exigency and the number to be called.

It has been already shown that whether the call were made under the act of 1795 or of 1812, the Executive did not undertake to specify the period of service, but left that to be determined by circumstances, subject only to the limitations conveyed in the laws themselves. It is unreasonable to suppose that a power, not previously exercised, would be conferred in general terms. The attention of the President had been specially called to the subject. The indisposition of the Tennessee militia, to serve for a longer period than three months, had been explained to him. He had just decided that the call should be considered as made under the law of 1795. The reasons assigned for making this decision were such as must continue to operate. They were "*the law of the state*," and "*the spirit and patriotism of Tennessee*," which inspired "A SUCCESSION OF CORPS competent *to the objects of Government*." Whilst the law of Tennessee, and "the spirit and patriotism of Tennessee" remained, the causes which influenced the President's determination remained in full force. It would seem obviously absurd, that the President should empower the Governor of Tennessee to overrule a decision, made by himself, upon such obvious just considerations. Nothing but the most unequivocal and imperative terms could justify such an interpretation.

The order conferring the power contains no language importing an intention to vest the Governor of Tennessee with any other power than that, which the President had previously exercised, which was to call out the militia, without defining the period of the call, and subject only to the limitation of law. On the contrary, it contains language most distinctly importing that such alone was the intention of the President.—The Governor is expressly told that "it may be well he should consult Gen. Pinckney *on such occasions as he can* BEST JUDGE, *of the* WHOLE NUMBER *necessary to the attainment of the public objects*." A power is vested in Gov. Blount: but he is advised to consult with another officer on the "*occasion*" of exercising it—he is to consult with this officer for the reason that he can "*best judge*" how the power should be executed. The order points out the subject on which this judgment can "best" be employed: "Of the *whole number* necessary to the attainment of the public objects." This same officer could also "*best judge*" of the time of the service for which the call should be made. It cannot, I think, be reasonably doubted, that, had the President referred to Governor Blount a determination as TO TIME, he would have been directed to consult General Pinckney upon that subject also. This reference being made specially, as to *numbers* only, confines the interpretation of the power, to the same subjects, to which its previous exercise, and all

the attending circumstances would naturally confine it. It was plenary for the attainment of its objects: but to regulate the period of service was not one of those objects.

The act of April, 1812, was special in its objects and temporary in its duration. The military committee say "it was an enlargement of the act of 1795." This position is untenable.—The act of 1795 was left in full force, and wholly unaffected by the act of 1812. They related to different objects, as has been already shown, and might both, or either, be enforced, at the same time, according to circumstances. A call to service under the act of 1812 must be made upon those, who, according to its provisions, had been previously organized, equipped, and held in readiness. A call, under the act of 1795, could be made upon the militia at large. The call, in relation to which the order of January 3, 1814, was issued, was evidently made under the act of 1812. It is so spoken of by all parties, although not stated so in express terms. The men in service were undoubtedly liable to serve a tour of six months. Upon account of their complaints, and the evident reluctance with which they would remain in service, the President determined that they "MAY *be considered as having been called under the act of* 1795." It seems to me a violation of all just construction to insist, that, when the President himself had deemed it good policy to adopt the shortest term of service, when he might legally have enforced the longest, he, at the same time, meant to confer upon Governor Blount a "*plenary power*" to pursue a directly adverse policy. It is thus clear to me, that under the laws in force, when the power was conferred, it did not extend to a determination of the period of service. I proceed now to enquire how far the power was affected by the act of April 13, 1814, under which the six militia men were put to death.

This latter act, as its title imports, is in addition to the act of 1795. It repeals no single provision of that act; but, on the subject of the time of service, it enlarges that particular provision. The 8th section is in these words:

"The militia, when called into the service of the United States, *by virtue of the before recited act*, MAY, *if, in the opinion of the President of the United States, the public interest requires it*, be compelled to serve for a term not exceeding six months, after their arrival at the place of rendezvous, in any one year."

It will be observed that the act of 1795, which has been already quoted contains simply a limitation of the time for which the militia may be compelled to serve. The act of 1812 contained a similar provision; the act of 1814, for the first time, vested, in the President, a discretionary power, with respect to the period of service, and, at the same time limited the extent of that discretion. The provisions, of the act of 1795, were not repealed, by those of the act of 1814. They were left, in full force to be acted upon, unless the President should decide to enlarge them, as empowered to do by the act of 1814. Thus, if a call were made for a tour of duty, it would be made under the act of 1795; for the act of 1814 looks to that of 1795, as authorizing a call for militia. The period of service would be that limited by the act of 1795, unless it were altered by the proper act of the President, in making the call. And here the true question as to the legal liability of Col. Pipkin's corps, to serve six months, is fairly presented; and it involves two enquiries, First: Could the President of the United States legally delegate to the Governor of Tennessee the power conferred by the act of 1814?

Second. Does it appear that the President has ever attempted to delegate that power?

I cannot suppose that it is necessary to say much on the first point. The doctrine that "*delegatus non potest delegari*," is as well established as any other, in the whole region of our jurisprudence. A delegated power cannot be executed by substitution, because it is a personal or official confidence.—The question whether militia, called into service, may be retained longer than three months, in one year, is made

to depend "*on the opinion of the President of the United States.*" The President cannot make a substitute, or a delegate, to express this opinion.—He cannot confide it to the Governor of a state, or to any body else. Congress confided it to him personally. It was a trust of great delicacy and importance. It involved too many vital interests to be vested in ordinary functionaries, and was therefore conferred, without any power to delegate it, upon the Chief Magistrate. It would be as reasonable to insist that the President might delegate any of the high powers confided to him by the constitution.—This no man of sense can pretend, yet, in truth, it is not more absurd than the position that the power in question might be delegated.

The course pursued by the military committee, upon this subject is a singular one. They seem to have too highly estimated their characters as men of sense to advance, directly, the doctrine that the President could delegate the power in question to Governor Blount; yet they have essayed to make that impression upon the public. Thus evincing a willingness to communicate, by indirection, an opinion, which they had too much self-respect to assert in terms. I quote what they say, *in extenso*, that every candid reader may perceive that I do them no injustice.

"After the passage of this act, it does not appear that the President *revoked the power* which he had given Governor Blount, by virtue of the Letters of the Secretary of War, of the 11th and 31st of January, 1814; but he seems to have been willing, from his silence, coupled with the notorious fact of Gov. Blount's continuing to order out militia drafts, under the discretionary authority of those letters, to consider that such drafts as Gov. Blount should order out, were, in his opinion, required by *the public interest*."

And your Committee think, that this proposition may be put more affirmatively, to wit: that it was the opinion of the President, that the public interest did require that Governor Blount should, under the requisitions of Gen. Pinckney, have the power to order out militia drafts, either for three or six months, as the exigencies of the service should render necessary, *without resorting in this case*," to the President, for special directions.

This deduction they consider irresistible and conclusive, and that there was nothing in the act of April 18th, 1814, which prevented the President from exercising his opinion, through general instructions, to the Executive of a state, whose orders for militia drafts, under such direction, should *de facto* and *de jure*, be the opinion of the *President*, "that such drafts were required by the *public interest*."

This inference, your Committee moreover believe, if they thought it necessary to go into such an investigation, *might be sustained* by the contemporary constructions which were given to this clause in the act of April 1814, as the actual discretion which was vested in the Executives of several of the states."

The first paragraph assumes that the power had been granted previous to the act of 1814, and argues that it existed, because not *revoked*." I have already shown that the order of Jan. 11, 1814, contains no such power, for various reasons, and amongst others, for the reason that, when that order was made, the President did not himself possess the power in question, it being given by a subsequent act of Congress. The fallacy of this assumption of the committee must be obvious to all, who bestow proper attention upon the subject. They evidently feel it themselves, when they attempt to bolster it up with the concluding argument of the paragraph. "He seems to have been willing, from his silence, coupled with the notorious fact of Gov. Blount's continuing to order out militia drafts, under the discretionary authority of those letters, to consider that such drafts as Governor Blount should order out were, in his opinion, required by the public interest."

This argument implies that there was no authority in the President to call out militia, after the act of 1814, except under that act. Hence the deduction that the continued acts of Gov. Blount were recognized by the President, as founded upon that act.—But this, in every view of it, is an incorrect position. The act of 1795, was in full force, when the power of January 11, 1814, was conferred. It continued in full force, for every purpose of exercising that power, after the passage of the act of 1814. The fact, that Gov. Blount continued to act under the power, proves nothing, because it was competent for him to do so, if he did not connect with it, an exercise of the enlarged powers conferred upon the President, by the act of 1814. The recognition and silence of the President, therefore, proves nothing.

The second paragraph goes a step

further than the first. The committee say, they "*think this proposition* MAY *be put more affirmatively.*" Whether they intend, upon their own responsibility and reputation, so to put it, is certainly doubtful, as every one will discover, who attempts to scrutinize the very singular manner in which they predicate their sentences.

In the third paragraph the committee assert that they consider the deduction suggested in the second one as "*irresistible and conclusive*," and for the notable reason, "that there *was nothing* IN THE ACT OF APRIL 18, 1814, *which prevented the President from expressing his opinion, through general instructions, to the Executive of a state, whose orders for militia drafts under* SUCH DISCRETION, *should* DE FACTO *and* DE JURE, be the opinion of the President, that such drafts were required by the public interest."

There is certainly nothing IN THE ACT of April, 1814, which prevents the President from expressing his opinion, in the manner suggested.—But assuredly, there is much OUT OF THAT ACT, in the general principles of policy and law that prevents the President from *expressing his opinion, by remaining silent*, and from substituting others, by implication, to express the opinion the law requires him to express himself.

The committee themselves do not pretend that Governor Blount possessed the power, in question, except, by deduction and inference. If the President could not legally confer it, as I think has been fully shown, the Gov. Blount could not be invested with it.—If it be matter of just and reasonable doubt, whether the President could invest Gov. Blount with this power, then nothing can be more unfair than an attempt to clothe him with it, by deduction and inference. This would be fastening upon the President an illegal act, by implication, contrary to every just principle. For if it were doubtful whether the President meant to confer the power in question, and doubtful also, whether he could legally confer it, both doubts ought to be so resolved, as to exonerate the President from even the imputation of wrong.—I put the case in the most favourable light for the committee and for Gen. Jackson, when I admit that it *may* be doubtful whether the power could be, or was conferred. Suppose it doubtful, how then stands the case?

The committee, those rigid constructionists of power, are ready to justify putting men to death upon questions of *deduction* and *inference*. The proposition, upon which liberty, life, and death have been suspended, the advocates of the censured party "THINK MAY *be put more affirmatively.*" "This DEDUCTION they *consider* irresistible."—"This *inference* they *believe* MIGHT be sustained." Who can doubt, what must be the opinion of impartial men, when partial friends venture to employ no stronger terms than these! For myself, after bestowing upon the subject a full investigation and a careful consideration, my opinion is clear, that Gov. Blount was not authorised by the President, to decide in favour of compelling militia to serve six months: that it was not competent for the President to confer upon him that power, and that the President never attempted or intended to confer it. And I am greatly mistaken if a large portion of the lawyers of the country do not concur, in this opinion.

For the purpose of sustaining the legality of the executions in question, the military committee adduce proof to show, that the regiment to which they belonged was, in fact, ordered out and mustered for six months. This fact the committee seem to consider as supplying "*legal presumption* that the muster and inspection was made with the requisite authority." In reply, it is sufficient to say, that "*legal presumption*" is never resorted to where the true state of facts is well known, as in this case it is.

The committee urge that on the 10th of October, 1814, Governor Blount advised the President, that this regiment had been called out for six months.—The committee say "he SPECIALLY REPORTED *this regiment of* 1000 *men to the Secretary of War as in service for six months*; from which fact the *inference* is inseparable that they were considered legally in service, or it was the bounden duty of the Secretary to have

ordered their immediate discharge."—They add, "if any confirmation was wanted for the original authority, by which the draft was made, for six months, Gov. Blount's *report* of 19th of October, and the *implied* sanction of the President, incontestibly furnish it."

Here is another resort to *inference* and *implication*, and the ground upon which they are predicated is not fairly stated. The reader would naturally conclude that Gov. Blount's report of October 19, was made *specially* and *purposely* to advise the President that this draft had been made, and for six months. This is not the fact. An examination of that letter will show that it is mentioned incidentally, as would appear, only to inform the President of the whole number of Tennessee troops then in service, for the purpose of obtaining a Major General's command for General Carroll. It is not likely that the period of time, for which the call was made, attracted the attention of the President: And if it did, his silence could not sanction it, or make it legal, had he designed by silence to give it that character. The *inference* and *implication* of the committee again fail them. The fact is not made out, and if it were, the inference attempted could not be legitimately deduced from it.

The committee do not, in terms, maintain that the call and muster for six months, whether warranted by the order of the President or not, subjected the parties to military law. This has been elsewhere asserted, and seems to be about half insinuated in the report. Such a doctrine is wholly untenable. It is the law, and the law only, that imposes a duty. The assumption of authority by unauthorized individuals cannot do it. This is the plain doctrine of common sense. It is the doctrine of the law too, as thus laid down by Chief Justice Marshall, in the case of *Little et al.* vs. *Barreme et al.* 2 *Cranch*, 179.

"I confess the first bias of my mind was very strong in favor of the opinion, that though the instructions of the executive could not give a right, they might yet excuse from damages. I was much inclined to think that a distinction ought to be taken between acts of civil and those of military officers; and between proceedings within the body of the country and those on the high seas. That implicit obedience which military men usually pay to the orders of their superiors, which indeed is indispensably necessary to every military system, appeared to me strongly to imply the principle that those orders, if not to perform a prohibited act, ought to justify the person whose general duty it is to obey them, and who is placed by the laws of his country in a situation which, in general, requires that he should obey them. I was strongly inclined to think that where, in consequence of orders from the legitimate authority a vessel is seized with pure intention, the claim of the injured party for damages would be against that government from which the orders proceeded, and would be a proper subject for negotiation. But I have been convinced that I was mistaken, and have receded from this first opinion. I acquiesce in that of my brethren, which is, that the instructions cannot change the nature of the transaction, or legalize an act which, without those instructions, would have been a plain trespass."

In the view here presented, the call for six months is considered as unauthorised, and consequently as imposing no obligation upon the men to continue in service. Those who regard the matter in this light, cannot but consider the execution as a *legalized* murder: *legalized*, because perpetrated under the forms of law. But other highly important views of the matter remain to be taken, including all the facts and circumstances of the case, and testing the conduct of Gen. Jackson by them.

It is certainly clear, that the General and his advocates can claim nothing more than that, in the opinion of themselves, strict right was on their side of the question. They cannot, with any face of propriety, deny that there existed much room for honest doubt, and conscientious difference of opinion.—This being assumed, as a concession that must be made, let us look at the facts that actually occurred.

The men were mustered for a term of six months, as they believed, without any legal authority. Difficulties had arisen amongst the previous drafts, as to the time they were liable to serve. Gen. Jackson had insisted upon keeping them in service. On an appeal to the President, an order had been made for their discharge, at the end of three months. The sentiment amongst the citizens of Tennessee was strong in favor of a service of three months only. The whole conduct of the militia proved

this. Gov. Blount himself, in a letter to the Secretary of War, dated Jan. 5 1814, urges forcibly the propriety of adopting this term. He says:

"The idea of a longer term to militia, who, I believe, are all alive to a sense of duty, and anxious for a final and vigorous prosecution of the campaign to a final accomplishment of the objects of government, *is disgusting.* ☞ *and if required of them to perform a longer term, their disappointment might lead to great evils, which it is very desirable to avoid.*" ☜

The exciting to mutiny, and the mutiny itself with which they were charged, were committed, in the assertion of what they conceived to be a legal right. The criminal and felonious motives, which constitute the essence of every crime, did not enter into their conduct. The sole intention was to return home, as they supposed they had a right to do. It was from no spirit of insubordination, no design to prejudice the public service that they acted. So that if they were in fact mistaken as to their legal rights, they were guilty in act, and not in intent. The offence was that of technical guilt, not of deliberate, or innate profligacy. In every view of the case, it was one to which clemency ought to have been extended, so far as life was concerned.

It is very important to enquire and ascertain, if possible, the considerations which must have operated with Gen. Jackson, to inflict the most rigorous punishment, in a case, where a different course was so obviously proper, and so much more in accordance with the feelings of humanity and the sentiments of justice.

An attentive perusal of the work of Major Eaton cannot fail to impress, upon every reader, the singular fact of the many difficulties that arose between General Jackson, and the Tennessee troops of every description, under his command.—He took the field in October, 1813, with three descriptions of force—a corps of United States Volunteers for one year, who entered the service December 10, 1812, a corps of Tennessee militia detached, under a requisition from the War department, and a corps of volunteers, without a definite character. With a part of this force Gen. Coffee fought the battle of Tallushatches, on the 3d of November, Gen. Jackson that of Talledeja, on the 9th of the same month, and Gen. White destroyed the Hillabee towns on the 17th, and Fort Strother was established and fortified on the Coosa river. At this place, after the return from the battle of Talledeja, the troops began to manifest a discontented and mutinous spirit. Whilst the existence of this spirit is strongly pourtrayed, and its operations minutely detailed, no adequate cause is assigned for its origin. It is attributed to the "*instigation*" of certain officers; but wherefore they should "*instigate*" it we are not informed. The residue of the month of November and the Month of December were spent in criminations and recriminations, between the commander and the men and their officers. Though no cause is given for the commencement of the discontents, the question as to the period of service, very soon came up and constituted the ground of dispute. Gen. Jackson insisted upon detaining the men beyond the period for which they considered themselves bound. The officers claimed their discharge. Governor Blount recommended it, all grounding themselves upon the validity of a three months term only—Jackson threatened, expostulated and coaxed. Actual disregard of orders ensued. Gen. Roberts discharged his corps. Lieutenant Kearney arrayed his men, and presented himself in hostile attitude to the very person of the commander. All resulted in the men effecting their object, returning home, and escaping punishment. None can doubt the mischief of this example, but it certainly proceeded from the unjustifiable attempt of Gen. Jackson to compel that, which the law did not warrant.

After all these events, Gov. Blount issued his order of the 3d January, 1814, for a draft of 25 hundred men "*for a term of three months*" expressed upon the face of it. Thus affirming the opinion prevalent in Tennessee, that three months was the legal term of service. The unfortunate John Woods, executed at Fort Strother for mutiny.

March 14, was one of these. General Cocke also brought into the field 2500 men under Brigadier General Doherty. The legality of the draft, under which they were called, was made a question: and it was contenanced by Gen. Cocke himself. The troops became openly mutinous, and "*one hundred and eighty deserted.*" We have no account that any of them were punished, though Jackson issued an order "to seize and send under guard to Fort Strother every officer, without regard to his rank, who should be found, in any manner, attempting to incite his army to mutiny."

The battle of the Horse-shoe, which put an end to the Creek War, was fought on the 27th of March, 1814: on the 20th of April Gen. Pinckney arrived and took the command, and on the 21st an order was issued for the Tennessee troops to be marched home and discharged, except a portion from East Tennessee, left to garrison the forts. Gen. Jackson's command being terminated, he returned home, and in the month of June following, he received the appointment of Major General from the United States.

From this brief recapitulation of facts, it is manifest, that Gen. Jackson had felt a strong disposition, while commanding the militia of Tennessee, as a Major General of that state, to *compel* by military means, a service beyond the law. That he bore his disappointment very impatiently, is evidenced, by the continued broils and disaffections in his army, which pervaded the militia under no other General, to any thing like the same extent. It is further evidenced by his speeches and letters; and especially by a letter to Gov. Blount, in reply to one urging a want of legal authority to order out troops as required.

"What then is to be done? I'll tell you what. You have only *to act with the energy we do upon the critical occasion*, and all will be well. *Send me a force engaged for six months, and* I WILL ANSWER FOR THE RESULT: but with half measures all is lost, the reputation of the state, and yours and mine along with it."

In the same letter, the General says to Governor Blount:

"Believe me my valued friend, there are times when it is highly criminal to shrink from responsibility, or (☞ SCRUPLE ABOUT THE EXERCISE OF OUR POWERS."☜)

There is no mistaking the language here employed. The General only wanted the troops sent for "*six months.*" He cared not what the law was. Only send him the troops, and he would "ANSWER FOR THE RESULT." He would neither "*shrink from responsibility,* nor (☞ SCRUPLE ABOUT THE EXERCISE OF HIS POWERS."☜) When the troops were sent for six months, he made good his promise.

Gen. Jackson's notions with respect to the militia, and the uses to which they might legally be applied, may be further collected from a letter written to the Secretary of War, dated 20th Nov., 1814. (Eaton 268.)

"Permit me to suggest a plan, which, on a fair experiment, will do away or lessen the expenses under the existing mode of calling militia forces into the field. *Whenever there happens to be a deficiency in the regular force, in any particular quarter, let the Government determine on the necessary number!* THIS SHOULD BE APPORTIONED AMONG THE DIFFERENT STATES, (☞ AND CALLED INTO SERVICE FOR AND DURING THE WAR."☜)

The sentiments here avowed, the controversies and difficulties that had existed, in all of which Gen. Jackson bore a conspicuous part, serve to explain the feelings and motives, that led to the catastrophe of the six militia men, at Mobile. The General determined to make them such an example as should strike terror every where, and effectually silence all objections to his own arbitrary notions about militia service.

They were called into service as the military committee informs us, "in compliance with the requisition of Maj. Gen. Pinckney, and in furtherance of the views of Government, by a latitude given to him (Gov. Blount) by the War Department, *in regard to calls to act against the Creeks,*" and rendezvoused on the 21st June, 1814.

The call is justified upon the authority of the power conferred, by the letter from the War Department of January 11, 1811. By that letter the Governor

was authorized to apply by militia draft any deficiencies which may *arise in the military division under the command of Gen. Jackson.*" When the requisition in question was made, Gen. Jackson was not in the "*command*" of a "*militia division.*" The case did not exist for making the call under the letter of January 11, 1814, which did not extend "*to calls to act against the Creeks,*" in any circumstances, and at any time. It was confined in express terms, to "*any deficiency which may arise in the militia division under the command of Gen. Jackson.*" That *division* was no longer in service. The Creeks had been subdued; had laid down their arms and sought for peace, and Gen. Jackson had returned home, and laid down his command. The rendezvous being appointed for the 20th of June, the call must have preceded it something like a month, at a time when Gen. Jackson and his division were no longer in the field!! The call, therefore, cannot, for this reason, be maintained upon the letter from the War Department, to which it refers.

Again. The Creek Indians being conquered, there was neither invasion nor immediate danger of invasion, in that part of the country, from the Creek Indians, or any other enemy. Consequently no power existed in the President himself to call out the militia as called out by the Governor of Tennessee, of which these men formed a part, at the time the call was made. For both the constitution and the law confine the power of the President to cases of invasion, or imminent danger of invasion. The draft was illegal, upon both of the grounds here suggested, to wit, that Gov. Blount's power did not embrace the case; and existing facts did not authorise a call, even by the President. Thus, an analysis of previous facts to ascertain the origin of Gen. Jackson's feeling towards the militia, discloses new and irrefragable grounds to prove that the men were illegally called, and illegally detained in service.

The considerations which ought to have weighed with the commander, to view with lenity the conduct of these men, have already been in part stated. The fact that they acted openly and honestly upon a belief of their legal rights; the additional fact, that the question of right was a nice, complicated and doubtful one, to say, the least, presented them in the character of men resisting what they deemed oppression. In this resistance they used no more force than was necessary to attain their object. I have never known any case but theirs, in which men, thus demeaning themselves, were considered proper subjects of rigorous example.

I have adverted to the fact that no such spirit of discontent and mutiny was manifested by any militia during the late war, as by those from Tennessee, under Gen. Jackson. For this, there must have been some original or primary cause, and in seeking for it, we would naturally ask, were the Tennesseans more turbulent than any other citizens called into service? If this were not the case, and I shall certainly not assert that it was, then the cause must be sought, either in the circumstances of peculiar hardship that surrounded them, or in the character and conduct of the general. Whatever of extraordinary hardship they encountered, there is every reason to believe that the Georgia militia engaged in the same service, at the same time, under Gen. Floyd, must have endured about the same suffering. No spirit of mutiny appears to have existed amongst them. So that the fair conclusion seems to be, that the principal primary cause must be traced to something in the character and conduct of their chief.

The first campaign of Gen. Jackson was made at the head of 2500 twelve months' volunteers, who mustered for service on the 10th December, 1812, and with whom the general proceeded from Nashville to Natchez, in the month of January, 1813. For what purpose, and under what orders he made this march, is, and always has been, unknown to the public. There is some reason to doubt whether it was not chiefly a movement of his own. Major Eaton, however, says, he received orders to descend the Mississippi, "for the defence of the lower country, which was then *supposed to be in danger.*"

At Natchez he halted, as Major Eaton asserts, according to instructions, to wait for further orders: and at Natchez he received orders "*to dismiss those under his command from service, and to take measures for delivering over every article of public property in his possession, to Gen. Wilkinson.*" This order he determined to disobey, and did disobey. His reasons for disobedience were, the injustice and hardship of dismissing the men so far from their homes, to return as they could.

In consequence of this resolution to disobey his orders, great controversy arose between the general and his officers, and the quarter-master. The General not only refused to dismiss the men, but he refused to deliver over the property as ordered, resolving to *take with him* "*so much of that property as should be necessary to his return.*" Notwithstanding the contrary directions of the quarter-master, General Jackson ☞ "SEIZED UPON *the waggons yet within his lines, and* COMPELLED *them to proceed to the transportation of his sick.*" I quote the very terms employed by Major Eaton, who is by no means sparing of insinuations very prejudicial to Gen. Wilkinson, and the officers who advised Jackson against the violation of military subordination, of such dangerous example in an army.

Gen. Jackson marched these volunteers back to Tennessee and dismissed them. The government overlooked his contempt of authority, and his *seizure* of public property, and permitted him again to take the command, when it became necessary to repel the attacks of the Creek Indians. These same volunteers constituted the principal force with which the general marched into the Creek nation, in October, 1813. It is to the officers of this same corps that Major Eaton attributes the commencement of mutiny and revolt, in November and December, 1813. The militia first manifested this temper. But Major Eaton observes, "To this measure there were good evidences for believing that several of the officers of the old volunteer corps exerted themselves clandestinely and with great industry, to instigate them." These volunteers soon became the leaders of revolt, and as has already been shown, finally succeeded in effecting their objects.

These facts, in my opinion, warrant the inference, that the disobedience of orders, so successfully practised by Gen. Jackson himself, was the primary origin of all the mischiefs that succeeded. The volunteers had witnessed a most palpable and open violation of military law and military discipline, on the part of their general. They had seen him *seize* property and provisions to sustain him in his disobedience. They had seen him, not merely escape punishment, but receive applause. Nothing was more natural than that they should imbibe the same spirit, and communicate it to others; and that all should suppose themselves justified, in following the example of their general, in acting upon their own notions of right, when they thought proper to do so. The success which attended the mutinous efforts of the forces first marched against the Creeks, could not fail to have an effect upon all subsequent corps, and to diffuse amongst them the same refractory spirit. When, therefore, the six militia-men, put to death, and their associates sentenced to degrading punishment, deserted from forts Strother and Jackson, and "*seized*" the public property to sustain them, they did but act upon the example set by Gen. Jackson at Natchez. *When about to suffer, they might well have said to Gen. Jackson:* "TO THE EVIL OF YOUR EXAMPLE OUR DEATHS SHOULD BE ATTRIBUTED." To the government they might have said: "*By countenancing and rewarding the mutinous acts of Gen. Jackson, you brought disobedience and defection into the militia of Tennessee, and have inflicted a cruel death upon us.*" In both cases, the rebuke would have been as just as that of the son who bit off his mother's ear under the gallows, because she rewarded, instead of punishing, his first youthful acts of aggression.

I am not now investigating the conduct of the court martial, though I hold them deeply censurable, for the course they pursued. I am impressed with the opinion that they were men of little information, and not much independence. Except the President, Colonel

Perkins, they were nominated by Col. Pipkin, who was the ostensible prosecutor, and who has since shown that his feelings remain sufficiently excited against the sufferers. Col. Perkins had himself committed acts of insubordination, during the Creek war, that subjected him to punishment.—His arrest had been demanded by Gen. Coffee, and Gen. Jackson had interfered to get him excused, upon the plea of "*ignorance of military duty.*"—[See Eaton, 130. 1. 2.] This plea is no favorable evidence of his qualification, whilst the other circumstances of his case show that he was, most probably, a special favourite with the General.

The decisions of a court, thus composed, ought not to have a decisive influence with the commander—And all the proceedings and proofs are uniformly laid before him, that he may decide for himself, in approving or disapproving their sentence.

When Gen. Jackson perused the proceedings in question, he perceived that all the acts charged against all the sentenced persons were in substance the same. They all related to the departure from the army to return home, on the allegation that the term of service had expired. The conniving at mutiny, the exciting to mutiny, the actual mutiny, and the disobedience of orders, were but separate parts of the same final act. Captain Strother was not found guilty of actual mutiny: but he was convicted of exciting to, and conniving at mutiny, and of disobedience of orders. The sentence did not touch his life—Yet assuredly an officer who excites to mutiny, is the most grievious offender of the two. His example is most dangerous, his crime the most reprehensible, and he ought to receive the most exemplary punishment. This Court Martial did not think so: an evidence at least, of very incorrect judgment, either in the case of the officer, or of the men.

Of the six individuals, who were put to death, the case of each required from the General, a careful and candid examination, because the reference of the sentence to the General is a substantial, not a formal matter.

Jacob Webb departed from Fort Jackson. Neither the charges, nor the testimony, accused him of any other act, than a simple departure, except, that after the departure he was seen at the head of those who had departed. He stated in his defence:

"That he served three months faithfully, and conceived, from the best information he could get, that his term of service had expired: that he was told, by both non-commissioned officers and privates, that it was nothing but right to go, *and as soon as he discovered his error he returned to his duty.*"

This sentence, under the circumstances, stands in singular contrast with that pronounced in the cases of James Nelson, Joseph Routon, A. Whitton, and Robert B. Roberts. They were charged with mutiny in this, "that they forcibly took beef and flour from the contractors agent," and "marched off with the mutinous party." They alleged the same defence, and added an expression of regret, and a call upon the mercy of the court. Though found guilty, they were not sentenced to death, but to the lesser suffering of stoppage of pay, shaving of heads, and druming out of camp. As they added robbery to mutiny, one cannot but be surprised at the moral conceptions that inflicted the lighter punishment upon them.

David Morrow. He was a Sergeant, and was found guilty of carrying about a paper to get signers to go home, of seizing flour and beef, and of heading the party that left Fort Strother. He alleged the same defence with others, stating that he had acted upon "the advice which he received from his Captain, corroborated by the opinion of Gen. Johnston, Colonel Chatham, Captain Earp, as well as many others. He threw himself upon the mercy of the court and produced also the following documents:

"Camp Stewart, 1st Nov. 1814.

GENERAL ORDERS.

To all Officers of the United States' Army.

Whereas David Morrow, belonging to Captain John Strother's company, attached to the 1st regiment Tennessee militia, who deserted from Fort Jackson on the 20th or 21st of September last, has come forward and surrendered himself to

this camp, has acknowledged the error of his conduct, professed his penitence for the same, and begged permission to join his company, and serve out his time of service, or duty, as a faithful soldier: he is hereby pardoned, on reporting himself to his company, of Col. P Pipkin's regiment without delay, subject to the will of the commanding General.

"The officers commanding at stations, are directed to furnish him with rations and the said David Morrow is permitted to join Capt. Blackmore who will suffer him to do so, in order more safely to pursue his proper journey to his proper station. By command:

GEO DUFFIELD,
Aid-de-Camp to Brig Gen Taylor."

It would seem to me that a stronger case for clemency than that made out for Morrow is seldom found, where there had even been original guilt. He had voluntarily returned to his duty, confessed his error, manifested deep penitence, and implored mercy; yet he was deemed a necessary victim to ex mplify justice!

JOHN HARRIS. Much notoriety has been attached to this man's case. He was convicted of going through the camp to get signers to go home on the 20th of September, stating that he would soon have a larger company than Captain Kilpatrick, of receiving and cooking his part of the flour and beef forcibly taken, and of marching off with the mutinous party, and of not reporting those who were of the mutinous party.

No aggravated conduct was proven against him. His defence follows:

"The prisoner states, in his defence, that he was totally unacquainted with the nature of militia-service; that he had frequently heard his officers say they knew of no law compelling militia to remain in service longer than three months, and from the opinion of other men of respectability and information, he conceived his term of service had expired; returned his gun to his Captain, under that impression took up the receipt he had given for it, and departed from Fort Jackson, conscious of having discharged his duty."

He too was sentenced to death. Though not noted in the record, the peculiarities of his case must have been known to the court and the commanding General. He was a preacher of the Baptist Church, advanced in years, involved in debt, and the father of nine children, several of whom were young and helpless. By the General's own admission, it appears that the culprit wrote a letter to him, after his trial. With the contents of that letter we are not acquainted. That it was to obtain a pardon by stating his case, and expressing contrition for his offence can be reasonably doubted. But he made no successful impression. The heart of the commander was steeled, by one cause or other, against the pleadings of mercy, when addressed to him in the most moving situation, a father imploring to be spared to aid in the support of a helpless wife and children.

HENRY LEWIS. He was found guilty of asserting in presence of a large portion of the troops, that there was no law to compel militia to serve longer than three months, that he would go home on the 20th of September, and would take provisions where he could get it, and of marching off at the head of the mutinous part of Capt. Mc ane's Company.

No outrageous or violent conduct was proved against him. His defence was the same in substance with that of Harris. In addition, he expressed regret for his disgraceful course, and threw himself on the mercy of the court. But the court and the General were alike deaf to the cry for mercy. Lewis was a mere youth, who had served two previous tours of three months, with reputation and honor.

DAVID HUNT. The facts of which Hunt was convicted, were saying he would go home, breaking the guard-house, going off with the mutinous party and receiving a share of the provisions forcibly taken. His defence was substantially that of the others, the belief that there was no law to compel more than three months service, "that he was threatened into the act by others; erred through ignorance, is sorry for his improper conduct, and solicits the mercy of the court." His solicitation was as vain, as that of all who had

preceded him. His life alone could satisfy his Judges and his General.

The facts disclosed in the following certificates, show the character and conduct of David Hunt, in that light in which they ought always to be regarded by a commanding General, deciding upon a question of life and death.

"I am the father of David Hunt one of the 'six militia men' who were shot in the United States army in 1815. It has always been, and still is in my opinion, that my son did not deserve the death he suffered. Such confidence had I in him that I thought him incapable of committing an act for which he might deserve to die an ignominious death.

In the late war with Great Britain, and with the Indians I took great pleasure in equipping my son David, that he might engage in the service of his country. He went as a volunteer with the first army that marched against the Creek Indians. I was highly gratified to hear that in all the battles that were fought with the Creeks, he acted the part of a brave man, as well as that of an orderly soldier.

In 1814, my son became one of the garrison stationed at Fort Jackson. He went there as a substitute for another man. When he engaged with this man it was the understanding that the term of service would expire at the end of three months. Accordingly, at the expiration of this term, my son came home with several others, both officers and soldiers. My son told me that he was advised by persons qualified, as he believed, to give advice on such occasions, that he could not be compelled to serve a longer period than three months.

Soon after my son returned home, it was rumoured that he had done wrong in leaving the fort. We reflected that it was possible he might have committed an error. I therefore immediately equipped him with suitable clothing, and he returned as early as he could to his post, without the least apprehension of danger. On his return, however, he was taken and kept in confinement until the 21st of February, 1815. On which day he was put to death. When I heard of his death I was greatly surprised—the intelligence was altogether unexpected. I myself had been a soldier. I had fought in the war of the Revolution under Washington. From the little knowledge I had acquired of military discipline under this beloved General, I thought there would be no danger in my son's returning to his post, and acknowledging his error if he committed one. JAMES HUNT.

Signed in presence of John Hoover, W. H. Robertson, Thomas Dunaway, Jas. Wade, Jno. Matthews, William Matthews."

Edward Linsey. He was convicted of opening the door of the issuing house, taking out flour, issuing it out, receiving a part, and going off with the mutinous party, and of speaking words tending to lead men to the act of mutiny. Defence—"Acted incorrectly through ignorance, regrets the impropriety of his conduct, and implores the mercy court." Sentenced to be shot.

Such is a brief outline of the facts, in the case of the six militia men. I do not intend further to disgust the reader by detailing the cases of those sentenced to the lesser punishments. As the character of the transactions is the same, it is to be supposed that these six were singled out for examples. Let all who are capable of just reflection, decide for themselves, whether the circumstances of extenuation which accompanied each case, were not such as to mark with cruelty and injustice, the rigorous execution of the sentence.

I commenced this investigation, for the purpose of taking a clear and dispassionate view of the whole case. Appeals to passion, to feeling, or to prejudice, are incompatible with such a view. I have, therefore, abstained from all such appeals. In consequence of this, I am sensible that many readers may regard what I have written as tame and spiritless. I could easily have escaped this imputation: for, in wading through the transaction, my spirit has been often deeply stirred; but I laboured, I trust successfully, to repress it. I am persuaded that I have narrated the material facts with fidelity, and so arranged them as to enable every tolerable understanding to comprehend them.

My conclusions are:

First.—That Col. Pipkin's regiment, of which these men composed a part,

was not legally called into the service of the United States for six months.

Because, no authority was conferred, upon the Governor of Tennessee, by the letter from the War Department, of January 11, 1814, to make a call of militia for six months, in June following the date of that letter.

Because, the terms of that letter did not authorize the call in the state of facts that existed in June, 1814.

Second.—That the offences charged and proven, were acts done in the belief, that the perpetrators were exercising their legal rights; and in such case it is equally contrary to the principles of sound policy, and the dictates of humanity, to inflict exemplary punishment, even if the law were against the accused parties.

Third.—That the contests between Gen. Jackson and the Tennessee militia, during the Creek war, had implanted angry prejudices in his mind against them, to the indulgence of which, these unfortunate men were sacrificed. I am much mistaken, if most men, who take the pains to read what I have written, do not come to the same conclusions.

I subscribe my name, because I am willing to be responsible for the facts, arguments and opinions that I have advanced.

C. HAMMOND.

March 24, 1827.

Further Extracts from the Hero of Two Wars.

AN UNPUBLISHED DRAMA.

Act II.—Scene I

[*Back portion of the Hermitage.* Enter *Antipathy*, musing.]

Ant. What strange creations fancy can supply!
I had pictured in my mind the Hermitage,
Sequestered from the rude and bustling world:
Its bosom'd shade the deep and shady groves,
Which art had planted. I had thought to find
The humble ivy circling round its walls;
A verdant sward lawn, in front, on either side
The sportive lambkin frisking in the shade,
Emblems of innocence and sweet humility,
Were but in with the Chieftain's character;
Vitiated will to trample on the mind,
Inveterate the species, and confidence
To tread on friend, and virtue's sacred laws.
The matter I had drawn, of one whose life
Alone for its theme, a most exemplar
Of selfish hate and sordidness, seeking fame,
Not honor—only when as a country called it
Cruel and unconcerned amidst its foes' storms.
And slander's venomed sting. Untouched, unmoved,
By passions common to mortality.
Untempted by ambition;—to revenge
An utter stranger, and from envious thought
As far removed, as heaven's angelic peace,
From the demoniac rage of deepest hell.
But these were visions all! What do I find
A imitative palace, planned in taste,
To gratify poor pride and low ambition,
Standing exposed, a begging for applause,
Surrounded by unmanned sucking hats,
All tenanted by Ham's posterity,
Who to the chief slain vassal homage pay,
Cringe at his nod, and startle when he frowns
At for the chief himself, I am whom I deemed
Of soul exalted far beyond the touch
Of groveling passions, far above the reach
Of the base flatterer's sycophantic arts—
Him I leave found surrounded by a crew
Of needy worthless, wretched parasites,
Who from the Virgin State have made their way
To greet his flattering hopes, which indicate,
That he ne'er long may do them service.
Domesticated in the House, I find
A tread-cutter, in high authority,
Fawning upon the chief, and flouting all
Who approach to court his favour, or who claim
Reward for service rendered heretofore.—
This thwarts my purpose. Oh! it wrings my soul,
That dire necessity thus drives me on,
And binds my fortune to the chieftain's car;
For poorly qualified is he, the helm
Of freedom's bark to guide, who holds in chains
His fellow men; and who submits himself
To guidance, such as that he now endures—
But lo! he comes.—Heavens! was I overheard!

[*Enter from the Hall, Hero and Lady Hero.*]

Hero. Good Sir, I have heard what gives me much concern.
Here comes a strong report that in your land,
The arch Magician Harry, bears the sway,
And holds,
Securely as his own, the people's hearts.

Ant. 'Tis but a hollow coalition voice;
For none but Hero holds the peoples' hearts,
And their true feelings weekly are proclaimed
By faithful friend. The Advertiser teems—

Hero. With falsehood most absurd. He like the ass,
In fable's story, brays most lustily,
But cannot hide his ears. The lion's skin
Disdains to cover such an animal.
His brayings do me prejudice. Who trusts
To insolent, absurd, and ribald calumnies,
Does injury to all connected with him;
Of this I've recent proof. The busy fools,
Who urged me on to call Buchanan out,
Have prostrated, almost, my highest hopes.
But you,—I feel I owe you many thanks
For past and for prospective services.—

Ant. My service runs before my salutation.—
I came not here with courtly-garbled promises,
Which empty thanks might well reciprocate.
For labour done a present compensation
May well be claimed; for that to be performed,
Promise may be against a promise set,
And deemed a reciprocity.

Hero. And does the man of learning and research,
Visit me as the beggarel vagabond?—like Beverly?
And such as he?—to ask for present pence?
And future favor? 'Tis humiliating!

Already many high distinguished names,
Stand in the gap of first preferment—whence,
If I'm made President, they'll ne'er retreat,
Without the office claimed.—And they have claims.—

Lady Hero. They've laboured much, and should have their reward.
The cock that scratches must be allowed to pick.
Though 'tis a case of hardship, there's no help.
Where there's more pigs than teats, some pigs must starve.—

Ant. (*aside*) Sampson's Delilah!—what a speech was there!

Hero. I did concede thou hadst some service done,
Though what it was, I am not well informed.
The concession was of courtesy;
To boast a service is to cancel it.
Yet would I hear for what I am indebted,
That I may judge, if a reward be due.—

Ant. Great men have treacherous memories. This I find,
Is true, even at the Hermitage. And to refresh them,
By modest hint, is held to boast a service
And cancel all its merit.—Be it so.
Labours forgotten, ne'er receive reward—
And this can but befal them, when recounted.—
Great chieftain, you have much astonished me!
—Of all my labours, all my sacrifices,
To uplift the peoples' candidate on high,
Professing ignorance, and roundly stating
That they exist, but as of courtesy.
Before I dabbled in the dirty courses,
Which your supporters were compelled to follow,
The savor of my name was sweet and healthful,
The wise and learned received me, a compeer;
All my pursuits were useful and profound;—
I stood, confessed, the literary chief
Of the vast occidental hemisphere.
What am I now? the jest and scorn of many.
My very name, a by-word of reproach,
Hang up as one regardless of all truth,
All candour, fairness, and good character!
And wherefore? For this very potent reason,
I buckled on my armour in thy cause,
And looked not back. Whatever was avouched,
I took upon me to maintain for truth.
You were proclaimed the hero of two wars,
How idly you well know: but I maintained it,
Boldly as Eaton, roundly as yourself,
In the famed Swartout letter.—'Twas proclaimed
You were a Cincinnatus,—second Washington.
—Encore! I shouted. Glory to the chief!
The very Hector of this mighty nation!
Hector and Hickory are derivatives
From the same root—By the same cause impelled.
I stoutly swore it—'Twas Paris ravished Hellen,
Hector stood forth the champion of the deed.
Of lust the apologist and vindicator.
This was your great example,—"*Booty and Beauty.*"—

Hero. What mean you, Sir? 'Tis vile insinuation.

Ant. I crave your patience. You're too sensitive.
"*Booty and Beauty*" was the watchword given
For your destruction.—Was it *then* a slur?
Fair Hellen left her husband—and for what?
Was he a dog or drunkard? a poor knave?
A quarrelsome, jealous-pated, horned creature?
I said not so.—But Paris, we're instructed,
Was a most proper man in parts and manners,
To attract a buxom lady's best affections—

Lady Hero. So was my Hero, in his days of vigour,
Oh, I shall ne'er forget—

Hero. Madam be silent,
And let no folly now escape your tongue

Lady Hero. By all the cats! the chieftain's in a pet,
As if he'd kicked the kiver from himself
And left us naked.—

Hero. You'd soon make us so.—
Proceed, Sir! I am fain to hear you through

Ant. I see no cause for so much huffishness
For reprehension rude, or tart reply.
Hellen was *booty* to her ravisher;
Her *beauty* stood before all other women.
Thus she was *beauty* and was *booty* too.
Paris enjoyed both;—and what of that?
Booty,—be it of gold or pretty woman,
Is *booty* still; the last—the best possession.
Say'st not thou so, great chieftain? And beauty stolen,
Is sweetest in the enjoyment.

Hero. Prating knave,
For this, thy insolence, thy ears shall answer.
Here, Toady! give this scoundrel his deserts;
Let him partake the fate of that vile slave,
Who felt my vengeance, when the knave Buchanan
Dared to assert I had not spoken truth,
And left me in the lurch to save his bacon.—

Ant. Hold, honoured Sir! and hear me but a word—

Hero. No! Not another! I've enough been outraged
What, Toady!—ho! Perdition! Vengeance Vengeance!

Ant. My heels shall save me. 'Tis a right good office
They have before performed. But little thought I,—
That thus would all my labours be rewarded.—
I'll hie me home; and this shall be remembered.

MILITARY CHIEFTAIN.

The following extracts, from a speech delivered by Mr. Clay, in 1819, on the subject of the Seminole war, shows the light in which that clear sighted statesman then viewed the probable consequences of General Jackson's military violence. We recommend them to the attentive consideration of every reflecting reader.

"The first circumstance which in the course of his performing that duty, fixed our attention, had, Mr. Clay said, filled him with regret. It was the execution of the Indian chiefs. How, he asked, did they come into our possession? Was it in the course of fair, and open, and honorable war? No; but by means of deception—by hoisting foreign colors on the staff from which the stars and stripes alone

should have floated. Thus ensnared, the Indians were taken on shore, and without ceremony, and without delay, were hung. Hang an Indian! We, sir, who are civilized, and can comprehend and feel the effect of moral cause and considerations, attach ignominy to that mode of death. And the gallant, and refined, and high minded man, seeks by all possible means to avoid it. But, what cares an Indian whether you hang or shoot him? The moment he is captured, he is considered by his tribe as disgraced, if not lost. They, too, are indifferent about the manner in which he is dispatched. But, Mr. C. said, he regarded the occurrence with grief for other and higher considerations. It was the first instance that he knew of, in the annals of our country, in which retaliation, by executing Indian captives, had ever been deliberately practised. There may have been exceptions, but if there were, they met with contemporaneous condemnation, and have been reprehended by the just pen of impartial history. The gentleman from Massachusetts may tell me, if he pleases, what he pleases about the tomahawk, scalping knife—about Indian enormities and foreign miscreants and incendiaries. I, too, hate them, from my very soul I abominate them. But, I love my country, and its constitution; I love liberty and safety, and fear military despotism more even than I hate these monsters. The gentleman in the course of his remarks, alluded to the state from which I have the honor to come. Little, sir, does he know of the high and magnanimous sentiments of the people of that state, if he supposes they will approve of the transaction to which he referred. Brave and generous, humanity and clemency towards a fallen foe constitute one of their noblest characteristics. Amidst all the struggles for that fair land between the natives and the present inhabitants, Mr. C. said he defied the gentleman to point out one instance in which a Kentuckian had stained his hand by——nothing but his high sense of the distinguished services and exalted merits of General Jackson prevented his using a different term—the execution of an unarmed and prostrate captive. Yes, said Mr. C. there was one solitary exception, in which a man, enraged at beholding an Indian prisoner, who had destroyed some of his kindred, plunged his sword into his bosom. The wicked deed was considered as an abominable outrage when it occurred, and the name of the man has been handed down to the execration of posterity."

"He would not trespass much longer upon the time of the committee; but he trusted he should be indulged with some few reflections upon the danger of permitting the conduct, on which it had been his painful duty to animadvert, to pass without a solemn expression of the disapprobation of this House. Recal to your recollection, said he the free nations which have gone before us. Where are they now, and how have they lost their liberties? If we could transport ourselves back to the ages when Greece and Rome flourished in their greatest prosperity, and, mingling in the throng, ask a Grecian if he did not fear some daring military chieftain, covered with glory, some Philip or Alexander, would one day overthrow his liberties? No! No! the confident and indignant Grecian would exclaim, we have nothing to fear from our heroes; our liberties will be eternal. If a Roman citizen had been asked, if he did not fear the conqueror of Gaul might establish a throne upon the ruins of the public liberty, he would have instantly repelled the insinuation. Yet Greece had fallen. Cæsar had passed the Rubicon, and the patriotic arm even of Brutus could not preserve the liberties of his country! The celebrated Madame de Staël, in her last and perhaps best work, has said, that in the very year, almost the very month, when the President of the Directory declared that monarchy would never more show its frightful head in France, Bonaparte with his grenadiers, entered the palace of St Cloud, and dispersing, with the bayonet, the deputies of the people, deliberating on the affairs of the state, laid the foundation of that vast fabric of despotism which overshadowed all Europe. He hoped not to be misunderstood; he was far from intimating that Gen. Jackson cherished any designs inimical to the liberties of the country. He believed his intentions pure and patriotic. He thanked God that he would not, but he thanked him still more that he could not, if he would, overturn the liberties of the Republic. But precedents, if bad were fraught with the most dangerous consequences. Man has been described, by some of those who have treated of his nature, as a bundle of habits. The definition was much truer when applied to governments. Precedents were their habits. There was one important difference between the formation of habits by an in-

vided and by governments. He contracted only after frequent repetition. A single instance fixes the habit and determines the direction of governments. Against the alarming doctrine of unlimited discretion in our military commanders, when applied even to prisoners of war, he must enter his protest. It began upon them; it would end on us. He hoped that our happy form of government was destined to be perpetual. But if it were to be preserved, it must be by the practice of virtue, by justice, by moderation, by magnanimity, by greatness of soul, by keeping a watchful and steady eye on the Executive; and, above all, by holding to a strict accountability the military branch of the public force.

We are fighting, said Mr. C. a great moral battle for the benefit, not only of our country, but of all mankind. The eyes of the whole world are intently fixed attention upon us. One, and the largest, portion of it, is gazing with contempt, with jealousy, and with envy; the other portion, with hope, with confidence, and with affection. Every where the black cloud of legitimacy is suspended over the world save only one bright spot, which breaks out from the political hemisphere of the West, to brighten, and animate, and gladden the humane heart. Obscure that by the downfall of liberty here, and all mankind are eoshrouded in one universal darkness. To you Mr. Chairman belongs the high privilege of transmitting, unimpaired, to posterity, the fair character and the liberty of our country. Do you expect to execute this high trust by trampling, or suffering to be trampled down, law, justice, the constitution, and the rights of other people? By exhibitings examples of inhumanity, and cruelty, and ambition? When the minions of despotism heard, in Europe, of the seizure of Pensacola, how did they chuckle, and chide the admirers of our institutions, tauntingly pointing to the demonstration of a spirit of injustice and aggrandisement made by our country, in the midst of amicable negotiation. Behold, said they, the conduct of those who are constantly reproaching kings. You saw how those admirers were astonished and hung their heads. You saw, too, when that illustrious man, who presides over us, adopted his pacific, moderate and just course, how they once more lifted up their heads, with exultation and delight beaming in their countenances. And you saw how those minions themselves were finally compelled to unite in the general praises bestowed upon our government. Beware now you forfeit this exalted character. Beware how you give a fatal sanction, in this infant period of our republic, scarcely yet two score years old, to military insubordination. Remember that Greece had her Alexander, Rome her Cæsar, England her Cromwell, France her Bonaparte, and, that, if we would escape the rock on which they split, we must avoid their errors.

How different has been the treatment of Gen. Jackson, and that modest but heroic young man, a native of one of the smallest states in the union, who achieved for his country, on Lake Erie, one of the most glorious victories of the late war. In a moment of passion he forgot himself, and offered an act of violence, which was repented as soon as perpetrated. He was tried, and suffered the judgment pronounced by his peers. Public justice was thought not even then to be satisfied. The press and Congress took up the subject. My honorable friend from Virginia, (Mr. Johnson) the faithful and consistent centinel of the law and of the constitution, disapproved in that instance, as he does in this, and moved an inquiry. The public mind remained agitated and unappeased until the recent atonement, so honorably made by the gallant commodore. And was there to be a distinction between the officers of the two branches of the public service? Are former services, however eminent, to protect from inquiring into recent misconduct? Is there to be no limit, no prudential bounds to the national gratitude? He was not disposed to censure the President for not ordering a court of inquiry or a general court martial. Perhaps, impelled by a sense of that gratitude, he determined, by anticipation, to extend to the general that pardon which he had the undoubted right to grant after sentence. Let us, said Mr. C. not shrink from our duty. Let us assert our constitutional powers, and vindicate the instrument from military violation.

He hoped gentlemen would deliberately survey the awful position on which we stand. They may bear down all opposition; they may even vote the general the public thanks; they may carry him triumphantly through this house. But, if they do, in my humble judgment, it will be a triumph of the principle of insubordination—a triumph of the military over the civil authority—a triumph over the

powers of this house—a triumph over the constitution of the land. And he prayed most devoutly to heaven, that it might not prove, in its ultimate effects and consequences, a triumph over the liberties of the people.

From the Marylander.

THOMAS M'GRAW.

Most of our fellow citizens will, no doubt, recollect the excitement created in this city by the conviction of the above named person, during the month of December, 1814. He was a private in the 9th company of the 6th Regiment, Maryland Militia, was tried by a general court martial which convened at Baltimore on the 21st Nov. 1814, of which Brigadier General Foster was President. The charges preferred against him were, "neglect of duty," and of "offering violence to Jonathan Townsend, Sergeant, and Sergeant's guard, in the execution of their duty."

He "was found guilty of both charges, and sentenced to suffer the punishment of death, by being shot." General Scott, however, disapproved of the form of the sentence, and ordered a revision of it by the Court, which being done, he approved of it, and directed its execution on the 3d December, 1814. By a subsequent order, he suspended the execution of the sentence until the 15th Dec. 1814; "to await the decision of the President in the case."

This mutiny it will be perceived occurred at a time when the enemy were still in our waters, and when subordination was highly essential to the safety of the place, and that had General Scott wished an excuse for spilling the blood of a brave, though deluded militiaman, the circumstances of the case would have afforded him an ample one. He, however, felt as a humane and generous commander should feel, and in the exercise of power he forgot not mercy.—McGraw had forfeited his life to the laws of his country, but he had done so under a delusion, that as a militiaman he would not be subjected to the same rigorous discipline as if he had been a regular. The General felt too, that if McGraw had offended against the law, that his family and friends had strong claims upon their country, and instead of hurrying him into eternity, with but "four days" to prepare for so serious a transition, he extended his time for preparation until the 15th December, and in the mean time obtained for him the pardon of the President of the United States. To the clemency of his General, McGraw was indebted for his life, and in that act, General Scott approved himself worthy of the laurels he had won on the plains of Canada—laurels which would have been tarnished had he imbrued his hands in the blood of his countryman, when an example was not called for by the safety of the army under his command.

We ask those of our fellow citizens who were present on Hampstead Hill, on the day of the anticipated execution, awaiting in dreadful suspense the awful moment when the order "to fire" was to deprive the trembling offender of his being in this life—we ask them to call to mind the general shout of joy that resounded through the dense crowd there assembled when Major Belton announced the pardon of the President—we call upon them to pause, before they permit their prejudices to spell-bound their judgments into a sanction of the bloody, inhuman, and illegal execution of Harris and his fellow sufferers by General Jackson.

CHARGES AND PROOF.

The manner in which the charges of bargain and arrangement between Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay, have been made, and the proof adduced to sustain them, present a most singular anomaly. The propositions, from which the bargain is inferred, are alleged to have been made by certain friends of Mr. Clay: and the proof that they were made is drawn from the declarations of the persons who made them, though disavowed by themselves. This is considered sufficient to establish the fact. A brief recapitulation, cannot but interest all, who would arrive at truth.

Gen. Jackson asserted, that a proposition was made to him, on the part of Mr. Clay, and was indignantly rejected.—Hence it was, in the opinion, of the General and his supporters, a fair deduction, that similar offers were made to, and accepted by, Mr. Adams. After ringing the tale, upon some thousand changes, the General is, at length, brought to name his proposer. It was Mr. Buchanan. But Mr. Buchanan denied making any communication to Gen. Jackson, of the import stated.—Mr. Markley was named as one who had conversed upon the subject. He too, negatives all that is imputed to him. Yet the charge is not abandoned. It is insisted, that Mr. Clay is bound to prove that no bargain was made. He has solemnly denied it.—He calls upon all his friends, through whom it was charged that the proposition was made. They answer, one and all, that they never were agents, in any such affair; that they know nothing of any such arrangement: and do not believe it existed.—But this is not sufficient. The next resort is to fasten guilt upon Mr. Adams, and Mr. Clay, by proving that their friends, who *now* deny, most explicitly, any knowledge upon the subject, *once* held language from which the

contrary might be inferred. And having obtained a few statements of detached conversations, erroneously recollected, and perhaps purposely, misrepresented, it is insisted that the bargain is proved. The injustice and the wickedness, of this mode of proceeding, are so palpable, one cannot but wonder how any intelligent mind can regard it without disgust,—or how any honourable man can repeat it.—A recent occurrence furnishes an appropriate occasion, to expose the true nature of this ungenerous mode of attack and proof. It is here published at large, that a full and fair comparison may be made.

In the Illinois Gazette, a publication was made, stating that Gen. Jackson, at the mouth of Cumberland, on his return from New Orleans, first received an account of Mr. Clay's last publication, and upon learning its contents, applied some very coarse and profane epithets to Mr. Clay.—The Louisville Focus republished the statement: the Jackson papers denounced it a slander, and called for proof.—So far our readers will perceive that the case is like General Jackson's charge against Mr. Clay.

It may be further illustrated. When Beverley's letter was published, its truth was denied in the Democratic Press and in the National Journal.—The Jacksonians, however, insisted to have the authority upon which the denial was made. Nothing short of a denial under Mr. Clay's own hand, was sufficient to put them to the proof.—This was all right and proper in the Spring of 1827, where Mr. Clay was concerned! We have another, a very different, and a much more correct view of it now, from the same politicians and moralists, in relation to Gen. Jackson. We give the following as a specimen, from the editorial head of the Nashville Republican of March 25.

"Editorial Impudence. The shameless effrontery of the Editors of the Louisville Focus, is without parallel in all the annals of newspaper blackguardism.—They republish from an Illinois print a gross calumny on Gen. Jackson, asserting at the same time, that they were in possession of *strong* corroborating evidence of its authenticity. The statement was promptly denied by us, and its authors called upon for their proof. Instead, however, of accepting the challenge, and proceeding to substantiate the libellous allegation, they have the assurance to demand of us the authority upon which we contradicted the slander! Having made the affirmation, they *modestly* invite us to *prove* its *negative!!* And this is the game that the coalition gentry of Kentucky, have been constantly playing since the last presidential election. They refer to old records in support of their calumnies, and call upon *us* to publish them. They announce to the world that Gen. Jackson, at sundry times, has been concerned in various disgraceful transactions, and invite *his* friends to publish the attending circumstances. And, to cap the climax, they allege that at a specified time, on a particular occasion, he *publicly* uttered foul and profane language, and then they challenge the editors of this paper, to prove that he *did not* use the expressions by them attributed to him! "We cry you merry, master Stephen." Make good your allegations; substantiate your accusation, or you stand convicted before the world of a BASE AND INFAMOUS FALSEHOOD."

Even so, gentlemen, even so.—Make good your allegations against Mr. Clay and Mr. Adams, or your chieftain is in the same predicament. Your whole course towards Mr. Clay has been exactly that which you so justly condemn. You have drawn a picture of your own conduct, and you have drawn it justly. There are, however, other resemblances, in this transaction, to that, in which you have assailed Mr. Clay, that it is proper to trace.

When the allegation of Gen. Jackson's profanity became public, and began to circulate, in the newspapers, it seems there was a certain Doctor Jesse Miller, resident at the mouth of Cumberland, who felt a strange kind of consciousness, that Gen. Jackson might suspect him to be the author of it. This Doctor Miller, therefore, determined at once, to wipe off such imagined imputation against him, from the mind of the General, and accordingly addressed him a letter. This letter the General has put into the hands of the Editors of the Nashville Republican, and they have published an extract from it, as follows:

"*Smithland, Ky.*

DEAR SIR—The object of this letter is to remove from myself any censure, which in all probability may rest upon me—I have seen and read in most of the administration papers of Kentucky, a malicious report, relative to what you should have said concerning Mr Clay and his friends. Permit me, Sir, to state to you that I am entirely innocent, and equally ignorant of how the report originated—being with you during the short stay you made at the mouth of Cumberland. I am prepared to say, that nothing indecorous escaped your lips, to me, or to any of the company. I well recollect of asking you, if you had seen Mr. Clay's pamphlet, and after giving you a concise statement of what it contained, instead of showing any irascibility of temper, you smiled and said, nothing would afford you more pleasure than to know Mr Clay innocent of the charges that were laid against him.

JESSE MILLER."

Here, again, is a strict analogy to the case of Mr. Clay and Gen. Jackson.—Mr. Buchanan failed to support the General, who relied upon him as authority. Doctor Miller has volunteered to contradict those who rely upon him as authority. But the analogy does not stop here. The Editor of the Illinois Gazette comes out too, with his proof—Not, as in the case of Mr. Clay, by publishing detached and garbled statements of his friends, as the foundation for an inference. But with direct and positive proofs, as to the language used by Doctor Miller, and fastening upon him the fact of attributing to Gen. Jackson the very profanity which was published as being uttered by him. We give this proof also, that our readers may more fully understand the whole case.

DOCUMENT NO 1.

We, the undersigned, to certify that we heard Dr. Miller relate the following conversation, which passed, he says, between himself and General Jackson on board the steam boat Pocahontas, at Smithland, Ky.: viz. He (Doctor Miller) stated, that at the bar, on board the steam boat Pocahontas, he informed General Jackson that Mr Clay had published a pamphlet in refutation of the charge of bargain and sale, and had procured certificates of from twenty to thirty members of Congress from the West, who voted for Adams, who all united in proving his innocence.—Hereupon General Jackson manifested considerable anger, stretched forth his arm, and replied, "*By the immaculate God, Clay is a grand villain and by the eternal God, sir, he called me a murderer on the floor of Congress!*"

The Doctor repeated considerable more of their conversation respecting elections, which, as it does not relate to the charge in the papers, it is unnecessary to repeat

JESSE PATTERSON,
THOMAS WILLIS.

DOCUMENT NO. 2.

Copy of a letter to one of the Editors

SMITHLAND, KY., MARCH 12, 1828.

Dear Sir—I see in a number of the public prints, that you are denounced as the propagators of what they term an infamous slander upon the character of General Jackson, for first publishing what is styled the General's answer to Mr. Clay's pamphlet, at the mouth of Cumberland river.

Shortly after the steam boat Pocahontas landed I went on board—a few minutes after I met Dr. Miller on the bow of the boat who asked me if I had seen the General. I told him I had. He observed that he wished to see him and walked aft to the cabin. I directly observed the Doctor and the General in conversation, which I think must have lasted for 20 or 30 minutes; I did not hear what passed between them, but the Doctor related to me what passed as soon as he came on shore, where I was standing, as I had walked out just before him.

The following is what passed, as related by the Doctor; he said he went on board without any intention of speaking to General Jackson, and was standing at a short distance from the company to which the General was conversing, when the General advanced towards him and held out his hand, saying, "sir, I certainly have had the pleasure of seeing you before."

Dr. Miller—Yes, General, you have; I had the pleasure of being introduced to you several years ago at a ball in Lexington, Ky.

Jackson—Your name, sir?

Miller—My name, sir, is Miller.

Jackson—Mr. Miller, how do you do? How have you been? [*at the same time shaking him by the hand.*]

Miller—General your recollection must

be very good: I did not expect that you would recollect me.

Jackson—Your name, sir, I had forgotten, but your features I never could forget. Well, Mr. Miller, how does the land lie with you?

Miller—I suppose I understand you, General; you allude to the presidential question.

Jackson—I do.

Miller—To be candid with you General, I always respected you very highly as a man and a General, but cannot vote for you for president.

Jackson—Sir I thank you for your candor; come let us go to the bar and drink something.

"While at the bar the Doctor asked him if he had seen Mr. Clay's pamphlet, to which the General replied, he had not, and asked if it was any thing new; the Doctor said it was a new publication and that there was but one copy in our town. The General expressed a great deal of anxiety to see the pamphlet, and asked what it contained. The Doctor replied, that it was a refutation of the charges of bargain, sale, intrigue, &c. and that he (Clay) had the certificates of twenty or thirty members of Congress from the west, proving his innocence. The General appeared to fly into a great passion, raised his arm, and swore, by the immaculate God, Clay was a grand rascal: By the eternal God, sir, he accused me with being a murderer on the floor of Congress. The General then asked him how he thought the election would go in Kentucky for Governor. The Doctor replied that he could not tell; he thought the issue very doubtful, but he should vote for William T. Barry. The Doctor then observed, that he was perhaps intruding on the General and would retire. The General said no—that a friend of William T. Barry was never an intruder on him. He hoped the Doctor's sentiments as to the Presidency would change, &c. They then shook hands and parted.

This, sir, is as near as I can recollect, the statement made by Dr. Miller, of the conversation between him and the General, and which he related to me, and several others, before the Pocahontas left the landing. He stated that a number of persons were present, and heard what passed between him and the General; but I believe none of the citizens of our place were of the number. I saw several persons present when they were conversing but do not recollect who was of the number, as they were mostly strangers. After the Doctor had repeated what had passed, I again went on board the boat, thinking that I might hear him (the General) speak on the subject—but he was engaged in playing cards, and I left the boat without hearing him say any thing about Clay or his pamphlet.

Very respectfully yours,

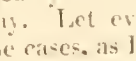
JESSE PATTERSON.

P. S. The above is substantially the conversation as related by Dr Miller—I may be a little incorrect as to the precise words. J. P.

Now it is obvious to every rational man, that Doctor Miller has asserted a falsehood, in his letter to General Jackson, or in his conversation with Mr. Patterson and Mr. Willis!—or that the latter gentlemen make a false accusation against him.—It is not for us, who know none of them, to take upon us to decide the question. The presumptions are against Doctor Miller: two witnesses agree to his statement. And his prompt denial to Gen. Jackson, before he was publicly accused, indicates something like conscious wrong. —But how, upon just principles, does this affect Gen. Jackson? He is accused, upon the authority of Miller, and Miller distinctly acquits him!—— There is falsehood somewhere. But surely there can be no justice in affecting to consider, that Gen. Jackson is convicted of having used the language imputed to him. If Patterson and Willis assert the truth, Miller is a shameless liar, and his allegations cannot be received as proof against the General: And if Patterson and Willis do not assert the truth, then, there is no proof that the General used the offensive language charged upon him.

Every Jacksonian, the General himself included, will join in the conclusion here suggested, as being strictly correct, in the case before us.—Does not every reader perceive that the same conclusion results from the state of facts, in regard to the charges against Mr. Clay? Yet the Jacksonians, including the General himself, insist upon a directly adverse conclusion. They prove Mr. Clay's guilt, by making his friends contradict themselves. By the same rule, the General's guilt is

established in this case.—A very clever argument could be made, to show how improbable it was, that Doctor Miller would invent such a monstrous lie, and associate it with so much plausible matter; and how very probable it was, that he might be bought off.—that is, obtain the promise of a douceur, in future, for making a bold retraction, to serve the chief.—But such sort of arguments would be as base and vile, as those now used by the Jacksonians against Mr. Clay. Let every honest man compare the cases, as I have here briefly sketched them, and I do not doubt, he will find in them a strong resemblance, and will come to the conclusion that what is unjust in one, must be unjust in both.



ANOTHER PAGEANT.

The puffers of the Hero of two wars, of the man of the People, and of the Farmer of Tennessee, continue the most unremitting exertions to keep the "GREAT MON" before the people. They evidence a most decided apprehension, of the consequences that might result, should they flag, for an instant, in exhibiting him. No saint in the Roman calendar, has so many days of distinction. And it is not improbable that he may soon come to claim as many festive days, as all the saints together. It would swell the catalogue handsomely, to include his wedding days.—These would add two, if not three, to the number: for his friends insist he was married twice, if not three times, to the same wife, and part of these while she was the wife of another man.—But all in the most virtuous innocency.

The Pageant at New Orleans did not turn to much account. It cost the state ten thousand dollars! But that was nothing, where the Hero was concerned. It cost individuals also, a handsome sum, and the General and his Committees, New York, Ohio, and Kentucky.—The cotton merchant quarter master, who was courted, and the dealer in lumber, who was neglected, all felt that it was a failure, though some swore that it was not. The effect was disastrous. Even in Tennessee, symptoms of independence were manifested, and men were *impudent* enough to talk of Adams' Electors for President. Neither victory nor marriage festivals being at hand, the managers bethought them of the General's birthday, and it was resolved that a farce should be "*enacted*" at *Murfreesborough*. This is the seat of government of the state of Tennessee, some thirty miles distant from Nashville, consequently in the neighborhood of the General. A birthday day dinner is proposed; the 15th day of March being the natal day of the mighty chief. The invitation is given in the name of the county of Rutherford, and the following neat specimen of fulsome palaver, is introduced into the note of invitation.

"The undersigned cannot pretermit the opportunity hereby afforded, of expressing to you, individually, and on behalf of their constituents, the regret and indignation with which they have witnessed, for the last two years, the untiring and unmanly efforts of your political enemies, to tarnish your fair fame, *and to embitter the domestic peace of your amiable family*.—Recently, with like regret, they have heard of an often refuted calumny, under new colour of authority, emanating from a source little to have been suspected; which from the whole tenor of your public and private life, your recorded correspondence, and from the intimate knowledge which some of the undersigned had of your conduct at the time, and of the public events of that date, they feel free to pronounce wholly false and unfounded."

The invitation is accepted with great satisfaction, and the compliments to himself responded to, with peculiar modesty. The reader shall judge for himself.

"I pray you to say to my fellow citizens of Rutherford, that I sincerely thank them for the generous sentiments which they have authorized you to express, in reference to the efforts which have been made by my enemies, to tarnish my character. In both my public and private life, it has happened that no action deemed worthy of being remembered, has been deprived of the testimony necessary to analyze its motive and test its moral value; and whilst, in all those which have been assailed, I am vindicated by the favorable judgment of these of my fellow citizens.

who have examined them impartially, and by the approbation of my own conscience, I need not assure you that the shafts of calumny have fallen harmless from me."

The easy flowing style of the General's domesticated white-washer, is very perceptible in this reply. The writer had discretion enough to forbear all allusion to *domestic* matters, and the chieftain, obedient to the dictation of his keepers, was content to let it pass.

When the General arrived at Murfreesborough, he was greeted with an address, delivered by a certain Samuel H. Laughlin, Esq. It is *puff, puff, all puff.* Political motives are disclaimed in such manner as to convince all candid persons, that the fact and the disclaimer are directly adverse to each other. Hear him:

"This interview has not been solicited for political purposes. We utterly disclaim all such motives. It has been sought for the gratification of friendship and good feeling—for the purpose of testifying our undiminished estimation of the great "moral value" of public and private virtue united with the most distinguished abilities."

If all this be true, how happened it that the Murfreesborough folks never before thought of celebrating the Hero's birth day? The "*moral value*" of "*public and private virtue*," might by some be thought, in the nature of a sneer. But there can be no doubt of the simple sincerity of the addresser. Hear him further.

"We all know you from the greatest to the least; from these gray headed veterans of the Revolution, to the most juvenile spectator in this extensive crowd.—To all, this day and this occasion, bring an association of pleasing reminiscences. The aged remember you as the able and zealous advocate of your client's rights—*the energetic prosecutor of public crime*—as the enlightened statesman who mainly assisted in framing the constitution under which we now live in the enjoyment of freedom and happiness, and as the stern and even-handed dispenser of "justice and right," from the bench of the highest judicial tribunal of the state."

This reference to the prosecution of public crime, is rather a home thrust, considering how very often the chieftain made himself a proper subject to be prosecuted. The assault upon Robards, the murder of Dickinson, the outrage upon the Bentons, and many other similar acts, are instances that the General was never fearful of encountering "prosecution" for "*crime*" in Tennessee. The fervor of the addresser carried him on.

"We have seen a national benefactor made the object of the most unsparing persecution. We have seen his public & private actions & motives falsified & misrepresented. We have seen his domestic peace assailed by the tongues and pens of slander and detraction. *We have seen the wife of his bosom—one whose whole life has been a continued series of virtuous, charitable, pious and praise worthy actions, devoid of even the appearance of reproach*—made the innocent object of the venal libeller's blackest defamation. But protected by truth and honor, we have also seen the shafts of calumny fall harmless from him and his house, and our hearts have rejoiced at the sight. The hearts of our wives, of our sisters, and of our daughters, have been made glad."

Considering the admitted fact, that *one act* of this lady's life was, to live some three years, as the wife of Gen. Jackson, while the legal wife of Lewis Robards, and considering that a legislative act, and judicial record, fix upon her the crimes of adultery and deserting her husband, this, it must be confessed, is a pretty well wrought specimen of hyperbole. The General replied to it, in his best manner, and by selecting some of his most approved epithets.

"Yes, sir, it is true that myself and bosom companion have been assailed with malignant shafts of calumny and detraction, but truth is omnipotent and will prevail over falsehood and error."

This does bravely for a man who knows that he is speaking of a woman whom he seduced from her husband, and whom the law separated for that seduction. It shows what adulation can say upon one side, and confidence reiterate on the other. The domestic white-washer was probably not present, or the two principal subjects of this paragraph, would have been kept out of sight. His "*bosom companion*,"

and the "*corruptions of truth*," are topics which the General should never touch. Coming from him, they give rise to wicked associations in the mind of the reader, which it were better should not arise.

We have no account of the dinner, nor of the regular toasts. But, there are volunteers in abundance. The first is from a Col. Burton:

"Sterile indeed was that *Clay*, which did not promote the growth of *hickory*, and much is it to be feared, that an exposure to the sunbeams of Executive influence, will not meliorate its condition."

No doubt the General accorded heartily in this sentiment. Every thing is "*sterile*" in his view, which does not promote his own growth.—This we have long known was the head and front of Mr Clay's offending. He "*did not promote the growth of* HICKORY." And according to the notion of *Hickory* worshippers, this is a most damnatory offence. Colonel Burton, therefore, must have spoken to the feelings of all present, and to the very heart of the Hero.

Gen. Jackson toasted the memory of Clinton,—one of the company toasted "*the honorable Thomas H. Benton*," which the General must have taken with great zest. Another gave us the following:

"The author of Jefferson, in the late Nashville Republican, in answer to Mr. Johnson's Adams convention address: A chip of the old Revolutionary block, his literary merits are equal to the *task of recording the actions of our second Washington*. See how a man of sense and enlarged information can put down the quibbles and subtleties of a mere lawyer."

This refers to the General's domestic white-washer, and truly, the master and the man are well consorted. This person, who assumes the name of Jefferson to white-wash Gen. Jackson, was, during the latter days of Jefferson's public life, his furious reviler. The "*old block*" of which he is said to be a chip, performed good service in the revolutionary war. But his last warlike feat was that of commanding the lathing hatchet company, in Baltimore. Some fifteen or eighteen years ago, this "man of sense" was a candidate for Congress in Virginia, avowing the highest toned federalism, and published an address in which he *recorded* the errors and follies of the Jefferson school of politics, to the entire satisfaction of John of Roanoke, and other worthies of the same stamp! He married a lovely woman with a good estate—but it is gone. A youthful sister of his wife and her estate came under his protection, and while there, her estate and her reputation both vanished. Reduced to live by his wits, he adventured to scramble for Treasury pap at Washington, and played an under part in assailing Mr. Crawford, through the columns of the Washington Republican. Finally, was selected for his present vocation, that of "*recording the actions of our second Washington*." Not only his "*literary mettle*," but his moral perceptions "*were equal to the task*," and well adapted to its performance.

The three following toasts are quite appropriate:

"By Solomon Bealy, Esq.—And the Lord said, in due time he shall gather my people, and the people said AMEN."

"By Maj. John D. Fletcher.—Slanderers of private character: verily, verily, they shall have their reward."

"By G. W. Banton, Esq.—The presidential election: those who are not for us, are against us."

I durst to say, that the General was delighted with the prophetic assurance of the first;—the white-washer gave hearty assent to the second, proceeding upon the principle that the greater the truth, the greater the slander: and the third was received by all, as setting apart the pap of the Treasury for the exclusive reward of the faithful. The scriptural allusion in each, shows how prettily the devil may quote scripture for his purpose.

We never recollect how exceedingly modest the Hero is represented to be, we cannot but think the following rather a rank oblation:

"By Dr. McConechie. The memory of General Washington, *and his successor in military fame, our honored guest*: may

the latter, like the former, exchange a laurel wreath for a civic crown."

The General assents to the pretension that gives the "*successor in military fame*" to Gen. Washington. I should like to know to what portion of Washington's military fame he has succeeded, and how the succession has been cast upon him. Is it Washington's courage? his humanity? his respect for the civil authority? his punctilious obedience to orders? his amenity to his equals? his urbanity to his inferiors? None but his parasites, or political devotees, who know nothing of him, have conferred these traits of character upon Gen. Jackson. Though it would seem that he is entirely willing to take them from the hand of any Pillgarlic who is disposed to offer them. The strong wish expressed to "exchange the laurel wreath for the *civic crown*," indicates the hankering so common to "military chieftains," on that subject. The good company at Murfeesborough, seem to have partaken of all the materials usually engaged in effecting the exchange referred to. They manifested a right kind of temper to become subjects: To flatter their leader, and to reprehend all who do not flatter him, are the true characteristics of those who have put off the citizen to put on the vassal, in all ages of the world.

These continued efforts to preserve the General's standing, by exhibiting him as a spectacle, are degrading to the country. They demonstrate the fatuity of both his followers and himself. All decent pride is discarded, all self-respect abandoned, when a man suffers himself to be hawked about for political effect, as a party coloured Merry Andrew, and piebald horses are paraded through the streets to attract visitors to a circus. Such scenes, where men of distinction are the actors, are disgusting beyond measure. They have preceded the decline of all free governments, and are making, under the auspices of Gen. Jackson, alarming progress in ours.

It is truly surprising that they do not create general apprehension.

TO GEN. ANDREW JACKSON.

SIR,—Having in my former communications, treated of your extraordinary conduct since the commencement of the presidential canvass, I pass without preface or apology, to some other acts of your life, equally reprehensible, and equally unbecoming a gentleman and a public officer. I commence with your treatment to Governor Rabun, who was at the time, the chief magistrate of Georgia; and whose constitutional power you denied, and attempted to set at defiance.

In March, 1818, you proceeded with a large force from fort Scott, and its neighborhood, on your march against the Mickasukee towns, thence you went to St. Marks, and finally to Pensacola. At or about the time, and after your departure, the Indians on the frontiers of Georgia, became exceedingly troublesome, sacrificing the lives of the border settlers, and carrying off their property. Governor Rabun was informed of these events, and earnestly solicited to protect the sufferers. That he might not act without your knowledge, or in any way interrupt your plans, he addressed to you the following respectful letter requesting your aid.

"MILLEDGEVILLE, 21st March, 1818.

General Andrew Jackson, SIR,—You have no doubt been apprised that since your departure from Hartford, with the Georgia militia, the Indians have been hovering on the frontier of Telfair county: that they have *killed a Mr. Bush, and wounded his son*, and being pursued by the citizens of that county, have met them in hostile array, when an engagement took place which lasted nearly an hour, in which our little detachment consisting only of thirty-four men lost *several killed*, and a number badly wounded. This rencountre has excited considerable alarm on that frontier, and the inhabitants, in many instances, are flying from their houses for the want of protection.

The object of this communication is to request you would be so good as to station some troops near the big bend of the Ocmulgee, and at, or near, the most assailable points below that place.

If it is not convenient for you to furnish the necessary force, you will please give instructions for supplying such detachments as may, in that event, be ordered into the service *under the authority of the state*, with rations, &c. I hope you will write me on this subject *without delay*, as great alarm has been produced, by the hostile attitude which the enemy has assumed."

The above letter is exceedingly courteous in its language and reasonable in its demands. It embraces matter which was of great interest to the Georgians, and which, situated as you were, ought to have claimed your immediate and prompt attention. But how did you treat it? Instead of answering it, as requested, you observed a perfect silence on the subject till the 17th of August following, and then barely alluded to it in the most contemptuous terms! The exposure of that part of the frontier of Georgia, the massacre of its citizens, and the conflict which the governor informed you had taken place, it seems were matters of too little importance to arrest your attention. You had not even the common civility to acknowledge the receipt of the letter; but, swelling with the mighty project of invading the Spanish dominions and carrying the war into a country with which we were at peace, you rushed madly onward, regardless of the constitution, and every thing else, but a manifestation of your own power. After waiting sufficient time to receive intelligence from you, but in vain; and being repeatedly urged by the distressed inhabitants of the frontier to afford them protection, Gov. Rabun determined to raise and organize a force for that purpose. THIS HE HAD A RIGHT TO DO, BY THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF THE STATE. Several companies were accordingly equipped, and put under the command of Captain Wright, a gentleman who, from indisposition, had not been mustered into the service of the U. S. in a previous draft of militia, and who tendered his assistance on the occasion. Capt. Wright was instructed to call on Capt. Bothwell, commanding a detachment of United States militia, at Fort Early, and to *request* him to aid in the expedition, if it should be found necessary. The forces were directed to proceed against the Indians on the east side of Flint River, generally denominated *Hopaunees* and *Philemmees*. Captain Wright, whilst on the march, ascertained that Hopaunee, one of the chiefs, had left his own village, and was then at the *Chehaw town*; & *without authority*, he immediately proceeded against it. The result was disastrous to the poor Indians of that place. Several of them were killed, and the captain found, after it was too late, that he had been precipitate, and made war upon *friends*, instead of *enemies!* I have detailed the circumstances of this unfortunate affair for purposes already evident, but which will be more conspicuous as I proceed. I must, however, pause for a moment to inquire, whether you are so totally blind to your own character, as not to see a striking illustration of it in the conduct of the disobedient and unfortunate Wright? How often, sir, have *you* disobeyed orders? And how often has the breach been healed by the success of your enterprise, and the consequent lenity and forbearance of your countrymen? Had Wright met and defeated an *enemy* in the Chehaw town, he would have been lauded for his sagacity, and his disobedience forgotten. As it was, he fell from a state of respectability and honour, and fled from his country in disgrace! He had disobeyed the orders of his superior, and had slaughtered, through mistake, innocent women and children. You have also disobeyed orders, and have executed men without the *sanction of law!* You have invaded the territory of a nation at peace with us, and, under the plea of *necessity*, have trampled upon the law of nations and the rights of foreign subjects. What better were you than Wright? He failed—*you* succeeded. But the principle in both cases is the same. Wright was headstrong and precipitate. So were you. Moderation and forbearance seem to have formed no part of your character. Had Wright been less heedless and careless of consequences, he would have been guiltless of shedding innocent blood. So with you, had you been guided by reason and humanity,

the constitution would not have been violated, and the six militia-men whom you sent to untimely graves, might have been living monuments, I will not say of your clemency, but of your sense of justice. But I return to the subject in hand.

When you were informed of the unauthorized attack upon the Chehaw village, you flew into a violent passion, issued an order for the apprehension of Wright, commanding him to be confined in irons; and, without knowing the circumstances, vented your rage upon Gov. Rabun, in the most insulting and bullying language. By what authority did you order Wright to be apprehended and confined in irons? He was not under your command—had never been mustered into your service, nor was he in any way attached to your army! He had been acting under the authority of the state of *Georgia*, and for his disobedience was amenable, *not to you*, but to the laws which he had transgressed. Yet he was actually taken into custody by your soldiers, and if he be yet living, he may thank God that you were not present to suspend the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, by which, and the civil officers of that state, he was wrested from your deadly grasp! But, let me inquire, at the time you issued this tyrannical order, where were *you*, and what had *you* been doing? *You were in a Spanish province, on your march to Pensacola!* While Wright, through mistake, was attacking the wigwams of unoffending savages, you were storming the forts of a nation with whom we were at peace! *You* were *knowingly* acting in violation of your constitution, the law of nations, and the positive instructions of your government!! Was it well for a man thus situated to order a free citizen of the United States to be confined in irons? I will not pursue this subject further. The transaction is in perfect accordance with the whole tenor of your life. Were it not for the achievement at New-Orleans, which has spread a veil over your crimes and infirmities, there is not one American in a thousand who would not look upon you with the greatest abhorrence. Your hands, Sir, are stained with innocent blood, and you are the first man in the United States who has violated the constitution with impunity!

When it became known that Capt. Wright had disobeyed orders, and had attacked the *friendly* instead of the *hostile* Indians, Governor Rabun expressed the deepest regret, and immediately wrote to the Indian Agent on the subject. He had Capt. Wright apprehended and while he was engaged in pacifying the Indians, and assuring them that the attack was unauthorized, he received from you a letter, couched in the most bitter and insulting terms. Here, then, is another evidence of your ungovernable and outbreaking temper. Instead of seeking correct information, or writing a letter in the language of a gentleman, you proceeded in the dark, and poured out your invective in all the ribald style of a perfect bully. Why did you write to Gov. Rabun at all? Were you so ignorant as not to know, that you had no command over him? Did you not know that he was the chief magistrate of an independent state, and that he was not amenable to *you* for his conduct? A man of your reputed information should have known all this, and knowing it, should have been governed accordingly. But it seems, nothing was too high or too sacred, to escape your imaginary power. You towered above the constitution, and with the same hardihood with which you invaded a neutral province, undertook to reduce the Governor of a state, to a servile submission to your will. Your letter was not only insulting; but discovered in every line, the ignorant and inflated tyrant. Full of your own consequence, and setting at naught the civil authority, you say to Governor Rabun: "YOU, SIR, AS GOVERNOR OF A STATE, WITHIN MY MILITARY DISTRICT, HAVE NO RIGHT TO GIVE A MILITARY ORDER WHILST I AM IN THE FIELD"!! Can you find in the range of your experience, in all the acts of petty tyranny, a more arrogant and wanton assumption of power? What right had you to command the Governor of Georgia? Whence your authority to forbid him to exercise the

constitutional functions of his office? Who empowered *you* to call him to account? *Why* had he no right to give a military order when you was in the field? Was not the frontier of Georgia exposed? Had not you left it with a powerful army, open to the invasion of the savages, and was it for the Governor to wait till it might *please* you to return? Besides, Sir, you were not in the "*field*" to which you so haughtily alluded. You had left the United States. The frontier settlers of Georgia had been massacred, and the Governor had no other alternative but to resort to constitutional means for defence. Had you been present with an army at your back, your unprincipled and wanton conduct in other cases, leave no room to doubt what would have been your course in this! The constitution and the laws would have afford'd no protection. The Governor would have paid for his temerity by imprisonment, if not with his life. I have a right to infer this from your letter, and from the most of bloody deeds, which marked your footsteps during the war.—Had you been guilty of no other violation of duty, and of law, it might be attributed to the excitement of the moment, and passed over in silence. But, however, but a single link in a long chain of flagrant abuses, for which you can offer no apology, and for which there can be no atonement. The love of dominion is still burning in your breast. You are not yet sated with power. Your vanity has prompted you to aspire to a wider, and more dangerous sphere of action; but I pray God, for the sake of the constitution, and the country, you may be disappointed.

KENDALL & PENN.

These two men are the principal Editors, in Kentucky, that take the lead in supporting the Hero for President. Kendall has not been long engaged in the service. And it appears, from his own acknowledgment, that he has received, through his new political friends at Washington about two thousand dollars, by way of compensation. Penn has been employed for subscriptions; his venality is thus fully established.

Kendall and Penn, were, for a long time, bitter adversaries: Penn and the Pope associated in concert, from jealousy of and hatred towards Mr. Clay. Kendall was on the other hand the protegee of Mr. Clay, and his sturdy advocate. But Mr. Clay could not give him an office with a salary of 1500 dollars, and Kendall made a bargain with Mr. Clay's opponents. Penn and the Pope oppose the Administration, because they hate Mr. Clay. Kendall opposes it for a *consideration*. Thus united in object, and upon a par in principle, Kendall and Penn are the champions of Jackson, and the denouncers of Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay. The Argus of Kendall, and the Advertiser of Penn, are quoted far and near by the Jackson papers, as deserving of credit, and as entitled to confidence. It is, therefore, important that they should not be better known than they are. The editor of the Commentator, published at Frankfort, Kentucky, has brought them out to give the character of each other. We give his article. From it the reader may form a just conception of the true character of these two worthies.

"But who are they? Who are they who are perpetually devising "slanders" and "wilful misrepresentations" against this paper and its editor? A hopeful pair of associates, in a cause worthy of such supporters, who know each other well. Let them give some account of themselves. They can do it in terms suited to their own tastes, & appropriate enough. Let Mr. Kendall, who stands as leader, speak first, and tell us who Penn is—Hear him!"

"The vagabond Penn, wandered about awhile, disconsolate, until he was picked up by the Pope and *federal faction* at Louisville, as a convenient tool, by whom he has ever since been used as a blackguard and bully, to abuse and *browbeat* all that is *republican* in Jefferson county and *the state*."—*Argus of October* 19, 1825.

"Very well.—Now Mr. Penn, please to tell who, and what Mr. Kendall is. He seeks being your associate, friend and fine-leader. "Hear him!"

"☞Mr. Kendall will certainly be disappointed, if he imagines that the editor of this paper will descend to respond to his vulgar and personal abuse. The *lash* has been successfully applied to him as an editor—"*the gall'd jade winces*"—and he resorts to a species of personality, of which, contemptible as he is, he may yet have cause to repent."—*Louisville Advertiser, of Sept.* 3, 1825.

"Oh, that's *pitiful whining*—Cant you give us something more spunky?"

"This *compromise* might be speedily effected, if the members of the Legislature COULD BE AS CHEAPLY BOUGHT AS AMOS KENDALL."—*Louisville Adv. Aug.* 4, 1825.

"Not so very cheap either Mr Penn—$1610, if no other was paid or promised, was a good round price, the full worth and more too. You know he offered himself to Mr. Clay for $1500. You recollect his testimony before the Senate—however, proceed—and dont stop to talk of "compromise" now."

"Amos Kendall is acting the part of a political *desperado*. He has now but one object in view, and that is, to irritate those, whose virtue and good sense have taught them to detest him. The Argus has become the pitiful vehicle of dirty artifice, falsehood and vulgar abuse. Its editor, viewing the people, as actuated by a mean sort of selfishness, and susceptible of being misled by those who rely on political chicanery and a niggardly species of low cunning, continues to give currency to statements, which men of half sense must, at the first sight, pronounce impudently false."—*Lou. Adv. Oct.* 1, 1825.

"That's smarter—pretty well Mr. Penn, and there is a good deal of truth in your remark, which you see, *cuts*.—What do you say to it, Mr Kendall?

"Pitiful is the soul of that man, who can attribute to others no higher motive of action, than a job of printing!"——

"But of Penn we know much. In prescribing uncomfortable predicaments and attitudes for others, he is doubtless aided by *experience*. He cannot have forgoten the unsavory place into which he was plunged, in attempting to escape from the vengeance of an insulted husband. The Ohio may have washed his clothes and skin clean, and given him the appearance of a decent and respectable gentleman; but the waters of the ocean cannot cleanse the foul heart which led him to attempt to insult and dishonor his neighbor."—*Argus, Oct.* 31, 1825.

"Foh! That's worse than Paine and the skunks—Now, are not you a pretty pair of polecats to be accusing others of slander and misrepresentation?"

THE BARGAIN.

The following article explains itself. We recommend it to the serious attention of every honest politician. It shows how monstrously unjust is the accusation of Gen. Jackson, that he might by a bargain with Mr. Clay, have become President. We copy it from the New Hampshire Journal, of March 24.

THE LAST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

"The charge of corruption and intrigue in the last Prsidential election, first brought against Mr. Clay by a member of the House of Representatives, and there abandoned by its author, having been since given to the public under the sanction of Gen. Jackson's name, has justly excited the attention of the people, in every part of the country. The nature of the charge itself not less than the high standing of the parties, (both the accuser and the accused,) has given to this controversy an importance which justifies every new attempt to throw light upon the subject. The late address of Mr. Clay to the public has brought to my recollection certain circumstances, which appear to me to have some bearing on this subject, and which therefore I shall proceed to state.

At the time of the late presidential election, I had the honor of a seat in the House of Representatives; and my anxiety to give effect to the known wishes of my constituents for the election of Mr. Adams, did not suffer me to neglect any opportunity of informing myself, minutely, of the progress of events, and of their causes. With the friends of the several candidates, particularly those of Mr Adams Mr. Crawford, and Mr. Clay, my intercourse was constant, intimate and extensive. With many of them, I conversed freely, and frequently on the subject; and became early acquainted with their different views and feelings, in relation to it, as well as the motives by which they appeared to be influenced: and I can safely declare, that the result of all my inquiries, in respect to Mr. Clay, in particular, was a conviction, founded on innumerable facts and indications of opinion occurring under my own observation.

that, in this difficult and delicate juncture, his conduct was distinguished by purity of motives, by a deep sense of public duty, and great prudence and discernment in the course proper to be pursued. It was seen from the commencement of the session, that his opinion would have great influence in the election; and the friends of Mr. Adams never suffered themselves to believe that Mr. Clay,—himself an experienced statesman, bred from his youth to the civil service of the country, would throw the decisive weight of his powerful influence into the scale of a "military chieftain," before whom all merits and all services, merely civil, seemed to disappear. In his high office of Speaker of the House, he seemed anxious to preserve his usual impartiality between the conflicting parties; and though among his intimate friends, his opinions were known, he neither obtruded them upon the members generally; nor, so far as I could observe, did he take any undue pains to conceal them.

With respect to his friends, (by whom I mean the members of Congress from those states which had voted for him for President,) it appeared to me that, generally speaking, their attachment was not to Mr. Clay as an individual merely, but as a public man—as a statesman, whose general views of policy were in accordance with their own; and that, finding they could not make *him* President, they looked round among the candidates for the man whose views of policy nearest resemble those of Mr. Clay; particularly on the two great questions, of Internal Improvement, and Domestic Manufactures. This was especially the case with the Ohio members; and I was expressly told by one of them, (Gen M'Arthur,) that *chiefly upon these grounds*, they had come to the determination of voting for Mr Adams, before they had ascertained what would be Mr. Clay's course on this occasion.

It is not however so much the object of this communication to express my own opinion, either of Mr Clay's motives, or of the conduct of his friends, as to exhibit evidence in relation to certain facts stated by him, in his last address to the public. In a part of that address, it is his object to show, that he had, early and repeatedly, expressed his opinion that General Jackson was not qualified for the Presidency; and consequently that he could in no event, be expected to vote for him. To the great mass of evidence, which he has there adduced, it is in my power to add the following. It was my practice while a member of Congress, to note down, at the close of each session, in a journal which I kept for that purpose, whatever occurred to me, of an interesting nature, during the session that had just closed. The first session of the 18th Congress closed on the 27th of May, 1824. The following extract from this journal is under date of "June, 1824;" and was written by me immediately on my return from Washington.

"I spoke but twice this session, to Mr. Clay on this subject. The first was on the caucus, against which he declared himself; but professed to be governed in this whole matter, entirely by his friends' advice. The other conversation related to General Jackson. It was soon after Pennsylvania declared for the General; and when he seemed, for the moment, to carry all before him. He spoke with equal truth and feeling on the subject. He said it was truly *discouraging* to see the people so intoxicated and deluded, by a little military glory—that a man totally unknown to the civil history of the country,—who knew nothing of the constitution or laws of the land,—and who, in short, had no other recommendation than that which grew out of his *fortunate* campaign at New Orleans, should be thought of for president of the United States, and even preferred to all others,—at a time, too, when some of the ablest men the country had ever produced, (he did not mean, he said, to include himself in the number)—men who had grown grey in the civil departments of the government, in Congress, in diplomatic missions, and in the cabinet, were before the public, as candidates for that office—was, he said, such a symptom of the diseased state of public sentiment, as must be equally alarming and discouraging, whether viewed by those who saw the highest objects of laudable ambition, snatched from them by a military chief, or by those calmer observers of passing events, who look with philosophical, or prophetic eyes, on the causes of the permanence or decay of our free institutions."

The above extract contains but an imperfect sketch of Mr. Clay's remarks

to me at that time. He declared with great energy, his opinion, that whatever might be General Jackson's other merits, he had no pretensions to the character of a statesman; and he painted in lively colors, the dangers to which the country was exposed, from the sudden overflow of military enthusiasm, by which he was borne along. It was, he said, an *evil omen*; and one which forboded nothing favorable to the future destinies of the republic. I not only considered these opinions of Mr. Clay, as worthy to be recorded, but spoke of them at the time, as indicating very clearly, his intention to support either Mr. Adams, or Mr. Crawford, against General Jackson, should he ever be called upon to decide between them.

Recollecting this conversation, and knowing that Mr. Adams was the second choice of many of Mr. Clay's friends, I expressed, at the commencement of the next session, a very decided opinion that he would receive the the vote of Mr. Clay. The state of Mr. Crawford's health disqualified him, in the view of all but his particular friends, for the office of president; and knowing, as I did, Mr. Clay's early and deliberate opinion of Gen. Jackson's want of the requisite qualifications, I could not doubt, that, as a necessary consequence of this state of things, he would vote for Mr. Adams. The first week of the session did not pass, without confirming me, very strongly, in this belief. It was on the occasion of the reception of General Lafayette, by the House of Representatives. In the address made to him, as Speaker of the House, Mr. Clay dwelt with complacency on the *civil* virtues of Lafayette; and spoke of his "uniform devotion to *regulated* liberty," as commanding our *highest* admiration." Immediately on the adjournment, I expressed to Mr. Clay my satisfaction at the preference which he had given to the civic merit of Lafayette, over his mere military exploits; and my hope that we should not soon forget this just distinction. He replied to me, that it was chiefly as the friend of civil liberty, that Lafayette was admired in this country: and that it became the House of Representatives, in particular, as the guardians of our civil rights, to receive him in this, his highest character. He added, with peculiar emphasis: "You will not find me, Mr. Plumer, disposed, by *any act of mine*, unnecessarily to increase the *military fever*, which has already produced such *strange effects* among us." From the manner in which this was spoken, I could understand it in no other way than as a direct answer to my allusion to the approaching presidential election; and I drew from it the obvious conclusion, that Mr. Clay intended to vote for Mr. Adams. This was on the 18th of December, 1824—the day of Lafayette's reception, as may be seen by a reference to the journals of the House. The supposed *corrupt overture* of Mr. Clay to Gen. Jackson is alleged to have been made on the 30th of the same month.

In his late address to the public, p. 18, Mr. Clay says, "If I had received the vote of Louisiana, and been one of the three candidates returned, I had resolved, at a time when there was every probability of my receiving it, that I would not allow my name, in consequence of the small number of votes by which it would be carried into the House, if I were returned, to constitute an obstacle to an election." This statement is confirmed by the letter of Mr. Johnson of Louisiana, to whom he made known his determination, before the meeting of Congress. It may be further confirmed by the following extract from my journal, under date of "March, 1825," written immediately on my return from the session of 1824–5.

"General M'Arthur, of Ohio, told me, that, meeting Mr. Clay one day, when it was thought that he would receive the vote of Louisiana, he told him that if he came into the House, it would be by so small a vote, that he was afraid his friends could do him very little service there—that Mr. Clay answered, he hoped he should not be returned as one of the candidates, since it was evident that his election, if it could take place, would be contrary to the expressed opinion of a vast majority of the people—and that if returned

to the House, under such circumstances, by receiving the Louisiana votes, he should think it his duty to decline the support of his friends, and use his own influence in support of one of the other candidates."

The preceding extracts appear to me entitled to more weight than any statement I could make from mere recollections; as they were written at the time, for my use only, and with no expectation that they would ever be seen by any other person. If the facts they contain should add any thing to the just defence of an injured fellow citizen, my object in their publication, will have been accomplished. To stand by, in silence, and see another unjustly assailed, when it is in my power to aid in his defence, by the exhibition of facts known only to me, would in my opinion, be little less criminal, than to be myself the author of the wrong.

WILLIAM PLUMER, Jun'r.

Epping, N. H. March 18, 1828.

A DECISIVE SIGN.

The election for members of the city council, of the city of Cincinnati, and of Trustees for the township of Cincinnati, including the Territory of the city, took place on Monday the 7th of April. The vain confidence of the Heroites in their strength, induced them to commence the contest, with a determination to elect no man, for any of the offices, who was not a supporter of the General for President. The Administration men met them on their own ground. The battle has been fought, and the Heroites completely vanquished. The city is divided into five wards, each electing three councillors. Twelve of the fifteen councillors are supporters of the administration. The aggregate majority for the whole is about 200 votes. The Administration ticket for Trustees of the township was carried by a majority of [illegible] votes. So much for the boasted strong hold of Jackism, the city of Cincinnati.

[illegible] and quiet Ward's [illegible] looked about, at their meetings the coffin handbill, with the denunciations of infamous, disgraceful, &c. On the 28th of March, we were told, it had been "*exhibited to the Jackson meetings, held this week, in the several wards of this city.*" And it was added: "*It is unnecessary to say it has produced one universal sentiment of disgust, and indignation with all who have seen it.*" One of the Jackson papers, called upon their adherents, not to be remiss and suffer Truth's Advocate to trumpet a victory to its five thousand subscribers. It having been distinctly stated in the Cincinnati Gazette, that the election would be a test of party strength, a Jackson handbill was struck up, all through the city on the morning of the election, in the following terms.

ATTENTION ELECTORS!!!

"The Poll for Township officers opens at 8 o'clock, A. M. and closes at 6 o'clock P. M.

"The Poll for City officers opens at 9 o'clock A. M. and closes at 4 o'clock, P. M

"Remember the Test ticket is sold by C. Hammond & Co. and lose not your votes by inattention to the hours of election."

But all this availed nothing. The charm was most evidently broken, and a majority of the good people of Cincinnati, have set their sign manuel of condemnation upon the Hero and his satellites. The people, have defeated the people! The coffin hand bill has operated nothing for those who attempted to use it. If it excited indignation, it was against the perpetrator of the enormities it exhibits. Its effects, if it had any, have been the same produced in New Hampshire, and they seem to point to the propriety of giving it a more general circulation.

THE FARMER OF TENNESSEE.—The Legislature of Louisiana have passed a law appropriating TEN THOUSAND dollars to defray the expenses of Gen. Jackson's visit to New Orleans on the 8th instant. Now, a thousand dollars to pay the expenses of one feast in which the *Farmer of Tennessee* is showed off to the multitude, is much, but they ask for a similar purpose when he is made President of the United States! *Ten thousand dollars for a dinner!* Truly this is a modest estimation of that *republican simplicity* which we have been promised in the election of General Jackson! A pretty example of that tender care for the People's purse, which he [illegible] Only Ten Thousand Dollars!

TRUTH'S ADVOCATE
AND
MONTHLY ANTI-JACKSON EXPOSITOR.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, MAY, 1828.

GENERAL JACKSON'S VIOLENCE.

It has been objected against General Jackson, that he is a man of violent and ungovernable temper, and, for that reason, ought not to be elected President. His supporters partly deny, that he is more rash or violent, than men in general; and partly insist, that no evil is to be apprehended, from the indulgence of his passions, were he elected President. It is the purpose of this paper, to examine both these suggestions: Proofs will be produced upon the first, and some illustrations attempted, upon the second; and to both, the attention of the reader is requested.

In this investigation, I shall draw no proofs from the annals of the General's private life, and none from the history of his proceedings in the late war. I shall confine myself to his own conduct, since he became known to the nation, and since his reputation was, in some degree, identified with that of his country. Public distinction, not only confers honor, it imposes arduous duties. Many indulgencies may be allowed, to a mere private man, which ought not to be tolerated in one of eminence. In one case, the example can work but a partial evil; in the other, its mischiefs may be incalculable. Self command and self respect are almost inseparable. And he who cannot or does not control himself, is unfit to govern others: because, though he may be feared, he cannot be respected by them.

The outrages upon the rights of individuals, and the laws of the country, perpetrated by Gen. Jackson at the close of his career at New Orleans, made, at the time, a deep and solemn impression, on the public mind. No loud voice of condemnation was raised: but there was a strong and mixed sentiment of regret and censure that pervaded the country. General Jackson perceived it, and very wisely submitted to its silent chastenings.—For about two years he continued to perform his duties, as Major General, in the quiet and respectful manner that became the office. James Madison was President of the United States, and Gen. Jackson knew that he was not a man to countenance a system of "*blood and carnage.*" In March, 1817, Mr. Monroe was inaugurated President. Towards General Jackson, Mr. Monroe had manifested no common respect.—They stood in the most friendly relations to each other. Communications and consultations had taken place between them, as to the formation of the Executive Cabinet, certainly the very highest evidence of mutual esteem.—It would seem that General Jackson regarded the elevation of Mr. Monroe as an event that removed all necessity for him longer to impose restraint upon his course of conduct.

I have no knowledge what was the cause, but it is well known that Gen. Jackson cherished very unfriendly feelings towards Mr. Crawford, who was then Secretary of War: And he took an early occasion, after Mr. Monroe became President, to offer outrage and insult to the Government, in the person of the Secretary of War. The following general order, was issued by him, on the 22d of April, 1817.

"DIVISION ORDER.

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
H. Q. Division of the South.
Nashville, April 22, 1817.

The commanding general considers it due to the principles of subordination, which ought and must exist in an army, to prohibit the disobedience of any order emanating from the department of war, to officers of this division, who have reported and been assigned to duty, unless coming through him as the proper organ of communication The object of this order is to prevent the recurrence of a circumstance which removed an important officer from the division without the knowledge of the commanding general, and indeed when he supposed that officer engaged in his official duties, and anticipated

hourly the receipt of his official reports on a subject of great importance to his command; also to prevent the topographical reports from being made public through the medium of the newspapers, as was done in the case alluded to, thereby enabling the enemy to obtain the benefit of all our topographical researches as soon as the general commanding, who is responsible for the division. Superior officers having commands assigned them are held responsible to the government for the character and conduct of that command; and it might as well be justified in an officer senior in command to give orders to a *guard* on duty, without passing that order through the officer of that guard, as that the department of war should countermand the arrangements of commanding generals without giving their orders through the proper channel To acquiesce in such a course, would be a tame surrender of military rights and etiquette; and at once subvert the established principles of subordination and good order Obedience to the lawful commands of superior officers is constitutionally and morally required; but there is a chain of communication that binds the military compact, which if broken opens the door to disobedience and disrespect, and gives loose to the turbulent spirits who are ever ready to excite to mutiny. All physicians able to perform duty, who are absent on furlough, will forthwith repair to their respective posts. Commanding officers of regiments and corps are ordered to report *specially* all officers absent from duty on the 30th of June next and their cause of absence. The army is too small to tolerate idlers, and they will be dismissed the service

By order of Major General Jackson.
(Signed) ROBERT BUTLER.
Adjutant General

It is not my intention to offer any comment of my own, upon this order. I introduce it as the first of a series of extravagancies, that marked the career of Gen. Jackson, through the residue of the year 1817. Besides, it is republished as explanatory of other high matter, with which it is connected. So soon as this order was published in the newspapers, it became a matter of much conversation and some censure. These led to a controversy between Gen. Jackson and Gen. Scott, and a correspondence between them subsequently laid before the public, but not very extensively circulated. One letter written by Gen. Jackson to Gen. Scott, is, perhaps, the most extraordinary specimen of indecent violence and outrage, that, in modern times, has been addressed by one gentleman to another. It serves, in a peculiar and forcible manner, to illustrate the temper and disposition of the General.—It cannot be properly estimated without reading it, in connection with the matter that gave rise to it; and for that reason the whole is here inserted.

"GEN. JACKSON TO GEN. SCOTT.

Head Quarters, Division of the South,
Nashville, September 8, 1817

Sir.—With that candour due the character you have sustained as a soldier and a man of honour, and with the frankness of the latter, I address you.

Enclosed is a copy of an anonymous letter, post marked, New York, 14th August, 1817, together with a publication, taken from the Columbian, which accompanied the letter. I have not permitted myself for a moment to believe, that the conduct ascribed to you is correct. Candour, however, induces me to lay them before you, that you may have it in your power to say how far they be incorrectly stated.

If my order has been the subject of your animadversions, it is believed you will at once admit it, and the extent to which you may have gone.

I am, Sir, respectfully,
Your most obedient servant,
(Signed) ANDREW JACKSON
Gen. W. Scott, U. S. Army

Anonymous Letter addressed to Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson, postmarked "New York, Aug 14," and received the 3d September, 1817. (Enclosed in the foregoing.)

"Your late order has been the subject of much private, and some public remark. The war office gentry and their adherents, pensioners and expectants, have all been busy; but no one (of sufficient mark for your notice) more than Major General Scott, who, I am credibly informed, goes so far as to call the order in question, an act of mutiny. In this district he is the organ of Government insinuations, and the supposed author of the paper enclosed—which, however (the better to cover him) was not published until he had left this city for the Lakes. Be on your guard. As they have placed spies upon Brown here, so it is probable you are not without them The Eastern Federalists have

now all become good Republicans, and pledged to the support of the President, as he to them Government can now do well without the aid of Tennessee, &c &c. 'A word to the wise is enough.'

The enclosed is taken from the Columbian, a paper of much circulation in this state. New York.

Certified, and signed,—J M. Glassell, Aid de Camp."

"The following article was enclosed in the foregoing letters.

"General Jackson's doctrines of obedience. Queries to the Editor of ——, and other learned casuists. 1. Suppose the Government of the United States give orders to a general officer, or delicately signify their wishes and intentions, to remove from a certain command, one of the general's protegees and favorites? These orders, or intentions of Government, are not pleasing to either the chief, or his subordinate. They, therefore, employ their joint faculties of manœuvring to frustrate the object of Goverment. By artifices, evasions, and pretended misapprehensions of meaning, they have so far prevailed as to hold a command in defiance of Government itself, for nearly a year.

Does not this case prove, that Government, when restricted, according to the dictatorial system of General Jackson, may not only be tricked and insulted, but absolutely nullified? What redress would an interested court martial afford?

2. Suppose that through the same General, positive orders were given, by Government, for another officer to supersede his protegee and favorite in the command of his usurped place. Suppose these positive orders, as they were not susceptible of quibble or subterfuge, be pocketed, laid aside, delayed, and not executed, for more months than it would be necessary to employ days or hours; would this case prove the utility of Government relying for the execution of its orders solely on the integrity of a commander? Perhaps it may be alleged that such cases are purely imaginary: let facts which have occurred in less than a year be examined, and it will then be known whether they vary in any respect, from the cases as above stated.

A QUERIST.

GEN. SCOTT TO GEN. JACKSON.

H. Q. 1st and 3d Military Departments, New York, October 4th, 1817.

Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th ult. together with the two papers therein enclosed.

I am not the author of the miserable and unmeaning article copied from "the Columbian," and not being a reader of that gazette, should probably never have heard of it, but for the copy you have sent me. And whilst on the subject of writing and publishing, it may save time to say, at once, that with the exception of *the substance* of two articles which appeared in "The Enquirer," last fall, and a journal kept whilst a prisoner in the hands of the enemy, I have not written, nor caused any other to write a single line for any gazette whatever, since the commencement of the late war.

Conversing with some two or three private gentlemen, about as many times, on the subject of the Division order, dated at Nashville, April 22d, 1817, it is true that I gave it as my opinion, that that paper was, as it respected the future, mutinous in its character and tendency; and, as it respected the past, a reprimand of the Commander in Chief, the President of the United States; for although the latter be not expressly named, it is a principle well understood, that the war department, without at least his *supposed sanction*, cannot give a valid command to an ensign

I have thus, Sir, frankly answered the queries addressed to me, and which were suggested to you by the letter of your anonymous correspondent. But on a question so important as that which you have raised with the war department, or in other words, with the President of the United States, and in which I find myself incidentally involved, I must take leave to illustrate my meaning a little: In doing which, I shall employ almost *the precise language which was used on the occasions above alluded to.*

Take any three officers. Let A be the common superior, B the intermediate commander, and C the junior. A wishes to make an order, which shall affect C. The good of the service, etiquette, and courtesy require, no doubt, that the order should pass through B; or, if expedition and the dispersed situation of the parties make it necessary to send the order *direct* to C. (of which necessity A is the judge), the good of the service, etiquette, and courtesy require, with as little doubt, that A notify B thereof, as soon as practicable. Such notice, of itself, has always been held sufficient, under the circumstances last stated. But we will suppose that A sends the order direct to C. and neglects

to notify B thereof:—and such appears to be the precise case alluded to in the order before cited. Has B no redress against this irregularity? He may unquestionably remonstrate with A, in a respectful manner; and if remonstrance fail, and there be a higher military authority than A, B may appeal to *it* for redress.—Now, in the case under consideration, there existed no such higher authority;—the war department, or in other words, *the President*, being the common superior (A), and the general of division, the intermediate commander (B) A private and respectful remonstrance, therefore, appears to have been the only mode of redress which circumstances admitted of.—An appeal to the army or the public, before or after such remonstrance, seems to have been a greater irregularity than the measure complained of. To reprobate that measure publicly, as the Division order does, was to mount still higher in the scale of indecorum; but when the order goes so far as to prohibit to all officers in the division an obedience to the commands of the President of the United States, unless received through division head quarters, it appears to me, that nothing but mutiny and defiance, can be understood or intended

There is another view of this subject, which must have escaped you, as I am persuaded there is not a man in America less disposed to shift responsibility from himself to a weaker party than yourself. Suppose the war department, by order of the President, sends instructions direct to the commanding officer, perhaps a captain, at Natchitoches (a post within your division) to attack the body of Spanish royalists nearest to that frontier. If the captain obeys, you arrest him. But, if in compliance with your prohibition, he sets the commands of the President at naught, he would find himself in a direct conflict with the highest military authority under the Constitution, and thus would have to maintain, against that "fearful odds," the dangerous position laid down in your order. Surely this consequence could not have been foreseen by you, when you penned that order.

I must pray you to believe, Sir, that I have expressed my opinion on this great question, without the least hostility to yourself personally, and without any view of making my court in another quarter, as is insinuated by your anonymous correspondent. I have nothing to fear or hope from either party. It is not likely that the Executive will be offended at the opinion, that *it* has committed an irregularity in the transmission of one of its orders; and, as to yourself, although I cheerfully admit that you are my *superior*, I deny that you are my *commanding* officer, within the meaning of the 6th article of the rules and articles of war. Even if I had belonged to your division, I should not hesitate to repeat to you all that I have said, at any time, on your subject, if a proper occasion offered. And what is more, I should expect your approbation, as, in my humble judgment, refutation is impossible.

As you do not adopt the imputations contained in the anonymous letter, a copy of which you enclosed me, I shall not degrade myself by any further notice of it.

I have just shown the article from "the Columbian" to some military gentlemen of this place, from whom I learn, that it was probably intended to be applied to a case which has recently occurred at West Point. The writer is supposed to proceed upon a report (which is nevertheless believed to be erroneous) that Brigadier General Swift had orders from the war department, more than twelve months since, to remove Captain Partridge from the Military Academy; and that he suppressed those orders, &c. The author is believed to be a young man of the army, and was, at the time of publication, in this city, but not under my command, and with whom I have never had the smallest intimacy. I forbear to mention his name, because it is only known by conjecture.

I have the honour to be, &c

[Signed] W. SCOTT.

To Maj. Gen A. Jackson.

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GEN. JACKSON TO GEN. SCOTT.

H. Q. Division of the South.

Nashville, Dec. 3, 1817.

Sir,—I have been absent from this place a considerable time, rendering the last friendly office I could, to a particular friend, whose eyes I closed on the 20th ultimo. Owing to this, your letter of the 4th of October, was not received until the 1st instant.

Upon the receipt of the anonymous communication, made me from New York, I hastened to lay it before you. That course was suggested to me, by the respect I felt for you as a man and a *soldier*, and that you might have it in your power to answer how far you had been guilty of

so base and inexcusable conduct. Independent of the services you had rendered your country, the circumstance of your wearing the badge and ensignia of a soldier, led me to the conclusion, that I was addressing a gentleman. With these feelings you were written to; and had an idea been for a moment entertained, that you could have descended from the high and dignified character of a Major General of the United States, and used language so *opprobrious and insolent*, as you have done; rest assured, I should have viewed you, as rather *too contemptible to have held any converse with you* on the subject. If you have lived in the world thus long, in entire ignorance of the *obligations and duties which honour impose*, you are indeed, past the time of learning; and surely he must be ignorant of them, who seems so little under their influence.

Pray, Sir, does your recollection serve, in what school of philosophy you were taught; that, to a letter enquiring into the nature of a supposed injury, and clothed in language decorous and unexceptionable, an answer should be given, couched in *pompous insolence and bullying expression?* I had hoped, that what was charged upon you by my anonymous correspondent, was unfounded. I had hoped so, from a belief that General Scott was *a soldier and a gentleman*. But when I see those statements doubly confirmed by his own words, it becomes a matter of inquiry, how far a man of honourable feelings, can reconcile them to himself, or longer set up a claim to that character. Are you ignorant, Sir, that had my order, at which your refined judgment is so extremely touched, been made the subject of inquiry, you might, from your standing, not your character, have been constituted one of my judges? How very proper then, was it, thus situated, and without a knowledge of any of the attendant circumstances, for you to have prejudged the whole matter. This, at different times, and in the circle of your friends, you could do, and yet, had I been arraigned, and you detailed as one of my judges, with the *designs of an assassin*, lurking under a fair exterior, you would have approached the holy sanctuary of justice. Is conduct like this congenial with that high sense of dignity, which should be seated in a soldier's bosom? Is it due from a brother officer *to assail in the dark, the reputation of another, and stab him in a moment when he cannot expect it?* I might insult an honourable man by questions such as these; but shall not expect that they will harrow up one, who must be dead to all those feelings, which are the true characteristic of a gentleman.

In terms, polite as I was capable of noting, I asked you if my informant had stated truly?—If you were the author of the publication and remarks charged against you, and to what extent? A reference to your letter, without any comment of mine, will inform, how far you have pursued a similar course;—*how little of the gentleman, and how much of the hectoring bully you have manifested*. If nothing else would, the epaulets which grace your shoulders, should have dictated to you a different course, and have admonished you, that however small may have been your respect for another, respect for yourself should have taught you the necessity of replying at least mildly, to the inquiries I suggested: and more especially should you have done this, when your own convictions must have fixed you as *guilty of the abominable crime of detraction,—of slandering, and behind his back, a brother officer*. But not content with answering to what was proposed, your overweening vanity has led you to make an offering of your advice. Believe me, Sir, it is not in my power to render you my thanks. I think too highly of myself to suppose, that I stand at all in need of your admonitions; and too lightly of you, to appreciate them as useful. For good advice I am always thankful; but never fail to spurn it, when I know it to flow from an incompetent, *or corrupt source,—The breast where base and guilty passions dwell*, is not the place to look for virtue, or any thing that leads to virtue. My notions, Sir, are not those now taught in modern schools, and in fashionable high life. They were imbibed in ancient days; and hitherto have, and yet bear me to the conclusion, that he who can wantonly outrage the feelings of another,—who, without cause, can extend injury where none is done, is capable of any crime, however detestable in its nature; and will not fail to commit it, whenever it may be imposed by necessity.

I shall not stoop, Sir, to a justification of my order before you, or to notice the weakness and absurdities of your tinsel rhetoric. It may be quite conclusive with yourself; and I have no disposition to attempt convincing you, that your ingenuity is not as profound, as you have imagined it. To my government, whenever it may

please, I hold myself liable to answer, and to produce the reasons which prompted me to the course I took; and to the *intermeddling pimps and spies of the war department*, who are in the garb of gentlemen, I hold myself responsible for any grievance they may labour under on my account: with which you have my permission to number yourself. For what I have said, I offer no apology. You have deserved it all, and more, were it necessary to say more. I will barely remark, in conclusion, that if you feel yourself aggrieved at what is here said, any communication from you will reach me safely at this place.

I have the honour to be,
Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,

[Signed] ANDREW JACKSON.

Brevet Maj. Gen. W. Scott, U. S. Army, New York.

An intelligent reader cannot fail to perceive, that this letter from General Jackson is altogether in the worst possible taste. It is not merely vulgar, rude, and abusive: but it is characterized by a kind of flippant pertness, peculiar to a petted and spoiled favorite, in a sophomore class at college. There is in it, an assumption of superiority, a consequential swagger, most offensive to propriety. But its virulence of invective casts its other defects into shade.

The reader is requested again to peruse the letter of Gen. Scott, and ascertain, if he can, what there is in it "*opprobrious and insolent?*" what of "*pompous insolence and bullying expression?*" what that should forfeit for him the character of a "*soldier and a gentleman?*" prove him "*ignorant of the obligations and duties which honour impose,*" and render him "*too contemptible to hold any converse with?*" What that manifests the "*designs of an assassin,*" or an intention "*to assail in the dark the reputation of another, and stab him at a moment when he cannot expect it?*" What of "*the hectoring bully?*" of "*detraction?*" of "*slandering behind his back a brother officer?*" of "*corruption,*" or of "*base and guilty passions?*" What that should stamp him as "*an intermeddling pimp and spy of the war department?*" The request is repeated; let the candid reader point out, if he can, in the letter of General Scott, any thing to warrant these harsh, coarse, and discreditable imputations.

Gen. Jackson had issued an extraordinary order, contravening, in direct terms, the orders of the President; for every order from the war department, must be received as emanating from the President. He had couched his order in no terms of measured respect for his superior. It was published to the world, and excited a great deal of remark and speculation. Many spoke of it as mutinous in its tendency and character. Amongst these, was General Scott.—His opinions are conveyed to General Jackson, through the suspicious and discreditable channel of an anonymous letter, imputing, also, to Gen. Scott, the authorship of an anonymous publication, in a newspaper. Upon this, Gen. Jackson calls upon Gen. Scott for explanation. He asserts "*if my order has been the subject of your animadversions, it is believed you will at once admit it, and the extent to which you may have gone.*" Gen. Scott meets this expectation.—He says, frankly, that in two or three private conversations, with two or three private gentlemen, "*I gave it as my opinion, that that paper was, as it respected the future, mutinous in its character and tendency.*" Gen. Scott proceeds to illustrate his opinion, by stating two or three supposed cases. This is done in the most respectful manner, and in the most courteous terms. No sentiment is manifested towards Gen. Jackson but that of respect. Gen. Scott says, in so many words, "*I have expressed my opinion on this great question, without the least hostility to yourself personally. I should not hesitate to repeat to you all that I have said, on your subject, if a proper occasion offered, and what is more, I should expect your approbation.*" In this Gen. Jackson finds *opprobrium, insolence, bullying, hectoring, assassination, slandering, intermeddling, pimping*, and much more that proves Gen. Scott *ignorant of the obligations of honour*, destitute of the *characteristics of a soldier and a gentleman*, and too *contemptible to have converse with.*"

Certainly, no gentleman, of a well regulated and disciplined mind, would indulge in the use of terms like these.

towards a man of character and standing, no matter how improperly he had been treated by him. They are terms which disgrace a gentleman, in uttering them, rather than him upon whom they are cast. If they have recently obtained a passport into good company, the General may well claim the credit of introducing them. Before his adoption and use of them gave them sanction, they found little countenance among men of honour and decency, any where.

The reader cannot but perceive what was the real nature and extent of General Scott's offence. He had dared to question the correctness and propriety of a public act of General Jackson. This aroused the General's indignation, which vented itself in the unseemly reproaches, which his letter contains. May not the inquiry well be made, whether he, who is so impatient under a respectful scrutiny and censure of his public conduct, and who resents them with so much bitter virulence, is a suitable person to be trusted with high authority, in any government? It is assuredly an inquiry which well deserves consideration.

The object of this article is not to vindicate Gen. Scott, but to exhibit Gen. Jackson, as he really is. Yet, having published Gen. Jackson's letter of outrage and insult, it seems due to Gen. Scott to accompany it with his reply. This may be the more acceptable to our readers, as very likely many of them have never had an opportunity to peruse it. The spirit of moderation and dignity that pervades it, stands in happy contrast, with the very different temper impressed, upon that of Gen. Jackson. It is here inserted.

GEN. SCOTT TO GEN. JACKSON.

H. Q. 1st and 3d Military Departments,
New York, January 2d, 1818.

Sir.—Your letter of the 3d ultimo, was handed to me about the 22d, and has not been read.—I might almost say, thought of, since. These circumstances will show that it is my wish to reply to you dispassionately.

I regret that I cannot accept the challenge you offer me. Perhaps I may be restrained from wishing to level a pistol at the breast of a fellow being, in private combat, by a sense of religion. But lest this motive should excite the ridicule of gentlemen of liberal habits of thinking and acting, I beg leave to add, that I decline the honour of *your* invitation from *patriotic scruples*. My ambition is not that of Erostratus. I should think it would be easy for you to console yourself under this refusal, by the application of a few epithets, as coward, &c., to the object of your resentment; and here I promise to leave you until the next war, to persuade yourself of their truth

Your famous order bears date the 22d April, 1817. At intervals of three or four months thereafter,—that is, when it had been officially published to the troops of your division, and printed in almost every paper of the Union,—as if to challenge discussion,—I found myself in company where it was the subject of conversation. Not being under your command, I was free to give my opinion on that *public act*, as any one else. For I presume you will not assert, that where an officer is not expressly restrained by the military code, he has not all the rights of any other citizen. For this fair expression of opinion, on a principle as universal as the profession of arms,—and which opinion I, afterwards, *at your instance*, stated to you, in all its detail.—you are pleased to charge me with having slandered you behind your back!!—an accusation which I consider the more amusing, as I never had the honor of being in your *presence!* in all my life! I can assure you, Sir, that nothing but my great respect for your superior age and services, prevents me from indulging, also, in a little bitter pleasantry on this point.

It seems that you are under the further impression, that if you had been brought to trial for publishing that order—(an idea that I never heard any other suggest) and I appointed one of your judges, that, assassin like, I should have approached the holy sanctuary of justice, &c. Such is, I think, your language. Now, like you, without believing one word of it, it would be as easy for me, manually, to retort all this abuse, as it was for you to originate it. But I must inform you, Sir, that however much I may desire to emulate certain portions of your history, I am not at all inclined to follow the pernicious example that your letter furnishes.

You complain of harshness on my part. My letter, to which yours is a reply, is, doubtless, somewhat bold in its character, but, believing that in an affair with you

it was only necessary to have right on one's side, in order to obtain approbation. I had no other care in its composition, than to avoid every thing, personally offensive as far as the truth, and a fair discussion of the subject would permit; and I still rest persuaded, that the *fact* corresponds with my intention. It is true, that I spoke of you, and treated you, as a MAN, without the petty qualifications of common usage; because in addressing *you*, they were then considered as so many diminutives; but I am now to apprehend that universal success and applause have somewhat spoiled you; and that I shall ultimately be obliged to fall into the common place habit, used in respect to common place people, and consider you as nothing more than a gentleman.

Permit me to request,—I think I have a right to demand,—a sight of the *original* anonymous letter which has given rise to this discussion. If I mistake not, your correspondent is a greater personage than you, perhaps, imagine—nay so high, that he has once essayed to set himself above the highest in our political sphere. The letter shall be returned as soon as the *hand* is compared with that of a certain agent of the personage alluded to.

I cannot close this letter without expressing a belief, that on the return of your wonted magnanimity, I shall be requested to burn the one that has elicited it, by way of apology for the injury it does me. Accordingly, it has been seen, as yet, by but one individual (of my staff,) and he held in reserve, until a certain time has elapsed—attending that just expectation. In the mean time, I shall have the honour to remain, Sir,

Very respectfully,
Your most obedient servant.
[Signed] W. SCOTT.

To Maj. Gen. A. Jackson.

I have already remarked, that the commencement of the presidency of Mr. Monroe seemed to remove from Gen. Jackson every thing like restraint, upon the natural impulse and long indulged violence of his disposition. I do not deduce this inference from the circumstances of his conduct, towards the Secretary of War and Gen. Scott. It was in April, 1817, that he commenced hostilities against the war department, that led to his warfare with Gen. Scott. In March, 1817, he began a controversy with the Editor of the Kentucky Reporter, which was soon extended to General Adair, and continued, through the summer of that year. This controversy related to his censure of the Kentucky troops, at New Orleans, and originated about a matter, with which Gen. Jackson had been for some time well acquainted, but which he did not think proper to stir, until that time.

In conducting this controversy, he indulged in great virulence of language, towards his opponents, and especially towards Gen. Adair. The following is given as a specimen. It is taken from a letter of Gen. Jackson, dated July 23, 1817.

"I am astonished at your *impudence*, to talk of fighting battles over again.—You well know, Sir, that your *misrepresentations and falsehoods*, combined with those of your colleague and the editors of a new-paper, have been disturbing the public mind, by endeavoring to cast a stigma on the well earned fame of brave and meritorious officers, and seeking to convince the world, that men are heroes, who ingloriously fled before the enemy."

This is a single sample of the language held by Gen. Jackson to a distinguished and aged citizen, who felt it his duty not to acquiesce in imputations, which he deemed unjust, but which General Jackson insisted to fasten upon the Kentucky militia. Its impropriety, indeed to speak in plain terms, its vulgarity and insolence, must be manifest to every one.

The wide scope given by Gen. Jackson to his irrascible feelings, and his propensity to indulge in coarse abuse, during the summer of 1817, does not seem to have affected his standing with President Monroe. In the spring of 1818, he was engaged in conducting the Seminole War. Here he indulged in a violence peculiar to himself. He gave full scope to his appetite for "*blood and carnage*," by hanging captive Indians, and by putting white men, seized as prisoners of war, to death, upon grounds, alike unknown to municipal or to national law. He took into his hands all the powers of Government, waged war upon Spain, and

seized her forts and territory. The Government disavowed his acts, and restored to Spain all that Jackson had wrested from her. But Jackson himself was permitted to escape rebuke. Whilst engaged in this war of his own making, General Jackson found occasion to indulge his temper upon Gov. Rabun. But, as this was fully exposed in the last number of the Expositor, it is unnecessary to repeat it here.

In 1819, the conduct of General Jackson, in the Seminole war, became a subject of discussion in Congress. He visited Washington, and distinguished himself by the violence of his demeanor, and the fury of his denunciations against those who had the boldness to censure him. It was at this time that he was accused of forming the design of attacking a senator in Congress, in the Capitol, and of attempting to carry that design into effect. This subject was noticed in the first number of the Expositor. But it is necessary to notice it here more particularly.

The accusation made last summer against Gen. Jackson, that he had placed himself in the anti-chamber of the Senate for the purpose of attacking a Senator, was deemed by his friends and himself, deserving of reply and refutation from him. This was brought about by means of a letter from Mr. Grundy. That, and the General's reply are here inserted.

"*Nashville, Nov. 15th*, 1827.

"Dear Sir,—On this day I received a letter from a friend of mine in Richmond. (Va.) requesting me to ascertain from you, whether there is any foundation in truth, in certain statements circulated in that section of the country, respecting a conversation alleged to have taken place between Commodore Decatur and yourself, in the anti-chamber of the Senate, in the year 1819. I understand the charge, as made against you, is—That on the last night of the session, you, accompanied by your two aids-de-camp, went to the anti-chamber of the Senate, and while there, Commodore Decatur came up to you and enquired, whether you came there for the purpose of chastising Mr. Eppes, &c.? To which you replied affirmatively; and after some further remarks, you declared your determination to chastise Mr. Eppes in the Senate Chamber, where he had slandered you—and Commodore Decatur stated that you should not enter the Senate door *unless over his dead body* In a short time you agreed to desist from your purpose, &c

Be so obliging as to furnish an answer as early as convenient.

Yours, respectfully,
FELIX GRUNDY.

Gen. Andrew Jackson."

—

"*Nashville Inn, Nov. 15th*, 1827.

Dear Sir:—Your letter of this day has been received, and I hasten to answer it. The statement to which you allude is wholly destitute of truth. I was not in the Senate Chamber or anti-chamber, in the year 1819. My aids-de-camp were General Call and Captain Easter. The former is still living, and will satisfy any person who will inquire of him, that the statement is untrue As to Commodore Decatur and myself having such a conversation as is stated to have taken place in the anti-chamber of the Senate, we never had such a conversation there or elsewhere. Commodore Decatur and myself were friendly at all times, and no harsh or unkind expression ever passed from one to the other. So far from my visiting the Senate Chamber, I was invited to do so by several of the members of that body, and declined doing so, and assigned my reasons for my conduct.

I am, very respectfully,
Your most obedient servant,
ANDREW JACKSON.

The Hon. F. Grundy, Esq"

It will be seen that the allegations and answer, are confined to the place, and manner, and not the substance of the charge. No question is asked whether the General, at any time or place, or in any manner placed himself with the intention of assaulting a Senator, from which, he was dissuaded by Com. Decatur. The General does not assert that no such thing took place, at any time or place. He says, nothing of the kind took place in the Senate chamber, or anti-chamber, that no such conversation as was stated took place between the General and Com. Decatur. Their conversation, here negatived, is thus stated:

"Com. Decatur came up to you and enquired whether you came there for the purpose of chastizing Mr. Eppes, &c.? To which you replied affirmatively, and after some further

remarks you declared your determination to chastise Mr. Eppes in the Senate chamber, where he had slandered you, and Com. Decatur stated, that you should not enter the Senate door, unless over his dead body."

Gen. Jackson's negative is very carefully confined to this conversation, and the place of assault designated in it. Truth may sustain him in this denial and yet the substance of the charge against him exist as a fact. That the General was loud and vehement in his threats, at taverns and ball rooms in Washington, has never been denied; and that he took a stand in some part of the capitol for the purpose of assaulting a Senator, is confidently believed, by most of those who were at Washington at the time, and conversant with the circumstances. Gen. Jackson will not venture to deny that he formed the determination of attacking a Senator in the capitol, that he made his arrangements to do so, and took his stand accordingly; that a friend, apprised of his object, applied to Com. Decatur, who was with his lady in the Senate chamber, to interfere: that Com. Decatur left his lady in the Senate Chamber, and by the most urgent persuasion, not by threats or rudeness, did influence the General to desist. I say that Gen. Jackson will not deny the substance of the transaction here narrated. He cannot but know that Com. Decatur communicated the facts to Mr. Monroe, in the hearing of more than one person, who is now alive. He must know that they are familiar to the recollection of Mrs. Decatur. I speak not of the minutiæ, but of the general facts, which I believe to be incontrovertible. This was in 1819, when the General was so lucky as to escape the censure of Congress, by the efforts of most industrious friends. He returned home, and we do not again hear of him as engaged in any new violence, until about two years afterwards, when acting as Governor of Florida; for such was the devotion of Mr. Monroe to Gen. Jackson, that he continued to wink at all his violences, and confer public employments upon him.

In 1821, the army was so far reduced that no command remained for Gen. Jackson, and he was let down from his command, by the appointment of Gov. of Florida. In the discharge of this office he gave a wide range of indulgence to his native violence and impetuosity of character.

Before the possession of the Territory was received from the Spanish authorities, a good portion of angry feeling was excited between the General and the Spanish officers. After the delivery, the General was easily stimulated to acts of violence. One of the parties to an old controversy about the estate of a deceased person, contrived to enlist Gen. Jackson in the cause. He took sides, in the true spirit of a partizan, and under the persuasion that he was administering justice, in the character of a Judge, perpetrated one of the most unheard of enormities. I say nothing as to the real justice of the case, about which, a good deal may be said. But admitting that the General espoused the right side of the cause, his proceedings were wholly unjustifiable. He seized by a queer mixture of civil and military power, upon the person of the late Spanish Governor, and upon the person of others, and imprisoned them. Judge Fromentin issued a habeas corpus, a process at which the General seems to be instantly transported into furious wrath. Instead of regarding it, Gen. Jackson sent a process citing Fromentin before him. Upon his appearance an accommodation took place, and Fromentin was permitted to retain his liberty. Jackson proclaimed that Fromentin had apologized, this Fromentin denied, when followed a scene of recriminations little creditable to either. Both addressed themselves to the Secretary of State. The following are extracts from Jackson's own letters. The reader is requested to read them with particular attention.

"The time when the interference was made renders his conduct still more reprehensible, both I know that opposition by force had been threatened by Callava and his Spanish officers to my authority, aided, as they had a right to believe, by some of my officers. This as you will discover, I put down, as it ought to have been; and the lecture I gave the Judge when he came before me, will, I trust, for the future, [illegible] obey the spirit of [illegible]

aid in the execution of the laws and administration of the government, instead of attempting to oppose me, under Spanish influence."

"Judge Fromentin was represented to be no lawyer, but favorably spoken of as a man of literature; but I could not have formed such an idea of his want of legal knowledge, as this transaction displays. I am, therefore, more inclined to ascribe his conduct to weakness, than any other cause."

"Colonel Callava's powers having ceased here with the surrender of the country, it was only a display, and so considered by me, of pompous arrogance and ignorance, in his claiming the privilege of diplomacy, which, in fact, he never possessed, his powers having ceased, his commission accomplished, the pretension which he set up was an insult to the weakest understanding."

The above are extracts from a letter written by Gen. Jackson to the Secretary of state, dated Aug ist 26, 1821. They are quite polite and gentlemanly in comparison with those which follow.

"This expose furnishes a satisfactory view of the whole ground in dispute, and incontestibly proves that Judge Fromentin has been guilty of wilfully and wickedly fabricating the most palpable falsehoods. The evidence of such unblushing depravity and corruption should be placed in the possession of the President, and, in strict justice, deserves to be exposed to the execration of the whole American people. When an officer of such high responsibility, under the Federal Government manifests such baseness and obliquity of heart, it ought to excite our alarm, and stimulate the proper authority to apply the most speedy and efficient remedy."

"This course of proceeding may very well comport with the corrupt and inquisitorial system of former Spanish tribunals, but they are clearly and palpably unjust, and merit the unqualified reprobation of every honest and intelligent American. I can assure you that so far as I have been enabled to collect an expression of public sentiment relative to the conduct of Judge Fromentin, it has evidently rendered him so odious and contemptible, that his name is only mentioned in genteel circles, to be deprecated and despised. It is considered so flagrant and flagitious a departure from justice and propriety, as seriously to impair his standing, and rather to produce disaffection, than inspire respect and confidence in the American authorities in Florida.

"Situated as Judge Fromentin was I did not anticipate that he would have had the hardihood and temerity to revive this transaction, and make it a subject of public investigation. Good sense as well as the best policy, would certainly have dictated a very different precedure. After his concession and open acknowledgements that he had acted hastily and without a due consideration of the case, it would not have been expected that the most abandoned and profligate would have denied the facts, particularly when those declarations were made in the presence of several gentlemen of the most unimpeachable integrity. The man who could thus prostitute his signature, for the propogation of such glaring and barefaced falsehoods, evinces an effrontry almost without a parallel, and a destitution of principle very incompatible with the character of one selected to administer the laws as Judge of the United States. Elevated as he was, I had hoped that I should meet with a manly feeling and lofty integrity corresponding with his honorable station, but I sincerely regret to say, that he has displayed a want of honesty and candor only becoming an apostate priest, and which is enough to suffuse the cheek of depravity itself with a blush."

These are extracts from a letter of Gen. Jackson's to the Secretary of State, dated at Nashville, Nov. 3, 1821. I do not propose to comment upon either the tone or the expressions. How unseemly they must all be to every reflecting mind. It should be remembered too, that they were employed long after the events had transpired, and when the General had left entirely the scene of action, and had enjoyed an opportunity to become calm.

Whilst performing the office of Governor, in Florida, Gen. Jackson acted solely in a civil capacity. He had no foreign enemy to contend with. Yet he embroiled himself with every one who was not subservient to his will. He organized courts unknown to any law, assumed to himself the most unlimited judicial functions, imprisoned Spanish officers, insulted the United States Judge, and finally transported a number of Spanish officers from the country. Judge Fromentin, writing upon the spot to the Secretary of State, Sept. 21st, 1821, thus describes the state of things:

"The portion of the army here, is under the orders of General Jackson. The posse comitatus would be inefficient. If my life was the only sacrifice to be risked, the law should be obeyed. But, under our government of laws and freedom, the most revolting system of inquisition prevails, and I am compelled to desire as preferable to what exists here now, even the despotism of Algiers, Tunis, or Morrocco. This place re-echoes with the most outrageous and impious vociferations, and that too from a place called the bench of Justice, against every body who will dare to question the supremacy of the Governor. I am credibly informed that commissions have been, or are to be, sent to New-Orleans, in order to find out by depositions there, the name of the writers here, whose description of the scenes which have taken place at Pensacola does not exactly tally with the account given by the General and his friends. I write to you with a rope round my neck, I can afford protection to nobody here, much less to myself."

Surely, the man, who acting in a subordinate capacity, adventures to produce such a condition of things as is

here exposed, must possess no ordinary share of ungovernable violence, and contempt for public opinion. In the latter he was well sustained. Various attempts were made in Congress, in the session of 1821, 1822, to bring up this subject for discussion and investigation, but it was smothered. Gen. Jackson was a favorite with the cabinet. At least he was so far a favorite with the President, that Mr. Adams was required to exert his high talents in vindicating all his enormities. As Secretary of State, this was a duty which Mr. Adams could not decline, and it is now urged against him, that he approved all that he thus vindicated. It is indeed doubtful, whether any thing but the efforts of Mr. Adams, saved Gen. Jackson from being overwhelmed by public detestation. Gen. Jackson rewards him by atttempts to blast his character, and destroy his standing with the people!

There is another and a more recent act of Gen. Jackson's, so unwarantable and so unjust, that it is entitled to a place in this review. In 1824, whilst a Senator in Congress, Gen. Jackson was induced to intermeddle in the appointment of Post Master, at New-Orleans Col. Croghan, and others were candidates, amongst them FULWAR SKIPWITH, Esq., a soldier of the revolution, and a man of well established character. In a letter to the Post Master General, dated Washington, March 22d, 1824, Gen. Jackson made an attack upon the character of Mr. Skipwith, in the following manner:

"It has been stated to me that Mr. Fulwar Skipwith is an applicant for that office. If so, I feel it a duty to make known his conduct during the assault on New-Orleans by the British army in the late war.

Mr. Skipwith was Speaker of the Senate, had been in the confidence of Government, and, in consequence thereof, received mine. From his situation I expected much aid from him: you may imagine my surprise when I tell you, that instead of being with those who were in defence of the country, in the then trying crisis, he was found with those who were engaged in paralysing my defence. He would neither prorogue the Assembly nor adjourn it to Baton Rogue, and when the minority abandoned the Assembly, and tendered their services as volunteers, at my line of defence, Mr. Skipwith remained with those who were charged with the design to deliver the city to, and make terms with the enemy. One part of his conduct it is necessary to detail. When I left the city and marched against the enemy, on the night of the 23d of December, 1814, I was obliged to leave one of my Aids in command, having no other confidential officer that could be spared from command. A few days after, Mr. Skipwith in person, applied to my Aid to be informed what would be my conduct if driven from my lines of defence, and compelled to retreat through New-Orleans—whether I would leave the supplies for the enemy or destroy them? As reported by my Aid to me, he wanted this information for the assembly, that in case my intention was to destroy them, they might make *terms* with the enemy. Obtaining no satisfaction from my Aid, a Committee of three waited upon me for satisfaction on this subject. To them I replied "if I thought the hair of my head knew my thoughts, I would cut it off & burn it"—To return to their Honorable Body and say to them from me, that if I was to be so unfortunate as to be driven from the lines I then occupied, and compelled to retreat through New-Orleans, they would have a warm session of it. This ended my interference with the Assembly until the evening of the 8th of January, when Mr. Skipwith rode down to congratulate me on the event. From the foregoing you can judge how much he merits the bounty of his Government, to the exclusion of those who have real claims for important services rendered."

Gen Jackson well knew that the charges here made against Mr. Skipwith were unjust. A full investigation of the whole matter took place at New-Orleans, at the very moment the charge was made. A committee of the Legislature examined into it, traced it to its source, and demonstrated that it had originated partly in malice, partly in misapprehension, and partly in precipitancy. I do not speak of the specific charge against Mr. Skipwith, but of the general one including the whole legislature. Of that against Mr. Skipwith no proof was ever adduced, and he has repelled it by a strong and indignant denial.

The complaint that Mr. Skipwith would not adjourn or prorogue the Legislature, is evidence how exceedingly ignorant Gen. Jackson is of the civil institutions of the country. No power to prorogue or adjourn the Legislature is vested in the Speaker of either branch, in Louisiana or any other state.

The interference of Gen. Jackson, a Senator in Congress from Tennessee, and a candidate for President, in the appointment of Post Master at New-Orleans, in Louisiana, manifested none of that delicate forbearance, which ought to mark the conduct of a great man. An unfounded attack upon the

private reputation of a candidate for the office, whom he did not favor, evinced a disregard of propriety and violence of enmity which ought to discredit any man. Gen. Jackson, in his extraordinary letter, written last July to Mr. Owens, observes correctly:

"As a public or private man, speaking of transactions which concern the reputation and character of others, *every manly feeling* should remind him that he ought to be guided *by established facts*, not by the *hearsay of a party*."

How widely he departed from this rule, in the case of Mr. Skipwith, every reader can perceive at a glance.

This covert attack upon the character of Mr. Skipwith, shows conclusively how inveterate and enduring are the enmities of Gen. Jackson. He had denounced the Legislature of Louisiana, in 1815, without sufficient ground for doing so. The members repelled his charges, and gave to the General explicit evidence that they were not afraid to express their resentment of the injury. A spirit of rancour was thus excited in the bosom of the General towards the members. He wreaked his vengeance, in part, on Louaillier, but it still rankled in his mind, and, at the distance of nine years, he again poured it out upon Mr. Skipwith, in all the distortions of disingenuous misrepresentation, if not of direct falsehood. Were General Jackson as much slandered now, as his supporters allege, it would be but a visitation upon him, of his own injustice to others.

When a dispassionate view is taken of the instances of outrage and violence I have enumerated, it seems to me, impossible that any reflecting man, can believe, that the perpetrator ought to be trusted with the executive power of the nation. In most instances, the attack has been made upon Gen. Jackson's equals, and co-ordinate functionaries of the Government. The injustice complained of in all the cases, was, that the party had presumed to censure some public act of the General.

General Scott had but publicly declared his disapprobation of an order issued by Gen. Jackson, which elicited very general condemnation. He firmly and frankly, but decently and respectfully, repeated his opinions to Gen. Jackson. For this he is degraded with imputations of the coarsest and most odious character, and is tauntingly defied to mortal combat.

Gen. Adair questions the correctness of charges urged by Gen. Jackson against the Kentucky Militia. He is catechised for his "*impudence and falsehood*," in terms, only proper from a master to his slave.

Mr. Eppes in the discharge of his duty as a Senator, censures in respectful and moderate terms, some very extraordinary transactions on the part of Gen. Jackson, and he is made the subject of degrading epithets, and of violent threats, nay, even personal injury is meditated against him.

Judge Fromentin, in the exercise of his judicial functions, issued a writ against Gen. Jackson. He is called before him, *lectured* and discharged, and subsequently villified, in a strain of the most disgusting billingsgate.

Mr. Skipwith had not submitted to the imputations, that he, with other members of the Legislature, had entertained traiterous intentions and contemplated acting upon them. But he had joined with his brother members to repel them, and to expose the outrages committed by Gen. Jackson, in closing the doors of the Legislature by military force.

In none of these cases, is any allowance made for difference of opinion, or any thing conceded on the ground of equal right To differ from Gen. Jackson, in respect to any of his public acts, and express that difference, or act upon it, is to be criminal and merit punishment. And where Gen. Jackson can do nothing more, he gives vent to his violence in impotent, vulgar, and malicious reproaches, Whether this proceeds from infirmity of temper, or perverseness of heart, is matter of little importance. It is fraught with equal mischief to the party, and threatens equal danger to the country, should the aggressor be promoted to high office.

There can be no security that Gen. Jackson may not indulge in the same outrages, against all who might dare to thwart his opinions, in any matter of public policy. The bad effect such a temper might produce, upon our for-

cign relations, is incalculable. The mischief it would most probably diffuse into our domestic affairs, cannot be imagined, much less enumerated. It is idle to talk of wise counsellors, and more calm reflections. These, never yet controuled a man in high authority, where they failed to controul him in lower stations. Supreme rule inflates, rather than moderates an infirm mind. It is more likely to increase irritability than patience. Neither is it the natural tendency of supreme rule to subdue irrascibility, and induce respect and deference for the opinions of others. Its tendencies are directly contrary. Moderate men are apt to become impatient and testy, when clothed with power: the violence of the violent never fails to increase. The evidence we have before us, of the conduct of Gen. Jackson, towards the public men, with whom he has been brought into collision, ought to convince us, that it would be unwise and unsafe to elect him President. He is not master of himself, how then can he be qualified to rule advantageously over others?

FROM THE CINCINNATI GAZETTE.

JOHN WOOD.

Another attempt has been made to gloss over the enormity of this execution. Col. Joel Parrish, who has already figured as a witness in the case, a volunteer witness too, and who was one of the Court that passed the sentence, has made a second publication. It is of such a character as to leave no doubt of the true nature of the transaction. The case is thus stated by Parish:—

"John Wood having been once pardoned for the crime of mutiny and desertion, was found guilty on the 11th of March, 1814, of the charges "of disobedience of orders, disrespect of his commanding officer, and mutiny," by a Court consisting of five officers, citizens of the same state, and members of the same corps to which he belonged. These officers, as the record of the proceedings show, were

Capt. Thos. Gray, President.
Capt. Joel Parrish,
Capt. Nathan Davis,
Lieut. Wm. King,
Ensign Micah Holt,—
Members of the Court.
Wm. R Hess, Judge Advocate.

"It was proved by the testimony of his fellow soldiers, and by that of two officers, that he had positively refused to obey an order from his adjutant in the most disrespectful and insubordinate language—that in resistance to an order to arrest him for this disobedience and disrespect, *he had brought his gun to a shooting position, and threatened to kill any man who attempted to take his gun or lay hands on him.*"

It is well known that in trials, by a Court Martial, the testimony is all reduced to writing, and recorded. Although Parrish copied from this record, he has not given either the charges or the testimony. He has, in this, followed the example of Eaton, and the General's other apologists. They are all afraid to trust the public with the facts proven against Wood. They prefer to rely upon their own general assertions. This conduct ought to satisfy every candid man that they know the truth cannot bear the light.

Col. Parrish gives us a copy of the General Order, issued by Gen. Jackson on the day of execution, addressed to John Wood, as containing a fair exposition of his case. We insert it, that our readers may judge for themselves. The General's advocates have been careful to publish only one side of this question. We have preferred to give both. It is the best possible evidence of the desperation of a cause, when its supporters are afraid to present it fully and fairly to the people.

"GENERAL ORDER.

"John Wood:—You have been tried by a Court Martial, on the charges of disobedience of orders, disrespect to your commanding officer, and mutiny; and have been found guilty of all of them. The Court which has found you guilty of these charges, has sentenced you to suffer death, by shooting; and this sentence the Commanding General has thought proper, and even felt himself bound, to approve, and to order it to be executed.

"The offences of which you have been found guilty, are such as cannot be permitted to pass unpunished in an army, but at the hazard of its ruin. This is the second time you have violated the duty of a soldier—the second time you have been guilty of offences, the punishment of which is death.

"When you had been regularly mustered into the service of your country, and were marched to Head Quarters, under the immediate command of Brigadier General Roberts, you were one of those, who, in violation of your engagement—of all the principles of honor, and of the order of your commanding General, rose in mutiny and deserted. You were arrested, and brought back; and, notwithstanding the little claim you had to mercy, your General, unwilling to inflict the severity of the law, and influenced by the hope that you would atone, by your future good conduct, for your past error, thought proper to grant you a pardon. This ought to have produced a salutary impression on a mind not totally dead to every honorable sentiment, and not perversely and obstinately bent on spreading disorder and confusion in the army. It, unfortunately, produced no such impression on yours. But a few weeks after you had been brought back, you have been found guilty of offences more criminal than those

for which you had so recently been pardoned, and which, if the law had been rigidly enforced, would have subjected you to death. This evinces, but too manifestly, an incorrigible disposition of heart—a rebellious, an obstinate temper of mind, which, as it cannot be rectified, ought not to be permitted to diffuse its influence amongst others.

"An army cannot exist where order and subordination are wholly disregarded—it cannot exist with much credit to itself, or service to the country which employs it; but where they are observed with the most punctilious exactness. The disobedience of orders and the contempt of officers speedily lead to a state of disorganization and ruin; and mutiny which includes the others, aims still more immediately at the dissolution of an army—of all these offences you have been twice guilty, and have once been pardoned. Your General must forget what he owes to the service he is engaged in, and to the country which employs him, if by pardoning you again, he should furnish an example to sanction measures which would bring ruin on the army he commands. This is an important crisis, in which if we all act as becomes us, every thing is to be hoped for towards the accomplishment of the objects of our government,—if otherwise, every thing is to be feared. How it becomes us to act, we all know, and what our punishment shall be, if we act otherwise, must be known also. The law which points out the one prescribes the other. Between that law, and its offender, the commanding General ought not to be expected to interpose, and *will not* where there are no circumstances of alleviation. There appear to be none such in your case; and however as a man he may deplore your unhappy situation, he cannot, as an officer, without infringing his duty, arrest the sentence of the Court Martial."

ANDREW JACKSON,
Major General

Fort Strother, 14*th March*, 1814.
(Signed) JOEL PARRISH, Jr. Sec'y.

This order furnishes much matter for serious reflection and remark. In the first place, it makes an ungenerous and unjust accusation against Wood. He is charged with a previous offence, the commission of mutiny and desertion. The particulars of this offence are enumerated. They consist of a desertion from head quarters, when under the command of Gen. Roberts. This transaction is narrated by major Eaton. Let the facts as stated by him speak for themselves:

"General Roberts, who had been ordered back to supply the deficiencies in his brigade, returned on the 27th with one hundred and ninety-one men, mustered for three months.—Having halted them a few miles in rear of the camp, he proceeded thither himself, to learn of the commanding general, whether the troops he had brought on would be received for the term they had stipulated, inasmuch as they were unwilling to advance further until this point was settled. Jackson answered, that although he greatly preferred they should be engaged for six months, or during the campaign, yet he had no wish to alter any engagement made with general Roberts, and would gladly receive them for the period they had been mustered; at the expiration of which time he would discharge them.—Notwithstanding this assurance, with which he was instructed to make them fully acquainted, for some unknown cause, they suddenly formed the determination to abandon their engagements and return home, without gaining even a sight of the camp. To the misconduct of their general was it justly to be attributed. By halting them in the neighbourhood, until he could go to head quarters and "make terms" for their acceptance, he had impressed them with the belief that their obligations as yet extended only to himself; from which he promised to absolve them, if the terms he should be able to make, should be less favorable than they expected.—And even after General Jackson had assented to all that was or could be asked in their behalf, and that assent had been reduced to writing, Roberts, either from not understanding what was done, or from a desire to injure the service, hastened back to his men,—informed them that he had been unable to effect an accomplishment of their object—seriously lamented having induced them from their homes, and concluded by gravely remarking, that he freely exonerated them from all the obligations they were under to him. They, just as gravely concluded they would go no further; and, turning about, they commenced their return home. The affair, however, was soon presented very differently to his mind. The careless indifference with which he had at first treated it had subsided; and his fears took the alarm on receiving from general Jackson, an order to parade immediately before the fort the men he had reported to have brought into the field. He came forward, now, to excuse what had happened, and to solicit permission to go in pursuit of the refugees, whom he thought he should be able to bring back.—Overtaking them, at the distance of twenty miles, he endeavored, in a very gentle manner, to sooth their discontents, and prevail on them to return; but having been discharged, and absolved fully from the engagements they had at first entered into, they laughed at the folly of his errand. Unable to effect his object, he remained with them during the night; and in the morning set out for camp, and his new recruits for home. On arriving at head quarters, he ascribed his failure to the practices of certain officers, whom he named, and who, he said, had stirred up a spirit of mutiny and desertion among the men to such a degree, that all his efforts to retain them had proved unavailing. Jackson could not view this incident with the same carelessness and indifference that Roberts did, immediately issued an order, directing him to proceed, forthwith, in pursuit of the deserters, and have them apprehended and brought back. In the execution of this order, he was commanded to call to his aid any troops in the United States' service within the county of Madison, or in the state of Tennessee, and to exert all his power and authority, as a military officer, within his own brigade; and in the event he should not be able to collect a sufficient force to march them safely to head-quarters, to confine them in jails, and make a report thereof, without delay. This order was accompanied with an assurance, that all who should return willingly to their duty, except those officers who had been reported as the instigators, would be pardoned. Many of the men and several of the officers, who had been charged as encouraging the revolt, learning the nature of the proceedings which were about to be enforced against them, return[illegible]

their own accord to camp; and concurred in ascribing their late misconduct entirely to their general. He was afterwards arrested, and upon this and other charges exhibited against him, sentenced by a court-martial to be cashiered."

Now let it be remembered that Wood was but a mere youth, little over eighteen years of age; that in this mutiny and desertion he acted upon the suggestion of Gen. Roberts himself, that he was under no obligation to remain in service, and the world can judge with what fairness he is accused of previous offence, as an apology for putting him to death, upon a charge which it is evident, from the introduction of this accusation, the General himself felt did not deserve that punishment.

When it is remembered that Wood was a mere boy; when it is known that the charges of "*disobedience of orders, disrespect of his commanding officer, and mutiny*," were all acts of sudden impulse, in a controversy with an officer to whom he did not conceive himself responsible, and who, no doubt, behaved badly, or the evidence would be published to show the truth, candid men cannot but wonder that Gen. Jackson should gravely assert "*there were no circumstances of alleviation.*" The circumstances that are so solemnly enumerated in aggravation, present no such character. The whole case is one of trivial consequence. Wood was liable to the letter of the law; but to enforce it was unjust and cruel. I say again, the failure to publish the evidence, is conclusive upon this point. Were it of a character to sustain Gen. Jackson, it would have long since appeared in print.

The testimony adduced by the Tennesseean, that is, the oaths of four witnesses, is thus disposed of:

"The misstatements of Dr. Armstrong's witnesses are too numerous to be noticed and their testimony altogether too vague and unsubstantial to be regarded."

This kind of contradiction is certainly too general to pass for refutation. In just about the same number of words I could dispose of Col Parrish's whole article. It is indeed "too vague and unsubstantial to be regarded."

I cannot close this article without again paying my respects to captain Miller, the famous Greene county witness. The General Order, here published, shows there was some commixture of truth in his story. But it stamps with indelible falsehood its two principal allegations. Miller says:

"John Wood deserted from his post and started for home. On his way he was met by a company of men on their march to join the army. Wood on seeing them, hurried from the path and sought concealment in a cane brake.—He was taken, however, and brought back to camp, where he was tried for desertion, found guilty, and condemned to be shot. For this offence he was pardoned by Gen. Jackson."

Now it is clear from the General Order, that Wood deserted with many others, and was brought back as stated by major Eaton. It is clear that he was never tried, and that the pardon extended to him was a general one to all concerned. So much for this lie.

Miller says again:

"Gen. Jackson offered Wood his pardon a second time, on condition he would serve his country like a true and faithful soldier."—"After many unavailing efforts to persuade Wood to conform to subordination, pointing out to him the consequences resulting to the army from such conduct, and Wood still remaining stubborn and irreclaimable, and swearing the Court Martial dare not execute their sentence, the General turned his horse and rode off."

To this statement the General order gives the lie direct. No pardon of any kind, or upon any condition, was offered to Wood in the General Order. On the contrary, the General determined at once that the sentence should be executed upon him.

I understand that this captain Miller is a man not much esteemed for veracity, in general matters, where he is best known. His certificate was manufactured for him, by some one more an adept with the pen than himself. It has been generally circulated in the Jackson papers. And there is no reason to expect that its falsehood will ever be acknowledged by those who have used it. Yet they who thus manufacture and circulate a notorious lie, have the confidence to talk about truth! Verily these are queer times, and queer instruments are employed for queer purposes. Time was, that to detect a man in a naked lie, or a man or party in fabricating one, would affect their standing, even amongst one another. Now this seems a recommendation. Those who court Gen. Jackson, recommend themselves by some such act, and yet talk gravely about "repugnance at investigating a base act, or being concerned with an infamous man." Col. Parrish, who slanders poor Wood to subserve the cause of Gen. Jackson, who talks about the records of a trial, and the testimony of witnesses which he takes care not to publish, holds this language. The unworthy wretch who procured the false certificate of Miller, no doubt would put on the same pretence. And, in the slang of the party, they are all the friends of virtue, of the people, and of Gen. Jackson! Like a famous band of ancient assassins—"*they are all honorable men*"!

It is stated in some of the Jackson prints, that Gen. Jackson was appointed by Washington, Attorney General of the U. States, or of Tennessee. This was never the case. We have no reason to believe that Washington *ever knew* the "*Hero of two wars.*" It is possible, however, that he might have heard of the *vote* which the General gave, against returning to Washington *the thanks of the nation*.

THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF WAYS AND MEANS.

The manifesto against the American System, brought before Congress by the committee of Ways and Means, under the title of a "report on the state of the Finances," is a document which we believe to be unrivalled in premises destitute of truth, and conclusions entirely unwarranted:—a document insulting to the understanding, and paying little respect to the knowledge, of its readers. Its undisguised object is, to sacrifice the interests of a vast majority of the American people, to the sordid and avaricious designs of an aristocracy, consisting of some of the southern planters, and a small number of the Anglo-American merchants. The latter class does not include those merchants that are *real Americans*, who have a general interest in the prosperity of the country, but it consists of very few besides those who locate themselves here, solely with a view to amass wealth, which they take care to keep in such a state as to be able, at any time, to transfer it to any other country.

This report like most articles of the kind, is so dry in its details, its meaning so involved, and so difficult to be understood by most readers, that it is very seldom, and but by few, examined with such care as to enable them to comprehend exactly to what it tends: and the evil to be apprehended from it, is, that many may look over it cursorily, and to avoid the labour of understanding it, merely glance at some of its sophisms and be led astray by them.

It is so "lengthy and tedious" that on the present occasion we shall not have room to review the whole of it, but shall endeavour to give an idea of its character and tendency, by a notice of so much of it as our limits will admit.

The first feelings excited by this document, are those of humiliation and shame, that men capable of forming such an instrument, should be found among our statesmen and leaders of parties. The stupendous falsehoods adduced as facts, the ridiculous inferences, in many instances, and the outrageous misrepresentations throughout; with the impudent assaults upon men infinitely wiser than themselves, by the members of the committee, are sufficient to characterise this report as of the true Jacksonian school, designed to promote the election of the military chieftain at whatever sacrifice of honor, of interest, or of our liberties, it may involve.

The principal blunders of the committee on this occasion, appear to us to arise from the datum they have assumed, that "the sellers of grain, wool," (i. e. the farmers generally,) "and manufacturers, constitute a minority of the people in every state in the union, and a very small minority in the union at large." An assumption so much the reverse of the fact, & so well known to be so, that the impudence of asserting it is really astounding. The committee could not possibly be ignorant that the sellers of wool, grain, and manufactures, constitute so great a proportion in a majority of the states, as to comprise nearly *all* their inhabitants, and in all, except some of the southern states, they comprise a vast *majority* of the people. And yet the statement, above quoted, is assumed as unquestionable, and the weight of most of their arguments (that have any weight) depends upon its correctness.

The opposers of American industry have devised a number of cant phrases for the purpose of gulling the people, among which, that of "taxing the consumers for the benefit of the manufacturers," seems to be quite a favorite. And it is used in such a way as to convey the idea, that the efforts made and making by the friends of the American System, are for the exclusive benefit of the few manufactories already established. That men of mature age, and ordinary understanding, should be gulled by such cant is extraordinary; but such appears to be the case, and it is requisite to inform many members of the community, that the persons whom those that are laboring to establish the American System propose and expect to benefit, are not a few individuals, but a large majority of the people of the United States; all who chuse to profit in any way, either by establishing factories, or otherwise, by the general prosperity which will flow from

the increased industry of the nation. There are indeed, a few who would derive no benefit from it; men of wealth, whose income is derived from government stocks, and those living on fixed salaries—but this class is small, and it is always more benefitted by the impoverishment, than the increased wealth of the community. For in the former case, their incomes, which are always the same, will command more of the fruits of the labours of others, in proportion as that labour is discouraged; and it appears that the sympathies of the committee are chiefly excited for this class of men, while the farmers, the manufacturers, in short all who live by their own industry, are to be treated "as a very small minority" and not worthy of any of the care of our Legislators. They are, however, the men who are to be benefited by the American system, and they are the same men who are to be taxed for that benefit, in the same way that a farmer taxes himself to clear and improve his farm, and to make roads to enable him to transport his produce to market.

"It may," say the committee, (p. 11) "be asserted, indeed without any qualification, that duties upon foreign merchandize can afford protection to the rival productions of domestic industry only by prohibition, &c." Now that this assertion, unqualified as it is, is untrue, may be seen by the following quotation, from page 32 of the report. "We exported in 1826, domestic cotton manufactures to the amount of $1,138,125, and re-exported British manufactures *of the same kind*, to the amount of $2,226,090." The object of the friends of the American System, is not to exclude, entirely, foreign fabrics, but *to prevent them from excluding our own manufactures from our own markets;* this has been done in regard to our cottons. Our manufacturers of this article have been protected, and at the same time we import large quantities of cotton goods, both for consumption and exportation; thereby, proving clearly, that domestic manufactures may be protected by duties on foreign merchandize, without prohibition.

How it can possibly "seem to the committee that the wealth of a nation is diminished precisely in proportion as the prices of clothing and food are increased by the artificial means of legislation." (p. 15) would be to us very astonishing, if we could be astonished at any assertion of such a committee. That an increased price of the produce of our farmers, who constitute nine-tenths of our citizens, should make the country poorer, is to us in Ohio, an entirely novel doctrine, and we doubt whether it can be comprehended by any but our Jacksonian members of Congress. The witticism which concludes the paragraph containing this profound doctrine of political economy is worthy of the authors of those published a few years since, upon Cologne water, lutestring dresses and decoctions of oak bark, for the use of duellists.

The author of the report, proceeds to speak of increasing "the difficulty of obtaining bread," with as much self complacency as if he had been previously stating facts, and drawing correct inferences. It appears very strange, that any man should be ignorant that the evils under which the country labors, do not arise from the difficulty of *obtaining* bread, wool, &c., but from the difficulty of getting any thing *for* those articles.

In this city during the past year, some hundreds* of sheep have been slaughtered, and their flesh thrown away, the skins and tallow constituting all their value. In such a state of things, to be apprehensive of the danger of raising the price of bread and wool, is too absurd for a serious reply.

"The committee regard it as a clear proposition, that the wealth of a nation cannot be increased by enhancing the price of any of its productions, except the great staples of exportation." This proposition is indeed, about as "clear" as most of those advanced by the committee, with such perfect confidence and apparent admiration of their own sagacity. It is one of the most universally known and established facts, among

* The writer has been informed, that the whole number is about 4,000; he has not, however, been able to ascertain the precise quantity

all classes, learned, or ignorant, that the causes which increase the prices of our products, whether at home or abroad, in periods when such products are ubundant, are those which increase the wealth of the country;* and as no power exists in our country to raise prices arbitrarily, we all, even the most ignorant, know and feel that when prices rise,—in the common mode of parlance "times are getting better; and whether that rise is occasioned by a demand for the manufacturing towns in New England, or for any other country, the effect is the same. Those who have lived in Cincinnati from 1819, to the present time, have had an opportunity to observe the effect of manufacturing industry upon society, which, although upon a small scale, is calculated to give as correct ideas upon the subject, as perhaps any course of experience whatever The idea advanced with so much confidence, and maintained with such pertinacity throughout this report, and upon which so large a proportion of its deductions are based, viz: that we can have no increase of wealth, except what we obtain from foreign commerce, may, perhaps, not be too monstrous and ridiculous for some parts of the southern states;—we have some ignorant men among our farmers, but not one so extremely low in point of intellect, as that we should venture to tell him, that he could not increase his wealth by clearing and improving his land, building fences and barns, by the labours of himself and his sons, and having his clothing made by his wife and daughters, from his own wool and flax; and yet if we were to treat any individual so much like a simpleton, as to tell him this seriously, and expect him to believe it, we should only be saying to him individually, what the committee have said generally, to the people of the United States.

"But it is obvious," (says the report) "that the scheme of the Secretary of the Treasury proposes to enhance the price of manufactures, of grain, and of raw wool in our markets only." Now this is so far from being obvious that with respect to the principal point it is the reverse of the fact. The Secretary proposes to increase the price of our provisions abroad as well as at home, and every one who possesses sufficient capacity to perceive that a given quantity of produce divided between two markets, is not so likely to glut either, as crowding the whole into one would be to glut that one, will understand his proposition very differently from the committee. The profound supposition, which follows in the next paragraph, is worthy the rest of the report, and it betrays a perfect contempt for the understandings of the people, to suppose that they can possibly imagine it to have any bearing on the case.

"The just criterion" say the committee, "of the wealth of a nation, is the facility with which its citizens can obtain the necessaries and comforts of life." This is one of the few truths we meet with in this report, but it is followed by a remark, made no doubt with great self complacency and admiration of the writers own wit, "and the committee have yet to learn, that an enhancement of the price of those articles will increase the facility of obtaining them." The committee have a great deal to learn besides this, before they become competent to teach others, and we recommend them to abate some of their flippancy and dogmatism until their learning is somewhat increased. Now in this community every one knows, that it is much easier for even the poorest individual to obtain the necessaries and comforts of life, at the present time, than in 1820, when flour was at $1 50 per bbl. and and other articles of food in like proportion; and they know as well that the causes which have raised the price of our products, are the same that enable them to obtain them with more facility.

To the supposition that "the government had the power to promulgate and

*There is an anecdote very frequently repeated here by the labouring class, illustrating the correctness of their ideas on this subject. It is of an Irishman, who, upon his first landing in America, was enquiring the prices of different articles of provisions, and exclaiming against their enormity--"What!" says he, "half a dollar for that quantity of potatoes, why in Ireland I could get them for sixpence,"—"Why then," he was answered, "did you not stay in Ireland, where you could live so cheap"—"Because I could not get the sixpence there, and I can get the half dollar here."

enforce a decree raising the price of grain from one to two dollars a bushel," we reiterate, that it is not *food* that our country wants, but the means of making our surplus food procure us the other necessaries and comforts of life.

The statement that follows, viz: "that capital has always controuled this branch of legislation," is as false in premises and conclusions, as most of the others contained in this precious document. The fact is, that capital does not, and has not controuled this or any other branch of *our* legislation: if it had done so, we should have had no embargo, no non-intercourse, no war. But as the committee are proposing a mode of legislation for the benefit of the British nation, perhaps they forget themselves here, for a moment, so far as to imagine that they were in Great Britain, and speaking of that country and government. That they are proposing precisely such measures as would be dictated by Great Britain, had she the power to dictate to the committee, and the knowledge that they were such trembling, fawning slaves, that none of her dictations would be opposed, is clearly manifest from the tendency of the whole report.

The committee say, "it strikes them as being a paradox almost too extravagant for grave consideration, to say that we shall increase the capacity of the people to purchase luxuries by compelling them to pay a higher price for the two cardinal necessaries of life." The reason of the committee's being so puzzled with this astounding paradox, is the fundamental error with which they commenced, and on which they reason throughout, viz: that of supposing the American people to consist of the importers of British goods, in New-York and Boston, some of the South Carolina and Georgia planters, and a few dandies to whom lutestring and Cologne water are the most important comforts of life; and the farmers and manufacturers instead of being the American people, a small body of men against whose cupidity it is necessary to be constantly on our guard.

The committee next proceed to their arguments in favour of our returning again to a state of vassalage to Great Britain: and in this they display an audacity of impudence which scarcely any British politician would dare to assume, and which is worthy of such men as in their anxiety to be thought duellists, once insulted the public by several publications of their own shameful and ridiculous conduct, until they became a bye-word and a proverb, a laughing stock and theme of satire throughout the United States. The amount of their argument (for it is too tedious and disgusting to be quoted) is, that if we exclude British manufactures, they will refuse to purchase our cotton and tobacco. In their reasoning on this subject, they display (or suppose in their readers perhaps,) an ignorance of the policy of Great Britain, of the causes of the present state of things, and of the natural course of trade, that is truly contemptible; and what is worse, they manifest a slavish, truckling disposition which it would be flattery to call contemptible. The committee say, "it is equally true that the reason why it is her (Great Britain's) interest to purchase from us, and why she takes from us double the quantity she takes from the whole world besides, is because we have hitherto been her best customers. As long as we continue to take her manufactures, it will be her interest to take raw cotton from us, but no longer." Now every one who knows any thing about trade, knows, that Great Britain does not take our cotton either because we are her best customers, or for any other reason but the plain, obvious and simple one, that she cannot get it as cheap from any other source. The purchasers of cotton in Great Britain never think or care whether it comes from their "best customers" or their worst enemies, and would as soon purchase it from the one as the other. And as to the British government, they have always made it a rule to prohibit every thing which they themselves, or their colonies could furnish, without stopping in the least to enquire how their measures would affect their best customers. So far have they been from showing us any particular favor and taking our cotton to the

exclusion of that of other nations, that they *have done* what the committee are so fearful they *may do*,—endeavored to raise up rivalry to us in this article in South America, in Egypt, in the East Indies, and in the Mediterranean Isles. Indeed, for our statesmen to pretend that Great Britain has ever favored us in any thing, when her own interest did not compel her to do so, is to calculate entirely too largely on the weakness and ignorance of the American People. Where the jealousy of American rivalry exists to such a degree as to pervade all classes—to exhibit itself in every thing, from the most important governmental regulations down to the reception of a player, it is really too mortifying to have the fear of losing British patronage brought forward to sanction a most suicidal course of legislation. It is certainly as much for the interest of our citizens that Great Britain should take our bread stuffs as our cotton, and yet when has the consideration of our being her "best customer" influenced her in this respect, in the smallest degree. But it is too absurd to talk of favors done us by Great Britain in taking our cotton or any thing else.*

The limits of this article do not allow us to go further with the report at this time and we propose returning to it hereafter,—but we cannot dismiss it without noticing the monstrous assumption, "that very nearly as many persons are employed directly and indirectly in the importation of a given quantity of cotton and woollen manufactures as are employed in the fabrication." It certainly employs a greater number of persons to transport goods across the mountains from the Atlantic cities to this place than to import them from Europe, yet we doubt whether the most hardy Jacksonians among us would venture the assertion that it gives employment to a greater number of persons to bring our merchandize across the mountains than to manufacture it ourselves.

There is perhaps no place in the United States, better situated to illustrate the advantages both of commerce and manufactures than Cincinnati, and we see here that they mutually benefit each other and the agricultural interest also. In every country where neither commerce or manufactures are in a flourishing state, agriculture languishes; where commerce alone flourishes, it is sometimes prosperous and sometimes otherwise; but where manufactures flourish, it is always prosperous and must necessarily be so whatever be the prices of the different articles of trade. For at whatever prices they may be fixed, the real practical result is an exchange of one kind of labor for another, and wherever people are free to choose their employments the value of the different kinds of labor will find its level as naturally as water. In our city every new manufactory gives employment to an additional number of families—these families require an additional quantity of provisions, which enables an additional number of farmers to cultivate an additional quantity of land, and all these require an additional quantity of goods from the merchant, and various fabrics from the mechanic. There is also the raw material to be furnished by the intervention of the merchant in one way or other, and a portion of the manufactured article is distributed by him to various parts of the country. Our peculiar misfortunes have enabled every one among us to observe this course of things more plainly, than usually occurs to any community. When every thing was paralyzed by the destruction of trade, &c. the pressure of poverty was universal and so heavy that every step by which it was alleviated was seen and felt by all. It was perceived that every manufacturing establishment,—every effort that gave employment to industry,—contributed to restore to us life and animation; and as soon as labour became in demand,

* With respect to our cotton, all the Legislation that can be devised will not alter its course. We possess such an extent of territory favorable for its cultivation, and so much enterprise which has been called forth by its profitableness, that its culture would (from the character of our people) be increased until all the markets of the world were glutted, if we had the monopoly of them all,—the business then becoming unprofitable, the planters would turn their attention to something else.

prosperity returned, and the most ignorant of all our citizens became better versed in the principles of political economy than the Committee of Ways and Means, of the Congress of the United States.

Further Extracts from the Drama of the

HERO OF TWO WARS.

ACT II.—SCENE 2nd.

THE HERO'S STUDY IN THE HERMITAGE.

[*Hero much Agitated holding Truth's Adjuration in his hand*]

Hero. Although our faults may sleep from year to year,
Perchance unheard of, yet they'r chronicled
Deep in the memory, from which they burst
Like the volcanic flame long smothered in
The womb of earth, and blast our blooming hopes.
This book announces to the gaping world,
Offences I had vainly hoped forgotten;
And like the blood hound tracks my winding steps,
Through the wild mazes of illicit love,
And scenes of violence in riper age;
Nor pauses there, but still pursues me down
The vale of years, and stamps with verity,
What loud-tongued rumour had proclaimed before.
I am depicted as a man of blood,
Devoid of temperate and cool discretion;
As if the dog-star's fiery pestilence
Poisoned my birth, and centered in my breast,
The vile compound of ev'ry vengeful passion
That renders man ferocious.—And wherefore?
Because I dar'd to execute the laws
Of savage life, on savage man; because
I dared exterminate their skulking band.
Oh had I but the power strong as my will,
I'd lash the rascals naked through the world"
Who dare expose me thus. Succeed or not,
They yet shall feel the weight of my revenge:
And circumspect Buchanan too shall feel
At least, the chilling frown of my contempt.
Had he but played his part as I designed,
Nor paused at coward conscience as he did,
I'd been secure of my great enterprise.
Let moralizing fools say what they will,
None are for me who boggle at a lie.
"I've set my life upon the cast," nay more,
My martial fame is blasted if I fail.
Were all my officers like General Duff,
We'd gull the simple and confound the wise.—
Press fraud and circumvention in our cause,—
Poison the public ear 'gainst those in office,—
And in the sequel push them from their seats.
(*The clock strikes.*) 'Tis midnight, weary nature chilled with age,
Invites me to repose, where for a while
I may forget the bustling world.

[*Hero throws himself upon a couch, music heard at a distance, becomes more distinct until the following words are heard sung by many voices*]

"When midnight o'er the moonless skies,
Her pall of transient death hath spread,
When mortals sleep, and spectres rise,
And none are wakeful but the dead,"
Then horror brings in dread review,
From lonely mansions of the grave,
The sheeted forms of those he knew,
Whose lives he might, but would not save.

Let hissing snakes and wild dogs howl,
Their direst music on his ear,
Commingled with the boding owl,
And wring his slumbering soul with fear;
Alecto, with thy snaky hair,
And torch, and whip, torment his dreams,
And damned spirits of despair,
Awake him with demoniac screams.

[*The music ceases. Ghosts enter and stand around the sleeping Hero's couch.*]

Ghost 1st. The memory of Woods disturb thy dreams,
Think of my tender years by thee cut short,
And tremble at thy crimes.

Ghost 2nd. The flaming sword
Of retribution flash upon thy mind,
Then think of Lewis, whose frail thread of life,
Thou didst in wanton cruelty cut off.

Ghost 3d. The blood of Linsey rest upon thy head.

Ghost 4th. Waking or sleeping, let the shade of Hunt
Flit through thy mind and call the Homicide!

Ghost 5th. Look if thou darest upon departed Webb.

Ghost 6th. When death shall lay his icy hand on thee,
Then think of Morrows's fate, "despair and die."

Ghost 7th. It is no marvel that thy sleep is restless;
A fearful incubus of gloom and horror,
Broods o'er thy sense and banishes repose.
Know'st thou the shade of Harris? Ah! that start
Proclaims that conscience still performs her office.
Yet I in vain invoked thy clemency,
In vain my wretched wife, and helpless babes:
My age, misfortunes, and my sacred calling;
My honesty of purpose, my repentance
For errors which were stigmatized as crimes,
Were urged as pleas for pardon and forgiveness
My frail and wasted tenement of clay
Was sacrificed, the victim of thy power.
Nay more; in after times, to excuse the deed,
Reproaches foul, by thee, were cast upon me,
Reckless of truth, dishonouring my name.
But I reproach thee not,—rather forgive
The wrongs thou'st done me, than requite with wrong;
Rather would point thee to the sacred font,
Where all thy bloody deeds may be washed out
That blood, which to absolve a guilty world,
Poured out for man, by man's unjust decree,
Alone can wash thy blood-stained sins away.
This warning is a heavenly visitant.
Oh, pass it not unheeded by! It comes
To chasten, not inflame thy desperate spirit.
(*The Ghosts vanish. Hero starts from his couch.*)

Hero. Spare! oh, spare!—Soft!—I did but dream.
Great God! what mean these nightly visitants
That haunt my dreams, and with their "trumpet tongues"
Proclaim me homicide! One there was, me thought,
The shade of Harris, that did counsel me
To penitence. Methinks I see him yet,
Standing before me, robed in spotless white,
With one hand pointing to th' Eternal Throne,
And with the other down, to—yawning hell.

O Conscience,—Conscience!—how thy maddening sting
Pierces my heart. Remorse still follows me;
Or sleeping, or awake, still haunts my soul.
Vaunting ambition goads me up the steep
Of worldly fame, while conscience whispers me,
Beware!—The dangerous height thou canst not climb. (*Enter Toady.*)

Toady. What, Chieftain! —

Hero. Whose there!—(*starting.*)

Toady. Know you not your friend,
And counsellor! Historian!—orator!—
And pedagogue!—but must start affrighted
As I approach you! Why this early watching!

Hero. Dreams,—horrid dreams! have wrung the soul of Hero.—
What think you!—that my friends are falling off!

Toady. No, mighty chieftain,—no! Your friends are firm
As ocean rocks, round which the surge may dash
And foam, but cannot shake their deep foundations.

Hero. Yet I fear—yes, I fear—foreboding dreams —

Toady. Bah! chieftain. What! does Hero fear! Do dreams —

Hero. By the immaculate!—Dreams last night have struck
More awful terror to the soul of Hero
Than could the belching roar of the volcano,
Though earth should gape to swallow up my foes
And sink me with them in the general ruin.
Oft have I braved the rugged front of war,
When, if I 'd thought a hair upon my head
Was touched with fear, I 'd plucked it out.—Yet now,
Each fibre of my frame has ta'en th' alarm,
And shakes with terror.

Toady. Hero, thou art unwise
To let thy vagrant dreams distress thee thus.

Hero. Methought pale spectres stood around my couch,
Foreboding my defeat, and threatening vengeance!

Toady. I tell thee once again, thy friends are firm.
The minions of thy foe as well might change
The orbit of the moon, or, with their breath,
Blow out the burning sun, as shake the firm
Resolves thy friends have made. Or right, or wrong.
They will not alter now. Or true, or false,
Nothing believe, thy foes can say; yet all,
However false, thy leading friends promulgate.

Hero Had he, the Northern Hercules but lived,
On whose strong arm I rested for support,
My cause had prospered. But, alas! his friends
Are now with mine no more identified.
There 's not a soul of them cares aught for Hero,
But forwarded my cause to forward his.
Now, that they can no longer serve their chief,
They 'll leave me to my fate. Oh, desperation!

Toady. Great Chieftain! well thou know'st the love I bear thee,
And will forgive what honesty compels
That I should say to you. 'Tis downright madness.
Thy dreams have touched the soundness of thy reason.
Go court repose. Thy eye looks wild, and glares
As if upon the spectres of the night.
I 'll to the the post house; whence I 'll bring such news
As shall again restore thee to thyself.

GEN. JACKSON'S
LAND SPECULATIONS.

One principal object of this work, is to collect and embody authentic facts, with respect to the character and conduct of Gen. Jackson. The dissemination of these through the country, may enable the people to decide for themselves, what is the real character of the man. It is in his private relations, in his dealings and intercourse with his fellow men, that a man usually developes the true bias of his mind. And it is by these, that every honest man always wishes to be judged. He who shrinks from this test of integrity, subjects himself to suspicion.

Major Eaton, in his eulogy on Gen. Jackson, informs us, that he squandered rather wildly, his little paternal estate. He emigrated to Tennessee, as an adventurer. He is now rich. If his wealth has been fairly acquired, it does him credit. But if chicanery and fraud have been the instruments of its accumulation, his wealth dishonors him. He has been accused of more than one effort to obtain property by indirect means. We gave some important facts on this head, in the second number of the Expositor, which related to the pretended Creek donation. We now present to our readers, the history of another speculation. It is copied from the Kentucky Reporter, and was furnished for publication, by Dr. Armstrong of Tennessee, whose character has been assailed by the supporters of Gen. Jackson, but with very little success. His detail of facts, is supported by authentic documents. It will be seen, that Gen. Jackson was an agent for collecting a large sum of money, secured by mortgage upon lands. That he became interested in the purchase and sale of the mortgaged premises, and upon application, asserted the title to be good. Afterwards, he engaged in a speculation to purchase a better title than the one he had assisted in selling under the mortgage, and commenced a suit to recover the lands from those who purchased them under the mortgage; and, in part, at least, upon the faith of his verbal assurance that the title was good. This speculation he gave up, upon receiving the sum of 10,000 dollars! It seems very improbable, that Jackson could have recovered these lands, in equity. My opinion would be, upon the case here presented, that he could not have recovered them. But he sold out for 10,000 dollars, which is certainly a pretty penny for giving up a very desperate claim It is hoped the reader will peruse attentively, the narrative and documents that follow:

EDITOR KENTUCKY REPORTER.

Sir—As I was neither brought up nor educated in General Jackson's school

of vulgarity, the publick need not expect me to use the language common to his pupils and retainers. My object is to give information to the community, touching the character, history and moral fitness of an individual, who asks nothing less at their hands, than the highest office within their gift. I will therefore neither turn to the right hand, nor to the left, to bandy epithets with any of his *bravos*;—nevertheless I will cheerfully answer them, when I think they act under the instruction and influence of the General in denying matters of fact heretofore stated by me. I cannot even permit myself to animadvert on the *rare* production of a "Mr. John G. Anderson of Nashville," republished in the "Whig and Banner" of the 11th inst. but will take for granted that he has authority from General Jackson to pronounce the facts stated in the 2d number of the "Tennessean" *false*, relative to the Duck River land speculation. I rely more especially on this contradiction as being authorised by the General, because I understand Mr. Anderson is the step-son of the sister-in-law of General Jackson, and a frequent inmate at the Hermitage; and because he asserts that he knows the narrative of facts therein stated to be "false" of his own knowledge. This being the case I will now introduce some documentary evidence in support of my former allegations. The pleadings are made up, and issue joined—now for the proof.

I wish the public to bear in mind the *text*, from which the inference has been drawn, that General Jackson has been guilty of "fraud and corruption" in relation to this land speculation—to wit: That he was employed as agent and counsel, to foreclose a Mortgage, and secure a title to certain lands therein named, unless the money was paid.—That after doing, and having the business done, and receiving a very large fee, and after frequently counselling and telling others that the title was good—he found out, or supposed that he had discovered (or perhaps knew it from the first) that the court had not jurisdiction of the case;—and that then he took advantage of this, his *own act*, and bought up another claim, founded on the same grants to this very land—and endeavored to convert the whole of it to his own use, and his associates. And let it be distinctly understood, that if General Jackson had done the business correctly in the first instance, in the foreclosure of the Mortgage, there never would have been any foundation for this second claim pretended to be bought from the heirs of David Allison; and if so, will it not be manifest that General Jackson took advantage of his own wrong, to ruin those who had placed confidence in him?

That David Allison, before the year 1800, gave a Mortgage Deed, to Norton Pryor for 85,000 acres of land on Duck River, to secure the payment of $21,800, with interest, will not be denied; therefore the first document to which I shall refer is the articles of agreement entered into, between Norton Pryor of Philadelphia and Joseph Anderson of Tennessee, bearing date the 9th May, 1800, and witnessed by W. C. C. Claiborne and William Maxsey. This instrument gives Joseph Anderson power, as attorney, "to file a a bill in Chancery for the purpose of foreclosing the equity of redemption, in and upon the said Mortgage." "It is therefore hereby agreed by and between the said parties, that in case the land so mortgaged as aforesaid, shall by virtue of a decree in chancery, be exposed to sale, that then and in that case, the said Anderson shall purchase the said land for the use and benefit of the said Norton Pryor, and said Joseph Anderson and their heirs." There are other considerations in the agreement which I need not mention.

On the 2d day of October, in the year 1800, General Jackson and Joseph Anderson entered into an agreement relative to this same mortgage and lands—from which the following is an extract—"whereas Joseph Anderson hath made a special agreement with Norton Pryor of the city of Philadelphia, to cause to be foreclosed the equity of redemption upon a mortgage which the said Norton Pryor has upon sundry tracts of land, which were the property of David Allison, amounting to eighty five thousand acres, lying upon Duck River in the state of Ten-

nessee." "Now this article witnesseth, that the said Joseph Anderson doth agree to let the said Andrew Jackson have the one fourth part of the said one half of the eighty five thousand acres, upon the terms and conditions, which the said Joseph Anderson is to have it from the said Norton Pryor." Upon the same day General Jackson received sundry title papers from Joseph Anderson, and gave his receipt therefor, of which the following is the closing sentence—"which I acknowledge to have received for the purpose of placing *into* the hands of *Council* to have a *Mortgage* foreclosed given to Norton Pryor by David Allison on the above mentioned land which I promise to do, or cause to be done.

(Signed) ANDREW JACKSON.

Agreeably to the foregoing agreement, and promise, the bill in equity was filed, and proceedings regularly had thereon between

Norton Pryor, *Complainant,*

vs.

John Allison, Will. Allison, Alexander Allison, Peggy Allison, Sally Allison, Isbell Allison, and Jane Allison, heirs and devisees of David Allison, dec'd. } In Equity Decree. *Defendants.*

The decree was entered up by "Harry Innes and John M'Nairy, Esqrs., two of the Judges of the Court of United States for the District of West Tennessee, at October term, being the 21st day of October, 1801." In which decree it is set forth, that "in consideration of the Mortgage Deed and Note herewith filed, it is decreed and ordered that unless the said Defendants do on or before the 23th January next, pay unto the Complainant the sum of twenty-one thousand eight hundred dols. with interest," &c. "the said Defendants and their heirs and all other persons claiming by, from or under them, shall be thenceforth barred and foreclosed, of and from all right of Equity of redemption." The decree then specifically mentions seventeen grants of 5000 acres each, in all 85000 acres—and then goes on to direct the marshal, that in case of failure in the Defendants to pay the debt, interest and cost, "after giving sixty days previous notice thereof in the Tennessee Gazette, to make sale of the before mentioned tract or tracts of land, containing in the whole 85,000 acres, in the town of Nashville, at the Court House, at public Auction, for ready money, &c."

I have not at hand the return of the marshal's sale in obedience to the before recited decree; but reference to that return will prove my former statement on this point correct. The following extract of a letter from General Jackson to Joseph Anderson, dated 25th May, 1802, will also prove it:—"The conveyance to Norton Pryor shall be made by the Marshal *agreeable* to the numbers in his letter mentioned. Number 35 *agreeable* to your letter and number 34 that adjoins it. I shall have conveyed to me and my order. The *Ballance* to yourself, and when we meet we shall *accommodate* the *Ballance* due me." "The land sold for fifteen hundred and fifty dollars—The above and within is a rough statement of the business relative to the land sold under the decree of Norton Pryor in conformity with our agreement. (Signed)

ANDREW JACKSON."

If the foregoing recapitulation, ended the history of this unpleasant transaction, my pen never would have been employed to tell it to the world. But when I feel conscious that scenes of *iniquity* followed, in which General Jackson bore a conspicuous part; and when I see thousands of my fellow citizens bowing down, and proclaiming *him* a fit person to preside over these *United States*—ought I to have remained silent? Every feeling of patriotism says, No.

Before proceeding any farther, I ask, if there is any candid or honest man who will say, that Gen. Jackson could voluntarily, and honestly, place himself in a situation to exert all his energy and influence, to do away the effect of the foregoing decree and sale, to the prejudice of Pryor and Anderson, and those who had bought under them; especially when he had advised such purchase? Or will any person say, that a lawyer and Agent, is under no moral obligation to his employer, or client—but in *justice* may appropriate

all the proceeds of the matter in controversy to his own use? Surely not. Was not General Jackson the Agent and attorney of Pryor and Anderson? I answer emphatically, yes. Then why was our Court Docket crowded with suits in the *General's name*, to upset their claim?

About the years 1806-7 and 8, Alexander Outlaw, the father-in-law of Judge Anderson, and James Patton and Andrew Erwin, became largely interested in these lands,—the former by purchase from Judge Anderson, and the latter by purchase from Pryor and Anderson. Colonel Erwin, one of these individuals, before his purchase, had consulted Jenkin Whiteside, as well as General Jackson, in reference to the title, and was assured by both that it was good. I am aware, that this fact has been controverted by Mr. Whiteside as to himself, but with what truth I think we shall see in the sequel. It was also about this time that many other individuals consulted both General Jackson and Jenkin Whiteside about the title of those lands; but before I introduce their testimony, I think it proper to show why it became necessary for them to refer to these consultations.

In the year 1812, after the innocent purchasers had been in possession of the lands five or six years; and after the land had become four fold more valuable, General Jackson pretended that he had discovered that no legal process could run to sell lands not relinquished by the Indians; or when neither of the parties lived in the state —although such lands might have been granted, and within the chartered limits of the state. Such was the situation of the land above described. In the month of August, 1812, we find the General in the state of Georgia, wheedling the heirs of David Allison out of these same lands. The Deed of purchase, by Gen. Jackson from those heirs, bears date, 3d August, 1812. And as a consideration it is stated, "That said David Allison was largely indebted to said A. Jackson in his life time, and died so indebted; and of the sum of five hundred dollars to them in hand, paid by the said A. Jackson, at or before the sealing and delivery of these presents," "do bargain, sell, assign, transfer and set over, unto said A. Jackson, all their right, title, claim and interest, either in law or equity, in and to all lands, tenements and hereditaments or other estate whatsoever within the limits of the said state of Tennesse," "which were holden or claimed by said David Allison, either by grants, entries, or conveyances of any kind, or in any other manner whatsoever, and *All Equities of Redemption*, or other equitable claims for land, or any interest in, or proceeding from lands, tenements or hereditaments, and also to all land warrants and certificates for lost lands, or lands that cannot be identified," &c. signed by all the heirs of David Allison.

Did any person ever read such sweeping clauses, and such caution to keep out of view the real quantity of land, and other claims said to be held by the deceased in any other Deed? And all for the pitiful sum of $500, (and it is stated by one of the heirs that even that sum was never paid) besides some stale old nameless debts.

The ground work of the "fraud" is now laid: behold the superstructure. Soon after this time, the General was called to command a detachment of men from Tennessee, "for the defence of the lower country;" and it is presumable that having now buckled on his Military Armour, he could not attend in person to this weighty matter. Or perhaps his own legal talents were not sufficient to carry him through such a suit—nor was his purse strong enough to pay the money called for in this "Equity of Redemption." Be this as it may, on the 9th day of January, 1813, after the troops were organized and in camp near Nashville, and only a few days before the General sailed to Natchez—a *partnership* was formed between himself and James Jackson, a very wealthy merchant, and the before mentioned Jenkin Whiteside, who was said to be the greatest land lawyer in the state; by which agreement and partnership, the General let each of them into an equal share of his purchase, from the heirs of David Allison. The special part to be acted by Mr.

Whiteside, as declared in the agreement, was to "commence and prosecute all suits and actions, either at law or in Equity, that may be requisite for the recovery or security of said lands," &c. After stating the duty to be performed by each partner, and the obligations they were under to each other, the instrument goes on to say, that "said A. Jackson further covenants, &c., to and with the said James Jackson, and Jenkin Whiteside, that he will convey one equal third part of all the lands, land warrants, and other property so assigned to him, that may be secured, recovered, or redeemed, to said J. Jackson, his heirs, &c., and one other equal third part of all said lands, land-warrants, &c., to said Jenkin Whiteside," &c. The articles of agreement from which the foregoing extracts are taken, was signed by the confederates, on the said 9th day of January, 1813—and witnessed by E. S. Hall, and S. Cantrell, jr..—registered in the Register's Office, Davidson Co. Book J—page 398.

We have now seen formed, and ready to burst on the defenceless heads of more than one hundred innocent purchasers, a powerful *combination of influence, wealth and talent;* and all of these purchasers were brought into this dilemma by the previous act of General Jackson himself. How fearful was the odds, and how appalling to the fathers of families, many hearts in Tennessee can testify; and perhaps some of these victims were then marching to the defence of their country. I have said that this dilemma was brought upon the innocent purchasers, by the previous act of Gen. Jackson himself. In saying this, I do not positively assert, that the General committed an intentional fraud in the first instance, when the equity of redemption was foreclosed; but I do say, that the effect was the same as if he had—because he had been relied on, and had pronounced the business well done. Neither do I say, that all the purchasers consulted Gen. Jackson before they bought of this land; but it is a fact, that some of the most prominent persons had consulted him, and no doubt communicated the information to others.

Reader, suppose you were to employ a lawyer, and pay him a very large fee, to bring suit for the recovery of a tract of land. The business progressed, and judgment finally rendered in your favour—your lawyer then told you that the title was good, and that you might settle on it, or sell, and make warrantee deeds. You are not acquainted with the technical niceties of the law, and put faith and credit in the honour and judgment of your counsel. You settle on the land yourself, and sell part to others: after years of labour and toil, in which time, the land has become ten times more valuable, your lawyer then thinks he has discovered that the business was at first wrong done—goes to your former adversary, (without apprising you of the facts) and buys up the claim that he had once defeated—comes back and brings suit against you, and those to whom you have sold. Would you think he was an honest man? Or would you think he was a fit person to be President of the United States?—Such you will discover, was the conduct of Gen. Jackson.

I acknowledge, that I am not prepared to give a correct history of the first acts of this *combination*, but it will be sufficient to state, that in the year 1813, they commenced some kind of suit for the recovery of this land—and soon found out that they had taken a wrong start; for in July, 1814, they commenced the business *de novo*, and filed bills in equity in the name of A. Jackson, against every known settler on the land, (except one.) The following extracts are taken from one of those bills, to wit:

"Your orator, Andrew Jackson, of Davidson county, in said circuit, respectfully represents to your honors, that, on the 27th day of June, 1793, 85,000 acres of land, lying in what was the territory south of the river Ohio, now state of Tennessee, on the three forks of Duck river, in what is now Bedford county, was granted by the state of North Carolina, to John Gray Blount and Thomas Blount, by seventeen patents of 5,000 acres each, bear-

ing date the same day and year, which patents, describe the respective tracts as follows." Then is added, a complete description of the land—afterwards the orator proceeds: "And the said John Gray Blount and Thomas Blount, afterwards, on the 9th day of October, 1794, sold, and by indenture of bargain and sale, conveyed said 85,000 acres of land, to David Allison, then of the city of Philadelphia—your orator further shews, that the said David Allison afterwards, on the first day 1795, being indebted to one Norton Pryor, of the said city, in the sum of 21,800 dollars, gave his note of that date, to said Pryor, for the payment of said sum, 90 days after date, and the better to secure the payment of said sum, said David Allison, by indenture of bargain and sale, bearing date the same day and year, bargained, sold and conveyed to said Pryor, his heirs and assigns, in fee, said 85,000 acres, so granted to J. G. Blount and T. Blount." We have already seen this orator engaged in foreclosing the equity of redemption on the above mortgage deed, for Norton Pryor—now he is swearing for himself. But the bill also says—"Your orator further represents, that by *some* agreement or assignment, from said Norton Pryor to Joseph Anderson, Esq. of Jefferson county, Tennessee, said Anderson set up a claim to a part of said 85,000 acres of land, included in patents 218, 220, 222, 230, and parts of said four tracts are now claimed by William Finch," &c. And is it General Jackson who intimates that the claim of Judge Anderson is a mystery to him? How could this man ever charge "bargain and corruption" on Mr. Clay, when he is so deeply involved himself?

We will now attend to the answers of part of the defendants to General Jackson's bills in equity, and see what they say on this matter. Andrew Erwin, one of the late firm of Patton & Erwin, after stating at large, the nature of his title, as derived from Norton Pryor and judge Anderson, represents, "that while the defendant, A. Erwin, was in Tennessee, acting as the agent of Norton Pryor, and before the said lands were conveyed to these defendants, or said purchase made,—he was informed and advised by Jenkins Whiteside, Esq. that he believed the title of the said Norton Pryor, a good title to the land acquired as aforesaid, under said mortgage, decree and sale. And at, or about the same time, he was informed by complainant, A. Jackson, that he considered the said title in N. Pryor, as good a title as any in the state—said Jackson informed him at that time, that he had heard of John G. Blount having some equitable claim from the heirs of said David Allison, for the whole of said 85,000 acres, but that he claimed a part, under a similar title to that of Pryor; that he had sold, and made general warrantee deeds, and would continue to sell the balance which he owned in the same manner—and that said Jackson then informed him, that the mortgage had been absolute more than seven years, which would bar an equity of redemption, and that the statute of limitations would be a bar, and that no writ of error could be then brought to reverse the decree—and that there was no danger of Norton Pryor's title. And the said Jackson then encouraged this respondent to purchase the said lands from said Pryor, and after I did purchase, continued to assert his confidence. Whereupon, this respondent, A. Erwin, for himself and James Patton, contracted for the same as above set forth, and obtained said deed therefor."

The following is extracted from the answer of Stephen Booth, one of the defendants: "Sometime in the year 1809, this defendant went to the residence of the complainant in Davidson county, to purchase from him a part of one of the tracts of land which he had bought at the Marshal's sale, alluded to, in the answer of Patton & Erwin. That part, complainant had promised to convey to a female relation, who would not consent for it to be sold to defendant on his arrival there. Complainant seemed much irritated at her refusal to sell, as he had before promised it to defendant, and

proposed to the latter to let him have part of the same tract where one Coffee lived—defendant said he would look at that land, but it was probable he would not like it; that he had been offered some land which pleased him very well, by Alexander Outlaw, claiming under Anderson, but that he had been afraid to purchase it, as he had heard that Outlaw was insolvent, and there were fears with some respecting the title; that he wished complainant would inform him whether he could be safe in buying that land. Complainant answered that he would be perfectly safe in purchasing it; that Outlaw's or Anderson's title was as good as any in the state, that there was no doubt of the title. This expression, or the same in substance, was several times repeated, and *sworn to* by complainant. He said that the business had been conducted by him, that he had the management of the foreclosure of the equity of redemption, and that he knew it was correctly done." "He went home, endeavoured to purchase from Outlaw, and failing in that, afterwards purchased said six hundred and twenty-two acres, from said Patton and Erwin."

—

"*State of Tennessee, county of Bedford.*

Agreeably to a bill filed in the 4th circuit, Andrew Jackson *vs.* Whitehead and others. John Whitehead doth solemnly swear, that in April and May, 1806, I met with Gen. Andrew Jackson, and asked him whether he knew the title to the land on Duck river, claimed formerly by John G. and Thos. Blount, but then owned by Alexander Outlaw from a title derived from Joseph Anderson, was a good one; upon which he was answered by the said A. Jackson, that it was as good a one as any in the state, and if that claim would not hold, none in the state would. And upon the faith of the representation of the said Andrew Jackson that the title was a good one, I purchased four hundred acres of Alexander Outlaw, sometime in April or May, of the same year, a few days after the conversation with the said A. Jackson (but that I have since lost 100 acres of it by a claim of T. Dixon's) and that I have had peaceable possession of said land ever since. And after I had purchased the above named land, the said A. Jackson was at my house where he gave me the same assurances of the goodness of the title to said land.

JOHN WHITEHEAD.

Sworn to and subscribed before us this 11th September, 1819.

Noble L. Majors, *J. P.*
John Scott, *J. P.*"

—

"*State of Tennessee, Bedford county.*

This 17th day of April, 1823, personally appeared before me, M. D. Mitchell, a justice of the peace for said county, Henry Conway, and made oath that either in the year 1806 or 7, he called on Jenkin Whiteside at Nashville, and enquired of him, as to Col. Alexander Outlaw's title to the lands granted to John G. and Thomas Blount, about the three forks of Duck river, which Outlaw held under Joseph Anderson, who held under the marshal's sale on the foreclosure of Norton Pryor's mortgage, under the decree of the Federal Court, some years previous to that time. Said Jenkin Whiteside assured him that Outlaw's title was perfectly safe; as good as any in the state, and he believed one of the best in the state; and as a proof of his opinion, he said he had made himself largely interested in part of said claims, having bought 2,500 acres of it. In consequence of which advice, I did purchase 1,250 acres from Outlaw, at two dollars per acre, or thereabouts, which was then a fair price for good titles. After I had bought, I think in the year 1808 or 9, I rode in company with Gen. Jackson and the late Col. Benj. Bradford, from Jefferson to near Bennet Smith's, and on the way Gen. Jackson stated that the title under the marshal's sale to Anderson, Pryor, and himself, were as safe as any titles in the state, and it was impossible it could ever be set aside.

H. CONWAY.

Sworn to and subscribed before me.

M. D. Mitchell, *J. P.*"

"George Strong, another defendant, corroborates the statements of Booth and Whitehead, and Benjamin Bradford and William Norvell corroborate

the oaths of Col. A. Erwin and H. Conway; and if it becomes necessary, their statements, on oath can be produced. I will now add an extract from the certificate of Alexander Allison, one of the heirs of David Allison, relative to the General's purchase.

—

"*Georgia, Green County.*

"I certify, that in the year 1812, I was informed by my brother Will. Allison, that my deceased brother David Allison had left considerable lands in Tennessee, which might possibly be recovered, and that Gen. A. Jackson of Tennessee, had offered to procure and recover said lands, upon being let into an interest in the same, equal with myself and brothers; and that in order to do this it was necessary for me with my brothers to sign an instrument in writing to Gen. Jackson, operating as I then thought, as a power of attorney, authorizing him to transact the business. It was my understanding at that time, that General Jackson was to do the business, and on the final settlement of it, that Gen. Jackson was to come in for an equal interest with me and my brothers, in the land secured. Under this impression, I put my name to the instrument with my brothers. At the time of doing so, I was not informed by my brother William, or any other person, that my brother David had died in debt to Gen. Jackson, in any sums whatsoever;—neither did I then know, nor for a long time afterwards, that my brother David in his lifetime had mortgaged the lands in Tennessee to Norton Pryor, or that such lands had been foreclosed, or the land sold; nor did I then understand or know that my brother David Allison had made a will disposing of his property. I further state that I never received one single cent for signing that instrument of writing.

ALEXANDER ALLISON."

"Difficulties continued to accumulate on the side of the General's combination, as the suit progressed, but it was formed of mettle not to be overcome without attempting a dernier resort; and accordingly we find Jenkin Whiteside, (one of the parties) on the 21st day of March, 1820, relinquishing *all* his right, interest, and claim, to *all* this land, for the trifling and inadequate sum of one thousand dollars, including his services as a lawyer for seven years; and this was done for the purpose of getting his testimony in favour of his former partners. The deed of release bears the above date, and was acknowledged in open court, January term, 1821, before R. M'Gavock, clerk.

"It was about this time, that P. H. Darby, Esq., having risen high in the estimation of Gen. Jackson, was appointed by him prime minister, in the management of this Duck river land speculation, over the heads of his other counsellors, G. W. Campbell, W. L. Brown, A. Hays, O. B. Hays, and Jenkin Whiteside, Esquires; and he actually took him into *partnership*, as will be shortly seen. The appointment of this gentleman to his lofty pre-eminence, is published in the Nashville Whig of April 18th, 1821.

"NOTICE.

Being about to leave the State, for the Florida, I have regularly empowered Patrick H. Darby, Esq. of Nashville, to transact my business relative to the estate of David Allison, dec.—All persons having business to transact with me relative to said Estate, will please call on said Darby during my absence.

Signed ANDREW JACKSON."

"Having accepted the above agency, the business will be regularly attended to by me.

Signed PATRICK H. DARBY.

Not long after this time, Mr. Darby became the Editor of the "Constitutional Advocate," at Nashville, and we find his paper frequently filled with lengthy essays and investigations relative to this land speculation—exhibiting the novel sight of a press devoted to the examination of a law case still pending, and all on one side, in order to prejudice the minds of the community. This took place in the year 1822, or 3, and no doubt under the eye, or by the consent of Gen. Jackson. What could a set of farmers do against such a desperate combination?

I shall not enlarge in reference to the Documents which conclude the history of this transaction. In the fall of 1823, a compromise was effected, by which the defendants agreed to give ten thousand dollars, and pay certain costs; & the complainant, A. Jackson with J. Jackson, agreed to permit a decree to be entered at the next court, and give a quit claim deed. When the decree was about to be rendered Mr. Darby objected, and was about to file his bill to prevent it, alleging that he was equally interested with the others. The consequence was, that Mr. Darby received $5.000 of the compromise money, and joined his worthy partners in signing the deed of quit claim, which is now on record at Shelbyville, Bedford county.

I am aware that the apologists of General Jackson, have attempted to screen him from the moral turpitude attached to this proceeding, by pleading that David Allison, (before his death) was legally indebted to him, as well as to Norton Pryor, and that therefore, it was not morally wrong to make himself safe. Will not this plea prove too much?—For if such was the fact, and the General did not put in his claim at the time he was transacting the business for Pryor and Anderson, does it not argue a presumption, that he committed an intentional error in conducting their business, in order to benefit himself at a future day?

I know also that the General is lauded by his partizans, because he compromised these suits for ten thousand dollars. Who of us thanks him? I can assure the public, that nothing but a split in our ranks, and the desire of a secure and certain home, together with his weight and influence, induced the settlers to accede to the terms of compromise; as many were firmly persuaded that he had become convinced that the case would be decided against him. Besides, the General had just before been nominated by the Legislature of Tennessee, for the Presidency, and he did not wish this matter to weigh him down as a dead weight—as did the ghosts of those murdered by king Richard, in his battle with Richmond.

CHARACTERS AND CONDUCT.

The evils, anticipated by many, from the election of General Jackson to the Presidency, have been gradually developing themselves, in the progress of the canvass. His incapacity is not the most serious objection to his success. Much greater mischief is to be apprehended from the examples he may set, and the company which must naturally collect around him. Mr. Benton correctly anticipated results, when he said that Jackson, if President, would be surrounded with desperate men, and that Congress would have to legislate armed with dirks and pistols.—This may be made manifest *now* by a few well attested facts.

There now resides at the Hermitage, a man of the name of Henry Lee, with his family. He occupies a building near the residence of General Jackson, and is engaged in daily intercourse with him. His business as avowed, is to write a biography of General Jackson. He attends, however, to other things. A long article criticising the Virginia Anti-Jackson address, has been written by him. He accompanied General Jackson to New Orleans, and the public newspapers noticed him as escorting Mrs. Jackson, to the boat, as she embarked to return home. He was toasted at the Murfeesborough dinner, and the supporters of General Jackson, in Virginia and elsewhere, begin to commend him as a man deserving encouragement. It is proper to a correct exposition of General Jackson's character, and of the means employed to sustain him, that this Mr. Lee should be known. This work was established to speak the truth, whenever the public good required it to be spoken—and to speak it plainly and without fear. This shall be done in respect to Mr. Lee, because his association with Gen. Jackson, and with the supporters of General Jackson for the Presidency, gives him at this time a factitious importance which could not otherwise attach to him.

Mr. Lee is the son of Henry Lee of Virginia, distinguished as an officer of the revolution in the war of the Southern department. He is a man of fine talents and superior attainments as a

writer. But he is a man without moral integrity, or honorable principles. He has been guilty of perpetrating one of those enormities, which is never tolerated in society, and which always overwhelms the perpetrator with disgrace. Mr. Lee seduced his wife's sister, an inmate of his own house, as is alleged, by a series of deliberate acts practised upon her, a young and inexperienced female, who regarded him in the light of a brother. For this deed he was driven from the society where it was perpetrated, and for a time couched beneath the general odium that it fastened upon him. In the present struggle to make General Jackson President, Mr. Lee's talents have been considered as of some account. It is not uncommon to recruit an army from the prisons, thus converting a convicted felon into a hero, and a champion of public rights. Just so, the supporters of General Jackson seek for recruits amongst those men of talents whose misconduct has rendered them suspicious or infamous. Swartwout was sunk into deserved oblivion, from the period of his discharge from imprisonment upon an accusation of treason, until General Jackson selected him as a correspondent, and thus again gave him character. So Mr. Lee was excluded from society until General Jackson received him into his service, and gave him countenance.

It seems to me that there is a disregard of moral obligation to society, and of decent respect to character, in this association, that ought to alarm, if not shock the minds of upright men. If youthful passion, or other circumstances may be pleaded as an apology for General Jackson's own transgressions upon the marriage rights of others, he ought not, in his present condition, to encourage an enormity so much greater than his own, lest an inference be deduced that he has really no moral sense on the subject. What are we to say to it? Our President seduced his neighbor's wife, and lived with her in an adulterous intercourse until she became his own!—He takes to his society and confidence, under his patronage and protection an adulterous and incestuous seducer of virgin innocence! And the public men of the country, their wives and daughters, are to associate with this leprous fiend in human form as with a gentleman! His talents are to be praised, his writings admired, his crimes to be forgotten, whilst, on his part, there is no token of penitence, not even that which detected guilt usually manifests. And for what is all this humiliation to be encountered and endured? For the single reason, and no other, that this profligate can be made useful. So, in other countries, can bravos and assassins.—But even where such instruments are used, their employers do not degrade themselves by associating with them as equals.

This employment of Lee, at the Hermitage, is in character with other matters in transaction at Washington. Duff Green is certainly less infamous than Lee. But who that looks back upon his course could wish to see himself in connection with him. Then there is Col. Jarvis, also a political adventurer, who, as well as Green, seems to have been employed, pretty much on the principle already stated, of enlisting recruits where ever they can be got, from the stews or the prison, with or without reputation. These two men are the champions of General Jackson at Washington, and they appear to be so completely inflated, with self importance, at their present position and elevation, as to promise no little trouble and prejudice to their employers. Both of them have sought occasions to commit a breach of the peace, within the walls of the capitol itself; and in cases where the disputes originated in party politics. Men of decent manners, and correct feelings would have avoided such courses, for their own sakes, and for the credit of their party. But these two men seem to have thought it would be a recommendation to them to attempt that, from which gentlemen would shrink with an intuitive disgust.

When Green assaulted Sparrhawk, the Senate treated the outrage as a matter that did not concern them. It was said it would be as proper to interfere in an affray between two Draymen. The perversion of correct judg-

ment which induced this sentiment ought then to have been exposed, and those who acquiesed in its correctness, or without so acquiescing, permitted it to pass, have found the consequence, in the attempt of Green's fellow laborer to attach an equal distinction to himself.

The assault upon young Mr. Adams is one of those preconceived and deliberate outrages, which calls for loud and decisive reprehension. The proceedings of the majority of Congress with respect to it ought to fix on the member the stigma of continued reprobation, such as is described, by making a man an object for "*the hand of scorn to point its slow and moving finger at.*"

Jarvis, who has devoted his talents to the reprobation of Mr. Adams, personally and politically, and who aids in casting upon him the most degrading reproaches, nevertheless feels himself at liberty to visit Mr. Adams in his own house. Because it was an occasion of public visiting, Mr. Jarvis seemed to suppose that he had a right to present himself, and that he was entitled to civil treatment. His right was that which want of correct feelings confers upon an impudent man.—Civility of treatment the President owed to himself, and to the nation, whose representative he is.—But the President had a son—a youth, and probably not a very discreet one. This young man made some improper remarks, very natural for a young man to make, whose feelings were easily excited, as every deserving son's ought to be when his parent is insulted. How would a discreet man have acted, placed in the situation of Mr. Jarvis? Either he would have been deaf to the impertinence, or he should have made it known to the President, whose duty it was to correct his own household, and make proper atonement for a wrong committed, upon such an occasion, by any member of his family. But instead of pursuing this course, which propriety and decency dictated, Jarvis sought a private quarrel with the younger Adams. The answer he received, that no answer or explanation would be given, was, most likely, what he wished: it was certainly what alone he could expect. He then sees Mr. Adams, in the House of Representatives, delivering a message from the President to Congress. He goes out of the Hall, and attacks him in another apartment, through which Mr. Adams passed on his way to the Senate with a message.—He assaults Mr. Adams with blows—And what follows? For the honour of our common nature, for the honour of our public men, for the honour of our country, I wish our annals were not to be disgraced with a narration of what followed.

The assault was committed on Tuesday. Neither House of Congress took any cognizance of it, on that day nor on the next. On Thursday, the President communicated the fact, by message to Congress. In the Senate, the message was read and laid on the table. In the House, it was referred to a select committee, which was appointed on Friday. On the same day, Mr. Jarvis addressed a letter of explanation, to the Speaker of both Houses. It, too, was read and laid on the table! This letter avowed the knowledge that Mr. Adams had brought a message to Congress, which he had delivered, asserted an intention to assault him in the Rotundo, not to injure him, but to pull his nose and slap his face;—in other words, to disgrace him. Such arrogance as this is surely without parallel in the history of legislative bodies. The organ of communication between the President and Congress, known to have just delivered a message, is assaulted, for the purpose of disgracing him. The fact is asserted to those who participate in the disgrace, by way of apology, and is by them received with complacency!!!

Few readers of the present day are not conversant with the entertaining and instructive Waverly novels. The penalty in which poor Nigel involved himself, by committing an assault, within the royal precincts, is familiar to the recollection of many. Yet the law that inflicted the penalty was founded in salutary principles. Its great object was to secure the public peace, in the vicinity of the sovereign. In our country, the legislature represents the sovereign power, and discharges its functions. And, when the legislature

is in session, it is a high offence to perpetrate any kind of outrage calculated to disturb or influence their deliberations. It is called a breach of privilege, as in the famous case of John Anderson, who was subjected to the jurisdiction of the House, for a supposed attempt to tamper with the integrity of a member.

To assail a member of the Legislature, or any of their officers, or persons in official employ connected with legislation, is a breach of privilege. So it is to raise disturbances and riots, in their vicinity. And, in all these cases, there is an inherent power in the Legislature to punish the offender, as for a contempt of privilege, in a summary manner.

Now, this privilege does not exist for the personal security of the public officers alone—And when it is violated, punishment is not inflicted to avenge or redress the individual wrong. It exists for the preservation of the public safety, the public morals, the public honor, all that is useful and dignified in national character. When it is trampled upon and set at naught, every man in the nation is insulted. A great public wrong is committed, which cannot be redressed in the ordinary manner, but which must be instantly punished, so as to restrain others from a repetition of it.

During the session of Congress the President is a component part of the Legislature. He communicates to them, the subjects that, in his opinion, require legislative provision, and all legislative acts are submitted to him for approbation or rejection. The same privileges, therefore, extend to him and his organ of communication with Congress, as it is extended to the members and their officers. When Congress is not in session, the President being a mere ministerial officer in executing the laws, has no privilege attached to him. No provision has been made to protect him or those whom he employs from insult, because, heretofore, it would have been considered a calumny upon our countrymen, to allege that any one of them, could so far forget what was due to his country and himself, as to assault or insult the President.

The assault committed upon Mr. Adams was a gross breach of Legislative privilege, both in respect to the person assaulted, and the place where the assault was committed. And the reason alleged for it, greatly aggravates the outrage. It was intended to degrade and disgrace the individual that constituted the organ of communication between the President and Congress. And it is mere affectation, not to assert at once what every one believes, that the individual relation in which the person stood to the President, was one principal inducement to make the attack.—The feelings of the father were to be outraged as well as those of the patriot.

This relationship constituted a reason, why Congress should have acted promptly and upon their own motion. They should not have imposed upon the President, the delicate responsibility of submitting tamely to an outrage on the public service and character, or of incurring the imputation of being actuated by personal feelings, and a desire of revenge. Magnanimous men, though political opponents, ought to have felt what was due to the President, and have relieved him from this unpleasant responsibility. The course pursued evidences a bitterness of feeling, and an obliquity of judgment sickening and disheartening to a dispassionate mind. Every step taken, up to Sunday, April 20, seemed to wear a studied aspect of aggravated insult.—The insulting letter of Jarvis was laid quietly on the table, by the side of the President's message. No steps were taken to vindicate the outraged laws. In the Senate, both rested like a bad penny nailed to the counter as counterfeit. In the House, the select committee neglected taking any steps. Thus deliberately manifesting a total indifference to their own characters, and to that of the country. As a party man, wishing to see the followers of Gen. Jackson exhibit, by pregnant proofs, their principles and feelings, I am well pleased at the course they have pursued. The people can see, though the leaders at Washington are blind—

And the people will not sanction this kind of insult to the national character, to indulge the Editors of the Telegraph, in doing that with impunity which would cover a man of good character with infamy. Had the Jackson men promptly denounced the outrage, had they immediately called Jarvis to account, and inflicted summary punishment upon him, they might have turned the thing to some account. Their adherents might have said—There was too much magnanimity to let party predilections influence the Jacksonians. By this example, the apprehension that the Jacksonians would indulge in, or encourage violence, is put to flight.—As it is, the converse of these assertions may be justly proclaimed. All is given up to party; and the present instruments, are not only used, but countenanced, protected, and cherished.

JOHN HARRIS.

To the editor of the (Kentucky) Reporter.

I deem it necessary to make a true statement of the case of John Harris, one of the six militiamen who were shot at Mobile. I should not have troubled the public but for the commotion many mistatements have thrown our country into. I did not know this was the case until lately, and it seems to have been by accident that I heard it. We had declined taking any newspapers, and were surrounded by Gen. Jackson's friends. My brother James was enquired of, if he was the son of Mr. Harris that was executed at Mobile; and if he had heard what Jackson and others were saying about him in the public prints.

I determined to see what had been said, and was favored with newspapers by my friends.

Of all the statements that I have seen, those made by General Jackson, in a letter to a gentleman in Baltimore, and in a letter to Mr. Owens in Kentucky, are the most destitute of truth. The first letter is a pack of infamous lies, that a heathen would shudder to tell; and part of the other I can prove to be false.

The letter bearing date 4th of September, 1826, was first published in the Baltimore Republican. The subjoined extracts are copied from Niles' Register, June 23rd, 1827, p. 282.

"Truth is mighty and shall prevail. Intrigue and management, incapable of blind-folding the virtuous yeomanry of my country, will fail of their ends; nor can they impose any other task on me than that of defending myself against their imputations, whenever the authors choose to unmask themselves—a task which I am always ready to perform.

"The cause that you allude to might as well be ascribed to the President of the United States, as commander-in-chief of the land and naval forces, as to me; but as you ask for a statement of facts, I send them in a concise form.

"In the year 1814, Col. Pipkin at the head of his drafted militia, was charged with the defence of fort Jackson, in the heart of the Creek nation, and within my military district. Whilst thus in command, part of his regiment mutinied. At the head of this mutiny was a Mr. Harris, a preacher, and, as my memory now serves me, of the Baptist profession. He broke open the commissary stores, knocked out the heads of the flour barrels, taking what he wanted, and destroying what he pleased—proceeded then to the bake-house, and set it on fire, and marched off in open defiance of the Colonel, leaving the garrison without provisions, and so weakened by desertion, that it might have fallen a sacrifice to the Indians. I was then at Mobile. Informed of this mutiny and outrage by express, I ordered the mutineers and deserters to be pursued, apprehended, and brought back for trial. The ringleaders, Harris at their head, after some time, were apprehended and brought to Mobile in irons, after I had left there for New-Orleans, and had charged General Winchester with the command of that section of the country. They were tried by a Court Martial, and condemned to die—five were shot and the balance pardoned. The others who had deserted, before they reached home, became alarmed at their situation, returned before Harris and his party

were arrested, joined me and were forgiven—were with me when I marched to Pensacola in 1814; followed me, thence to New Orleans, when they regained their former good character by their valorous and soldiery conduct, and were honorably discharged.—These proceedings are on file in the department of war, where those who wish for truth, can be informed by applying to the record.

"It is for the public to judge, whether this professed embassador of Christ, did not well deserve death for the crimes of robbery and arson; and this outrageous mutiny, which jeopardized not only the remainder of the garrison from its exposed situation, but the safety of our country—and whether this wolf in sheep's clothing was not a fit subject of example. Harris when condemned to die, acknowledged the justice of his condemnation, and stated he had no hope of a pardon here, but that he had of forgiveness hereafter—which I trust he obtained, through the mediation of our blessed Saviour, and a sincere repentance of his crimes that brought on him his condemnation.

"Let it be recollected, that this mutiny occured at a period when every nerve of our country was strained to protect it from the invasion of an overwhelming British force, whose agents were then engaged in stirring up the Creeks to the indiscriminate murder of our defenceless border citizens. These are the facts of the case, for your information."

I set out with Jackson's motto—"Truth is mighty and shall prevail."

1. Gen. Jackson says, Harris "broke open the commissary stores, knocked out the heads of the flour barrels; taking what he wanted, and destroying what he pleased—proceeded then to the bakehouse, and set it on fire, and marched off in open defiance of the Colonel." Now, not a word of this is true. See John May's certificate below, and the charges for which he was tried by the Court Martial. Gen. Jackson ought to have recollected, "As a public or private man, speaking of transactions which concern the reputation and character of others, every manly feeling should remind him, that he ought to be guided by established facts, not by the hear-say of any body." The bakehouse was thrown into the river four or five weeks before they left there, or had any thought of coming home; nor did my father have any hand in it, or know of it when it was done.

Late in the year 1813, my brother James enrolled himself; he was then 16 years old; and shortly after our house was burnt, and we moved on the Indian land, about eight miles from where we lived, to a salt petre cave, where my father had a furnace to make petre. Not long afterwards, James was drafted in his old company.—Father, thinking him too young to go without protection, took the place of Samuel Sherrel, and went with him.

After they had served three months, my father, believing their time was out, and getting no satisfaction from his officers, came home, *not "in open defiance of the Colonel" but after giving up his gun and lifting his receipt.*

Soon after he got home, he learnt that Gen. Jackson had ordered them back by express. He stayed at home three or four days, *and started back of his own accord.* Many of his neighbours tried to prevail on him to keep out of the way; and every means was offered him to have done so, till the heat of passion had subsided; but he refused, and frequently said, that he was conscious for what they had done they could not be hurt, and that he feared nothing even before the most prejudiced court martial, except one thing: that was a paper on which he had taken down the names of those that were going home, though he had no fears from *that*, if they would give him *justice*.

Col. Pipkin had told some of the men, if they would go home whether or not, and would give him their names, he would make provision for them to draw rations. If I had any confidence in the Colonel's oath, I would ask him if he ever made any such statements or not. This is the paper above alluded to.

When my father started to trial, I went with him ten or twelve miles.—We passed the house of one Salmon, who said he had come back for the men. My father stopped and told him

he was going back; and Salmon told my father if he would wait a day or two at Winchester, which was about fourteen miles from there, they would go together. My father waited a day. Some of his friends persuaded him to enlist; but he refused to do it, because he thought himself in no danger.—They then went on to Fort Jackson, when they gave up to Col. Hart. I have lately been told that Salmon gave him up as a prisoner, which I do not believe: But I will be able to state explicitly before long. Col. Hart was on parade and about to march for Mobile when they arrived. They went with Hart, who, to add to the fatigue of my father, I am told, had him handcuffed. In two or three days, as I understand, they were taken off. After they got to Mobile and had their trial, and they knew the decree of the court martial, my father was advised to write to Gen. Jackson himself, as he was acquainted with the General, and to state the circumstances under which he was tried and the situation he left home, and pray him for a pardon or at least a new hearing. After he wrote his first letter to Gen. Jackson, his friends wrote another, petitioning for a reprieve.

Gen. Jackson, in the most unrelenting manner, charges my father "of robbery and arson." I have previously disproved this savage charge. He audaciously asks "whether this wolf in sheep's clothing was not a fit subject of example." "I did hope, that a liberal and generous feeling on the part of" Gen. Jackson, "would show" the character of my deceased father, "at least" as far as "those assaults which slander and falsehood delight to inflict. In that I have been" egregiously "disappointed." My father was an honest man and a kind and protecting father; which can be proved by many of Jackson's friends. [See a certificate below.] And I boldly say, if he had justice, he would be "*a fit subject of example.*"

Jackson has the effrontery to state in the face of the world that "Harris, when condemned to die, acknowledged the justice of his condemnation, and stated he had no hope here, but he had of forgiveness hereafter." And in his letter to Mr. Owens of Kentucky, that this man (Harris) never wrote but one letter to me that I ever saw or heard of before this publication, and in that he acknowledged himself guilty of the enormous crimes charged against him, and stated his willingness to meet the just sentence of the court." It is inhuman to suppose this to be true; and if so, why does he suppress the letter? My brother James was with him all the time, and of course knew the secrets of his breast; and he heard of no such acknowledgment nor saw any such letter.

Read the words of my father in a farewell letter to my mother: Dear wife, I take this opportunity of writing to you for the last time. *I expect . . . . I did not expect to have had this awful news to write to you;* but my sentence is come, to-morrow, by 12 o'clock, which is an awful thing to think of."

After I saw the statements of Jackson, I wrote to him, requesting him to give me his reasons for making them, and to send me the contents of the letters addressed to him by my father.—As yet I have received no answer or satisfaction. This seems to be a 'task' that he is not "always ready to perform."

I am a citizen of Lawrence county, Alabama. If any one wishes to scrutinize what I have said, he can call and he shall have satisfaction.

JOHN HARRIS.

I do hereby certify, that some years before the last war, I was acquainted with John Harris in Franklin county, Tennessee, and that he was there elected Coroner of the said county, and served in that capacity; and that as far as I knew, he supported a good moral character. Given under my hand, this 18th March, 1828.

JAMES M'CORD.

State of Alabama, Lawrence county.

This day personally appeared before me, Samuel Irwin, an acting justice of the peace in and for said county, John May, and after being duly swore, deposeth and sayeth, that as much of General Jackson's statement in Niles' Register, June 23d, 1827, as relates to Harris' breaking open the commissary

store and knocking out the heads of the flour barrels, and taking what he wanted and destroying what he pleased. Is FALSE; that he neither took nor destroyed; and as for burning the bake house, it is ALSO FALSE: and the said John May further states on oath, that he belonged to the same company and was there at the time Harris left there.

JOHN MAY.

Sworn to and subscribed before me, this the 26th of February, 1828.

SAMUEL IRWIN, *J. P.*

JOHN HARRIS'S LAST LETTER TO HIS WIFE.

(A LITERAL COPY.)

February 15, 1815, *Mobile, Fort Charlotte.*

Dear wife. I Take the oppertunity of Writing to you for the Last time as I exspect and is well at present thanks Be to God for his Mercys and I Hope these Lines May find you and all the rest in helth I Did not exspect to Have Had this awful news to awrote to you But my sentence is Com and to Morrow I have to encounter Death to Morrow by twelve o'clock whitch is an awful thing to think of and I Know from your Tenderness to me as a wife to a Husband Has been so Greate that it must be a Greaf to you and as such I wish you to Meet it with as much fortitude as posable I hope we shall meet again in the worlds above I wish you to Do all you Can to Keep my Children to gather if possible James has promised me that He will Stay with you and I Hope that my other Two Sons Charles and John will Do all they Can to Keep ther Little Sisters and Brothers from suffering I wish you as soon as James Returns to Moove into the settements and Do the best you Can for yourselves it Grieves me Hard to part with you all But I must Resign to God and we Have to part some time and as such I Hope you will Bring my Little son up in the fear of God and my Little Daughters also whitch from your Conduct I have no Reason to Doubt But my Little sons you are yong and Growin up into Life Be cearfull of what kind of Company you keep and never Bring yourselves to any Disgrace Learn in time of youth to Love Bouth Grace and truth my mind is pestired and I Can not write as I would wish Remember me to all inquiring friends so my Dear wife and Children I bed you a Due this is from your Loving Husband and Father until Death

JOHN HARRISS

Mrs Polly Harriss.

THE TARIFF.

The Tariff Bill, prepared by the Jackson pretended tariff men of New York and Pennsylvania, passed the House of Representatives on the 21st, by a vote of 105 to 94. The southern anti-tariff men all voted against it, and some few friends of the Administration, who conceived its provisions too unjust and unequal to warrant them in supporting it.

Our readers recollect, that at the last session of Congress a bill was before that body for protecting the growing and manufacturing of wool. It was opposed by the South, and finally defeated by their votes. Certain Jackson-men, of Pennsylvania and New York, also lent a helping hand to kill it. This brought them into trouble, and a complaint was made that the measure was cast into Congress as an apple of discord. The friends, however, of domestic industry, determined to make an effort to procure from Congress equal and efficient protection for woollens manufactures, wool, iron and other articles. To insure unity of object and concert in action, they determined to hold a convention, that the wants and views of all might be the better understood by communication with each other. The convention at Harrisburgh was proposed: but the Jacksonians immediately took the alarm, and denounced the measure as a mere party trick. Their conduct in Cincinnati was a specimen of their doings every where. They broke up, by violence and noise, a meeting convened to chuse delegates. Finding they had gone too far, they called a meeting at a distant day. They met, agreed upon a ranting and fustian report in favour of protecting manufactures, proposed some plan of a tariff, that none, who understood the subject, believed feasible, agreed upon a memorial to Congress in support of it, appointed committees to obtain subscribers, and there the thing ended. Nothing more was done; and all this "*wear and tear of brains*" was undergone for the purpose of putting a deceitful face upon their real views, which were to court Southern support for Gen. Jackson.

When Congress met, the Jacksonians from

New-York, Pennsylvania, Kentucky and Ohio, united in electing a Jacksonian Anti-Tariff Speaker; who appointed a Jacksonian Committee of Manufactures, pretending to be favorable to protection. This Committee reported a bill by no means agreeable to the views of the real friends of protection to Domestic Industry. The object of this bill was well understood. It was intended to compel a large portion of the true friends of the system to vote against it, and thus defeat a Tariff and cast the blame upon the friends of the administration.

In the progress of the bill, this object became obvious and manifest to the most ordinary understanding. Every amendment, proposed by the supporters of the administration, was voted down, by the combined and united forces of the enemies of all Tariff, from the south, and the Jacksonian pretended-Tariff men, from other states. In the course of the debate, the following language was openly held on the floor of the House of Representatives, by the avowed opponents of the principle:

"Mr. GILMER said that he voted, and should vote, to keep on the duties on hemp, iron, rum and molasses, *to teach those who are for a Tariff the consequences of it.* He said that he *should finally vote against the whole bill*—that he had found it difficult to bring his mind to pursue this system of legislation: but as they wanted a Tariff he was for making it general, and if it was all made uniform and consistent, *it was the best way to defeat it.*

"Mr. CAMBRELENG said that *he should not vote for the bill*, but he wished it to be felt in all parts of the country that were for a Tariff. *He would vote to have it as obnoxious as it could be to them*, and in that way to let those understand what it was who were in favor of the scheme. The principle he thought it fair to be governed by.

"Mr. LIVINGSTON said that he would not make his people alone the victims of the tariff policy; and as the bill might pass the House, he would vote to tax every thing that could be raised in the country, and let those in favor of a Tariff see the effect of the system. If the principle was good for one it was good for all — He should act on this principle, and *by that course the whole must be defeated.*

"Mr. MITCHELL, of South Carolina, said that *the more oppressive the duties were to the great mass of the people, the bone and sinew of the country, the more anxious he was to vote for them.*— He voted on that principle. We want no protection in South Carolina—hands off—keep your distance. *He should not consent to lessen any of the duties in the bill, for that might aid to pass it.*

"Mr. WEEMS said that they wished it to be made *so bitter a pill that it could not be swallowed.* He said they were, he thought, about to succeed in it. But *he should vote against it all, at last.*

Mr. CAMBRELENG, in reply to Mr. Dwight, of Massachusetts, said that, *if the increased duty on molasses had not been at last struck out of the bill of 1824, we should have had no tariff of 1824* that it was finally arranged so as to get that duty out of the bill, and it was passed—that 'we *should take care not to have it done now and be taken in so again.*!'

Notwithstanding these open and undisguised evidences of settled hostility, the pretended tariff Jacksonians of New York, Pennsylvania, Kentucky and Ohio, continued to vote with the enemies of the system against every proposition from its ancient and firm friends; and the hue and cry was soon raised that the administration had determined to destroy the tariff. The effrontery with which this assertion was made was in character with the whole proceeding of the party.

The Telegraph started the accusation, which was reiterated in regular progression, in every direction from the capitol. We had the following edition of it here in Cincinnati:

"It is now reduced to a moral certainty, that the Administration party in Congress, with the triumvirate Adams, Clay and Webster at their head, are determined to defeat the tariff bill now before the National Legislature."

Nat. Repub.

The following in Baltimore:

"A friend writes me from Washington, that 'the Adams party mean to kill the Tariff,' that 'there is no doubt of it,' and that our Mr. N——s is there yielding them all the assistance in his power." *Balt. Repub.*

The letter writers from Washington gave their assistance. The following is a specimen, which is copied from the *American Sentinel* of Philadelphia.

"*Extract of a letter to the Editors, dated*

WASHINGTON, APRIL 16, 1828.

"The rumour about is that the administration men have agreed to destroy the tariff bill. How true the story is, will be ascertained shortly. All the New England *bosom* friends of the President are against it. Should the bill be *lost*, some of the administration men who voted for it, will have to *change their colours.* If they should kill the bill, it will not be the first time the East have voted in opposition to the American policy of encouraging our home industry.

"It is said there is a great trouble in the wigwam, and all because the Yankees are unwilling to sop their bread, on *only one side* in *Foreign* molasses. The *American System* is bad, when applied to *New England*, but good, very good indeed, when it operates exclusively upon the *South*."

Notwithstanding all these schemes and predictions, the administration men have voted for the bill. And the wolves in sheep's clothing, from New York, Pennsylvania, Kentucky and Ohio have been reviled and abused by their southern allies without mercy.

The people, it is believed, cannot fail to understand this matter. By the people we do not mean the noisy bablers that lay exclusive claim to that title. We mean the industrious, the peaceful, the thoughtful people—the farmer at his plough—the mechanic working at his trade. They cannot, we trust, fail to understand the

matter. Here is a tariff bill prepared by the enemies of the tariff, and adopted by deceitful and pretended friends. Here is a bill avowedly made as exceptionable as possible, avowedly intended to be oppressive, so as to make protection cost more than it is worth, and preserved in this form, by the joint efforts of open opponents, and hollow hearted supporters, in the hope that the true friends of the country would defeat it. Here is an open assertion of this dishonest and dishonorable mode of legislation, to effect a political purpose; and an equally open attempt, by a false and unfounded accusation, to produce the intended result. We have heard much of "*coalition*," "*corruption*," "*conspiracy*," without proof. Here they are openly avowed and boasted of:—Surely the good sense of the *real people* must see through this piece of political patchwork, and visit upon those concerned in it their due reward.

Although the bill is by no means what it should be, and might have been, the friends of the administration considered it something better than the existing law, in a few particulars, and preferred it to no alteration. They therefore voted for it. In so far as it falls short of what it ought to have been, the whole blame rests upon the Jacksonian members from New-York, Pennsylvania, Kentucky and Ohio. The people of these states will have an opportunity, in due season, to pass upon the conduct of their unfaithful representatives, when no doubt *mene tekel* will be written upon most of them.

After the bill passed, some debate arose about its title. Mr. Randolph suggested that its title ought to be "*a bill to enable the people of a certain portion of the Union to rob and plunder the other as much as they pleased.*" Such is the opinion entertained by the Jackson leader in Congress, and out of it too, it would seem, of this measure. Yet can men of that "*portion of the Union*," thus slandered, make of themselves tools for this man and his southern compeers to work with!!—*Cin. Gaz.*

A NEW LIE.

The New-York Jacksonians have got up a new lie, on the stale story of the bargain between Mr. Adams on one part, and Mr. Webster in behalf of the Federalists of the other part. It was started at Buffalo and consists of an extract from a letter said to have been written by the late Richard Stockton of New-Jersey. The extract is as follows:

"You inquire of me in relation to the pledge, given by Mr. Adams, through Mr. Webster, to the old federal party. An unsophisticated young man, like yourself, unused to the chicanery of politics, might well enough question whether a proposition of that nature, from an apostate, would have been accepted, or relied upon, by one in my situation; whom he had denounced, and denounced as plotting treason against the public. You do me too much honor, however. *That pledge was made and accepted, and, I will add, relied on, too.* In truth, we never had any faith in the apostacy of Mr. Adams—his principles remained unchanged. For one, I doubted not that his attachment to the men of our faith remained unshaken, until after his preference of a noted democrat for the office of district judge was made known. You know enough of New-Jersey, however, to know that the appointment of an old federalist to that office, would have been fatal to his then dubious interests here; and perhaps my friends were asking too much, when they demanded the fulfilment of a voluntary pledge. The letter was shown me at Bisham's, in Trenton, in presence of Mr. Hopkinson and one or two others. I know Mr. A.'s hand writing well, and I was perfectly satisfied of its being genuine, *by its being interlined by him.* The substance of the pledge has been correctly given in the papers. I have thus frankly answered, in detail, the questions you have propounded; and, whatever influence these avowals may have upon your mind, I am sure of being exonerated by you, of inconsistency, in having changed ground."

The late Richard Stockton was an honorable man, and it is certainly a great reproach upon his memory to suppose him the author of so base a letter as this. It avows, the reader will perceive, the dishonorable conduct of having been party to the alleged bargain with Mr. Adams, and of having abandoned him and joined Gen. Jackson, because Mr. Adams did not appoint him District Judge of New Jersey, instead of an old Democrat of good character. Though this is not avowed in terms, the letter cannot be read without so interpreting it: and it is therefore very natural that the friends of Mr. Stockton should wish to rescue his memory from the imputation. The following is copied from the Trenton Emporium, a Jackson paper of New Jersey.

"The following note, accompanied with the name of the author, has been handed to us for publication. We have only to remark that we have not seen the article alluded to.—Ed.

"The extract of a letter, published by one Wood, editor of a newspaper at Buffalo, in the State of New York, and by him alleged to have been written by the late Mr. Stockton, of Princeton, is undoubtedly a forgery. The friends of the deceased hope that the public will not be imposed on by so infamous a proceeding. Mr. Justice will please to insert this note, written by one who leaves his name, that he may be answerable for its contents.

"*A near connexion of the deceased.*"

Trenton, April 18, 1823.

This lie is started now and going full speed all over the union. Like that, about Washington appointing Jackson attorney for Tennessee, which it seems originated also in New York, it will be repeated and stuck to with determined pertinacity.—*ib.*

TRUTH'S ADVOCATE

AND

MONTHLY ANTI-JACKSON EXPOSITOR.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, JUNE, 1828.

LITERATURE & PRINCIPLES.

The following letter from General Jackson, was written in 1812, before he had become a great man, except in Tennessee. It exhibits him as he really is, illiterate, vulgar and violent. As a piece of composition it would be discreditable to a school boy of twelve years old. We speak of the orthography, of the proper points, and of the use of capital letters. The grammatical errors in concord, government, and punctuation, cannot be noticed by any distinctive mark. The ordinary reader cannot fail to detect many of them, as they are of so gross a character.—The spelling is more easily exposed, and we have accordingly printed in SMALL CAPITALS, the words that are not spelt correctly. Our readers are thus enabled to decide at a glance upon this matter. Although the General may not spell Congress with a K, it will be seen he reverses that mode of spelling, by spelling Kaskaskia with a C.

The illiteracy of Gen. Jackson is now so fully proven, that the most intelligent of his supporters give it up. But by way of apology, they have discovered that the great Duke of Marlborough, who foiled and so often defeated the armies of Lous the XIV, could not spell, consequently they seem to infer that ignorance is proof of greatness. So much for that. It comes however, from Virginia. But we presume it will hardly be swallowed by the people of the free states, who have taken so much pains, and spent so much money to diffuse information by establishing a system of free schools. The principles of this letter are as wicked as its composition is wretched. It threatens murder and arson with as little ceremony as if they were mere ordinary events. He would "*involve Silas Dinsmore in the flames of his own agency house.*" This would be taking the law in his own hands with a vengeance. But we hold it unnecessary to extend our comments upon a document, which, in almost every word, speaks so loudly the desperate and reckless character of the man who wrote it.

The Honorable
George W Campbell Esq
Sir

You will receive herewith inclosed, the certificate of John Gordon and Major Thomas G. Bradford editor of the Clareon on the Subject of the card bearing date September 11th 1812 published in the Clareon on the 26th of Sept. 1812 from Silas Dinsmore united States agent to the Chocktaw nation being in the proper hand writing of the said Silas Dinsmore you will also receive enclosed, the paper of the 26th. Sept. containing the card of Mr. Dinsmore which I beg you to lay before the SECRATARY of War, as soon as THE reach you, and I beg you to communicate to me without delay his determination as it RESPECT the removal of Mr. Dinsmore. When I RECD your letter of the 10th of April last inclosing me an extract of the SECRATARY of Wars letter to Silas Dinsmore agent to the CHOCKTAW NATION, I, nor the citizens of West Tennessee, hesitated not, to believe that Silas Dinsmore would cease to exercise over our citizens such lawless tyranny as he had been in the habit of, and that our PEACEFULL and honest citizens would be left to enjoy the free and unmolested use of that road as secured to them by treaty—you can easily Judge and so can the [Secre]-tary of War, our surprise and indignation, at the wan[ton in]sult offered to the whole citizens of West Tennessee by the publication of his card in the Clarion—in which he boasts—that he has set at defiance the SOLEM treaty that secures to our citizens and those of the United States the free and unmolested use of that road as well as the express instructions of the SECRATARY of War

of the 23rd of March last, and boast his detention of a defenceless woman and her property—*and for what!* the want of a passport—? and *my god*; is it come to this—are we *free men or are we Slaves is this real or is it a dream*—for what are we involved in a War with great Britain—is it not for the Support of our rights as an independant people and a nation, Secured to us by nature and natures god as well as SOLEM treaties and the law of nations—and can the SECRATARY of war, for one moment retain the idea, that we will permit this petty Tyrant to Sport with our rights secured to us by treaty and which by the law of nature we do possess—and Sport with our feelings by publishing his *lawless tyranny exercised over a helpless* and *unprotected female*—if he does he thinks too meanly of our Patriotism and GALANTRY—were we base ANOUGH to Surrender our independant rights Secured to us by the bravery and blood of our fore fathers, we are unworthy the name of *freemen*—and we view all rights Secured to us by SOLEM treaty, under the constituted authority, *rights* Secured to us by the blood of our fathers and which we will never yield but with our lives—The indignation of our Citizens are only restrained by assurances that government so Soon as they are notified of this unwarrantable insult, added to the many injuries that Silas Dinsmore has heaped upon our honest and UNOFENDING Citizens, that he will be removed—Should we be decieved in this, be *frank* with the SECRATARY of war that we are free men, and that we will SUPORT the supremacy of the laws, and that the wrath and indignation of our citizens will SWEEPE from the earth the invader of their legal rights and involve Silas Dinsmore in the flames of his agency house—we love order, and nothing but a SUPORT of our legal and inalienable rights would or could prompt us to an act, that could be construed as wearing the appearance of rashness—out Should not the Source of the evil be removed, our, rights secured by trea[ty rest]ored to our citizens—the agent, and his houses will [be] demolished—and when government is applied to, and so often notified of the injuries heaped upon our Citizens and they will adhere to the agent who delights in treading under foot the rights of the Citizens, and exults in their distresses—the evil be upon the government not upon the people who have So often complained without redress—we really hope that the evil will be cut off by the root, by a removal of the agent, should this not be done we will have a right fairly to conclude that the administration winks at the agents conduct under the rose, notwithstanding the instructions of the SECRATARY in his letter to Mr. Dinsmore of the 23rd of march—the right of nature occurs—and if redress is not afforded, I would despise the wretch that Slumber in QUET one night before he CUTT up by the roots the invader of his SOLEM rights, REGUARDLESS of consequences—let not the SECRATARY of War believe that we want more *than Justice*, but both from IDIANS and indian agents, we will enjoy the rights secured to us SOLEM treaty or we will die nobly in their Support, we want but a bare fulfilment of the treaty—we neither UNDER STAND the Tyranny of the agent in open violation of our rights Secured to us by treaty —or the Creek law, that takes from the United States the right guarantied by treaty that the indians who commit murders on our Citizens, shall be delivered up when demanded, to be tried by the laws of the united States & punished—the *Creek law says the Creeks will punish them, themselves*—These INNOVATION without the consent of the constituted power of the government being first had our citizens do not understand, the information of COLO Hawkins U. S. agent for the Creeks and the information of Genl James Robinson agent of the Chickasaw Nation, to the contrary notwithstanding neither can we the citizens of Tennessee believe without better PROOFF that the hair of the head of one of the murderers of Manleys family and Crawleys at the mouth of Duck river are disturbed by the creeks, when we have proof that they lately passed near to CASKASKIA fifteen in number to Join the Prophet—In this particluar we want and do expect the murderers delivered up AGREEABLE to

treaty—this is only *Justice* this we ask of Government—this we are entitled to, and this we must (Sooner or later) and will have—This may be thought strong language—but it is the language that freemen when THE are only claiming a fulfilment of their rights ought to use—it is a language that THE ought to be TOUGHT to lisp from their CREDLES—and never when they are claiming rights of any nation ever to abandon——

Pardon the trouble I have given you in this long letter—it relates to the two Subjects that has for some time IRITATED the publick mind, and is now ready to burst forth in VENGENCE—I am Dr sir with due regard

Yr mo ob servt
(Signed) ANDREW JACKSON.

JACKSON AND BURR.

During the late Presidential canvass a suggestion was made that General Jackson had been engaged with Col. Burr, in his conspiracy, whatever it was, against the union or against Mexico. At that time very little was known of General Jackson, especially of his history before the commencement of his career, in the late war. The public were unwilling to listen to any suggestion of this nature against him. But the events that have since transpired and the developements which have taken place of previous transactions have produced great changes of opinion as to the character of General Jackson.

One of the first circumstances that excited surprise was the fact that General Jackson should be upon terms of intimacy with Samuel Swartwout, who was notoriously one of Burr's agents and instruments. It was to this personage that Gen. Jackson poured out his complaints, as to a bosom friend, upon the subject of being disappointed in obtaining the Presidency. This naturally excited remark, for Mr. Swartwout had not been in very favorable odour, with the public, from the day of his discharge from an accusation of high treason. The assimilation of General Jackson, with many of the colleagues or tools of Burr, also excited some surprise, and when, in 1817, he provoked the following retort from Gen. Adair, men of candor could not but recollect and admit there was something of suspicion attached to him in that business.

"Extract of a letter written by Gen. Adair of Kentucky, to Gen. Jackson, 1817.

"Whatever were the intentions of Col. Burr, I neither organized troops, nor did I superintend the building of boats for him; nor did I write confidential letters recommending him to my friends; nor did I think it necessary, after his followers were universally known, *to raise myself by turning* informer or state witness."

The accusations here conveyed are too obvious to be mistaken. They amount in terms to the charge of building boats, organizing troops, and writing confidential letters recommending him. These charges our readers must remember are made by Gov. Adair. They are corroborated by various pieces of evidence which we shall here publish. We give first an extract of a letter recently received in this city, in which names are mentioned with so much confidence as give strong indication of truth. It is as follows:

"The following is a charge made by by Judge Williams, one of the Circuit Judges of this state, of undisputed veracity; viz: ☞ THAT GENERAL JACKSON WAS ENGAGED IN BURR'S CONSPIRACY, & THAT HE OFFERED HIM (Williams) THE POST OF CAPTAIN IN BURR'S ARMY, and said, I WILL LIVE OR DIE BY THAT."

"The rumor reached Virginia and has created strong excitement with the friends of the General. Mr. Donaldson, his lackey, passed through Carthage on his way to Judge Williams' Circuit, to get him to contradict the report, but failed as it was whispered on his return." If in these surmises and extracts we have done General Jackson injustice, "the gentleman can explain."

The fact that Colonel Burr was on terms of intimacy with General Jack-

son is proven by reference to an extract from a Nashville paper published at the time, stating that Burr was on a visit at the Hermitage, after suspicion had been scattered far and wide against him. We give this extract also as recently published with comments in a Staunton paper.

From the Staunton Spectator.

GEN. JACKSON & COL. AARON BURR.

Every body has heard of Col. Aaron Burr, the daring conspirator who once aimed at the subversion of our republic. Every one knows that he was guilty of the charges alleged against him by his country. But every body does not know that General Jackson, whom his partizans are now endeavoring to seat in the Presidential chair, was, while that conspiracy was carrying on, the friend and associate of Burr. That while all good and true patriots were in a state of alarm for the safety of their government—while every effort was making to apprehend the traitor and bring him to merited justice, he was softly reposing under the shades of the Hermitage, enjoying the friendship and hospitality of our would-be president. The following extract from the Tennessee Gazette, taken therefrom into the Richmond Enquirer of the 20th January, 1807, a paper published then, as now by Thomas Ritchie, will serve to demonstrate as well the relation in which he stood to General Jackson: as the relation in which he stood to the country.

"Col. Burr arrived on Sunday evening last, at General Jackson's about 9 miles from this town; and has been in this place several times this week. He appears to be preparing for some movement, we know not where.—Should he attempt any hostile movements we will make it known."

Thus it seems that while Col. Burr, "appeared preparing for some movement," and while the people of Tennessee were every day expecting him to attempt some "hostile movements," he makes General Jackson's house his stopping place, and thence visits Nashville. Was Jackson a partner in Burr's conspiracy? We do not say that.—But that he was a friend to the traitor, let his conduct in Richmond show, where, during Burr's trial, every body knows the effort Jackson made to shield him from conviction, and throw all the guilt from the shoulders of Burr, on those of General Wilkinson.

These things are suspicious at least. Let the people look to it.

CIVIS.

The correctness of the extract is indisputable, because it purports to be copied from the Richmond Enquirer, which would *now* be ready enough to correct its falsehood, could it do so.

On the 11th of December, 1806, Captain James Read, wrote a letter from Pittsburgh to the Secretary of war, directly implicating Gen. Jackson. The following extracts are from this letter.

"Although it may be impossible for me to produce evidence of any one of the following circumstance: yet I declare to you upon my honor, that I am most firmly persuaded of the truth of them."

"The associates of Burr are from different parts of the Union. *many of them wealthy and enterprising men*, and his friends are incalculable. Generals Dayton and JACKSON of Tennessee and one other person not named to me, are said to be his chief officers; and Daniel Clark, of New Orleans, a Mr. Blenherhasset of Ohio, and a Mr. Alston his son-in-law, all men of wealth, are among his bankers. The states of Kentucky and Tennessee are entirely devoted to Colonel Burr, and from these states he will acquire considerable bodies of troops to be headed by Gen. JACKSON, of the latter, who no doubt before this has marched with a body of militia under the pretence of co-operating with General Wilkinson against the Spaniards on the Sabine.

"At Natchez they join Col. Burr, who will, either then, or at some other point on the Mississippi, raise hisst andard and proclaim his intentions, if he has friends about him. They then descend the river to New Orleans, where Colonel Burr will be joined by Colonel Swartwout."

The facts asserted by those various pieces of testimony deduced from dif

ferent witnesses, in very distant parts of the country, and at different periods of time, are certainly of no light or trivail character. They affix strong suspicion on the General, and certainly require explanation. The question may be asked why was not General Jackson implicated at the time, and proceeded against by the Government? Gen. Adair gives the answer. He turned "*informer* or State *witness*."—He saved himself as Wilkinson did. But remembers still his old asociates, in that "high emprise," with affectionate regard. Hence his intimacy with one of its principal agents, Samuel Swartwout, Esq. And hence the sympathy for him, felt by so many of the ardent spirits, who in that day, as in this, were disgusted with the "*dull pursuits of civil life*." This is a case that calls loudly for the intervention of the white-washing committee, of Nashville, who, when they cannot prove a fact by witnesses, can certify it themselves. The public will form their own opinion of the evidence here submitted; and determine what must be the inference should it be passed over in silence. As faithful chroniclers of the deeds of General Jackson we have collected and presented the facts, just as we have found them in print: To us they present a case of strong, and as we think, well grounded suspicion.

JACKSON & LIVINGSTON.

[The letter addressed to Edward Livingston, which is inserted at length in this number of the Expositor, is a document of more than ordinary interest. It supplies a key to much that has heretofore appeared ambiguous in the character of General Jackson. We learn from it, not only that Mr. Livingston was the writer of Gen. Jackson's despatches, orders, and defences, but that Mr. Livingston was also his military and civil adviser. The violences of Gen. Jackson are traced to the antipathies of Mr Livingston, and the characters of those who were the General's applauders, are fully depicted. The whole bears intrinsic evidence of the truth. The reader will perceive, by an attentive perusal of it, how entirely Gen. Jackson's character has been misconceived. Instead of a man reposing upon himself and confiding in his own powers, he appears a mere instrument in the hands of an artful and skilful manager, who can make him say and do, whatever interest or revenge may dictate. We especially request our readers to note the nature of the employments of Lafitte and his band of piratical associates. Their absence would seem to account for the failure of attention to the General at his recent visit to New Orleans. What associates! what followers for a President of the United States!]

LETTER TO

EDWARD LIVINGSTON, ESQ.

Sir,—There are professions and vocations in life which indispensably require the aid of certain essential qualities, and without which their followers never would find out the avenues to even temporary success, much less ensure that species of it which is the landmark of their ambition. The pickpocket who would fail of dexterity, the soldier who is deficient in courage and intrepidity, and the political aspirant who attempts to carry his schemes into execution, unaided by abilities of the very first order, must sooner or later sink into nothingness. Insignificance, if not oblivion, or the contempt of their contemporaries and rivals on the road to preferment, is their inevitable lot. If the profession of the law has ever exposed its practitioners to the imputation of slight of hand tricks, the charge of a want of dexterity cannot, assuredly, be laid at your door; and as volunteer aid to Gen. Jackson, during the invasion, you have yourself, (the most expert penman among his satellites, and the usual writer of those official despatches for which he gained so large a share of credit) taken good care to place your short-lived career as a soldier on record, and at considerable distance from the suspicion of cowardice, by making the old General thank his volunteer aids for the display of "their cool bravery and intrepidity." Without, however, pretending to scrutinize your claims to distinction on these two scores, it is impossible to overlook the richness of those acquirements, the splendor of those talents, which, as an orator and as a writer, a pleader and a juris-consult, have ever entitled you to that peculiar admiration, which, in the ordinary phraseology of the day, would have been called boundless, had not the abuse of those shining qualities, and their misapplication to purposes of political prostitution, marked its limits.

The good and bad folks of Louisiana, whom you are so well pleased to call your constituents, can have had no difficulty in discovering a fresh instance of your extraordinary endowments, and of the still more extraordinary depravity of taste, of judgment, nay, of principle, that has ever directed their combined exercise, in the speech held by you at Washington, at the celebration of the "glorious 8th of January." This speech, by no means one of the weakest links of that long chain of political deception and intrigue, the forgery of which commenced in your hands, has been circulated in the Union, by the General's partizans, with great industry; and even the respectable and highly gifted editor of the National Gazette, in selecting the greater part for the last page of his No. 1065, (22d January) suffers himself to be betrayed into an allusion to the historical importance of your testimony, merely because you were an eye-witness of what you have related. It is time to arrest the progress of so palpable an error. If to the brilliancy of your eloquence, to the fluency, polish, and refinement of your language, to the pithy preciseness of your narrative, the praise of historical accuracy, of unquestionable veracity, could be added, then indeed, would the speech delivered by you on the 8th of Januaay, possess historical importance. But altho' the consummate artifice and skill which lies at the bottom of this specimen of your oratory, may escape the eye of ordinary scrutiny, it cannot fail to strike one, who like myself, has been for nearly twenty-five years a dispassionate, an unbiassed, and an unsuspected observer of your private, public, and political flounderings. In the tranquility of agricultural pursuits, in the indulgence of the utmost indifference towards the petty political squabbles and party intrigues of this section of the Union, (in which, by the bye, you have never failed to take an active and conspicuous part whenever you had a chance of doing so) and in the retirement of the closet, the eye of constant, acute observation was not shut—I have followed you through all the sinuosities and ramifications of your political wanderings with attention, with interest—with increasing admiration at every fresh display of your talents, and with increasing regret at every additional prostitution and departure from the path of rectitude. I am able, I am willing, I am bound to tell the truth. I, too, have been an eye-witness of all, of much more than you have, than you *could* have related from personal experience and observation; and I owe it to the land of my nativity, to the country in which I did not to be sure, receive my education, but in which my most important interests are at stake, to tear the veil from that deep laid plot, which as I have said before, originated entirely with yourself—the plot to raise Gen. Jackson to the Presidency.

The consummate artifice and skill which lies at the bottom of your oratorical display on the 8th of January, might be matter of easy discovery where you are known, sufficiently known to be understood. But not on all occasions did you wear that holiday garb, in which you are wont to appear at Washington, and which, until your great object, the elevation of Gen. Jackson to the presidency, is attained, you will continue to wear. "Dans les grandes choses (says that profound observer of human nature, Champfort) les hommes se montrent comme il leur convient de se montrer; dans les petites, ils se montrent comme ils sont." This applies no less to yourself than with greater force still to your idol. All the puffs and falsehoods of party and partizans notwithstanding, there remained with the reflecting, sober minded part of the great American community, a deep impression, an internal conviction that, setting intrepidity aside, all the other qualities of a great, of a high-minded man, had been denied to General Jackson. This you seem to have felt—this was the blank that required filling up. Yet the best of declamations, the highest colouring of eloquence will not give a man that which he does not possess. What extraordinary quality of the head and of the heart did this bush-fighting, butchering Indian warrior evince previous to the defence of New-Orleans? You

have not even attempted to cite one solitary instance of the kind, although more than twelve lustres had passed over the General's head when he appeared in that city. Have all those great and distinguishing qualities which you have patched together in your speech "prudence, humanity, creative genius, wisdom, courtesy, cheerful submission to the laws," &c. been lying dormant; was there no symptom of the existence of any of them, during so long a period? No, sir! there was not. But, were your account, your testimony entitled to faith, the conclusion would be inevitable, that they had shown forth all of a sudden, in an effulgence of glory, during the defence of New-Orleans—neither before nor after. Every instance of prudence, of humanity, of creative genius, and of courtesy, which you relate, is taken from that short period of the General's life, and from no other; and this is done in the true style of an able pleader, to complete the parallel between Gen. Jackson's electioneering days, and the times when the immortal author of the Declaration of American Independence was raised to the presidential chair—two men, who have not one single point of affinity between them.

One part of your eloquent discourse, and the only one, is entitled to the praise of the utmost historical correctness—it is the account which you give of the state of our defence at the time of the appearance of the British squadron in our waters. But that it is not easy to recognize, in certain expressions, the writer of the General's official despatches, you will not deny; and the very allusion to national prejudices, which, among the sundry inhabitants of this country, of different nations and origin, "were converted into the noblest emulation," is only a repetition of the production of your own pen in Gen. Jackson's general address to the army on the 21st of January, 1815.* You cannot, however, long remain in the path which historical truth would bid you follow; the moment you attempt to raise the merits of your idol, you deceive your hearers, for it is impossible to think that you could have deceived yourself.—Not you, indeed, to whom a great part of the credit of the defence of New-Orleans is due. From what I have stated already, you cannot suspect the sincerity of the declaration, that if Gen. Jackson was entitled to the praise of boldness and intrepidity, every subsequent step, which had the stamp of deliberation, of reflection, of calculation, was your own, wholly and exclusively your own. It was you, sir, who made the Gen'l. familiar with the motley mixture, which is called the population of Louisiana; nor have I forgotten, although others may, that Gen. Jackson's first and leading measures were adopted on the strength of your advice. The twofold motive of crushing your old antagonist (Governor Claiborne) and his party, and the far nobler one of discharging the duties of a friend to his country (which your aberrancies notwithstanding, I sincerely believe you to be) equally influenced your counsels. I am, as you perceive, not disposed to withold from you this passing tribute of justice, and the impartiality which it bespeaks, will I trust, offer the best justification of the necessity, and the best apology for the severity of my censure of your political frauds and artifices. That the 1500 men—the only disposable force of the country—who hastened to meet the enemy, on the 23d of December, 1814, marched gaily and cheerfully to the rencontre, is true; but it is not true, that they had "a perfect knowledge that they were about to attack in the field three times their numbers."—five hundred men had been seen about Villere's plantation—this is all that was known and said on the subject. And when you say: "that none but such a leader could have planned such an attack," you seem to forget (and indeed you only seem, for you well knew to the

* These are the words: "Natives of various countries, for the first time united in one and the same camp, as different from each other in habits as in language, these very circumstances which seemed to contain the seeds of distrust and division, only became the source of the noblest emulation."

contrary) that there existed no other plan than to meet the enemy, and fight. Here is Gen. Jackson's principal—here is his only merit. He was honest in his determination; he was sincere in his wish—it was his hobby to fight, at any price, at any hazard. And this as you truly say, decided the fate of the campaign—"it taught the enemy to respect our courage; it led him to overrate our numbers, and made him wait." Thus far I agree with you. But the judicious choice of the position after the attack, was not the General's choice. His intention, well known in the little band under his command, was to renew the attack after the dawn of day; and not until he learned that two thousand men more had landed from the British fleet; not until you had pressed upon him the expediency of sending for Maj. St. Geme, an experienced French officer, who commanded the second company, the dismounted dragoons in Plauche's battalion: not until he had cautioned the General against the risk of being surrounded by a force treble in numbers, did you succeed in prevailing upon him to retreat before daylight, and to take up the subsequent position, which Maj. St. Geme had pointed out, in accordance with the opinion of Gen. Moreau, who a few years before, had visited and surveyed the country, and whose experienced eye had pitched upon it, as the one affording the greatest facilities for defence, being little more than half a mile in breadth, bordered upon one side by an impenetrable wood, on the other by the river. Here again was your advice of infinite value to the country; and although you have sacrificed on the altar of your idol, every personal credit which you could have claimed on the occasion, it is not the less due to you. But here, too, I must take leave of every share of credit that should belong to you.

To use again your own words:—"Let us examine what followed." Yes, let us examine those acts, in which you think the General evinced all those great qualities, for which it is impossible to find in his own history, before and after the defence of New-Orleans, either precedent or parallel; and whilst we proceed to this examination, do not let us overlook that empty oratorical flourish, that at the very moment you were on your legs—to use the fashionable parliamentary language, "a scene was exhibiting at New-Orleans, which could have done honor to the classic days of Greece." What, the intoxication of half a dozen militia officers, the shouting of a negro rabble, the hollow verbosity of your brother-in-law, Mr. Davezac, the speechyfying attempts of the illiterate Marigny, done honor to the classic days of Greece? The declaration of martial law at New-Orleans, shortly after the General's arrival, in 1814, was a most salutary, a saving measure in a community made up of so many heterogeneous materials, as the New-Orleans community was at that period, and with some modifications for the better, is still. The knowledge of the adoption of such a measure alone, was sufficient—it acted upon the timid, it gave confidence to the courageous, and unity to the military measures which were adopted, and in which the civil authorities heartily concurred. Let it be remembered, that there was not a single occurrence which rendered its exercise necessary: the good sense of the better portion of the community gave an example to the rest; and every body felt, that zeal and alacrity in the defence of the country, were its only salvation. The end which the General had in view, and in the attainment of which every body lent a helping hand, had been accomplished: the remnant of the British force had been embarked, and the General's official despatches to government, contained those memorable words: "In my opinion, there is but little doubt that the enemy's last exertions have been made in this quarter, at any rate for the present season." The British, having carried away some slaves from the few plantations upon which they had been encamped, you were sent by Gen. Jackson to visit your old friend Admiral Cochrane, in company with Mr. R. D. Shepherd and Mr. M. White, to make an attempt at redeeming them; and on your return from this visit to the Brit-

ish fleet, you brought the official account of the signing of the Ghent treaty, which Admiral Cochrane had put into your hands. Messrs. Shepherd and White were not restrained from telling this piece of intelligence, but nothing authentic could be known from Head-quarters—the General's aulic council sat in conclave, and with him, as well as with his volunteer-aids, the leading sentiment was regret at the necessity of relinquishing so soon, "the little brief authority" which had been assumed. (2)

It was now that the citizens of New-Orleans were told that *the whole town* formed a part of the General's camp, and that they were to feel the severity of martial law. On the 21st of January, the encampment below the city, which had been so emphatically called "Jackson Lines," was abandoned.—The troops actually engaged in the defence of that position, were marched into town—the regular troops into the barracks—and a part of the undisciplined militia of the city (the regiments of Colonel Dejan *et al.*) because they had, together with some drafted militia from Kentucky and Louisiana, run away on the 8th, from the unfinished breastwork on the right bank of the river, when turned by the British infantry, were to be punished for their cowardice, by an order to march into and watch the old encampment on the left, after the General had himself declared "that the enemy's last exertions had been made in that quarter." A great part of these militiamen were shop-keepers and mechanics, whose families were dependent upon the yieldings of their industry and manual labour—many of them French subjects, and not naturalised in this state—they felt the hardship of their situation—they applied to the French Consul for relief, and the French Consul promised it, after having made the General acquainted with the instructions which he had received from the French Minister at Washington, and obtained his permission to issue certificates to those amongst them who could prove themselves virtually and actually French subjects, and had not taken the oath of allegiance to the United States; whereby they would, it was generally understood, become exonerated from the performance of militia duty. The French Consul, relying upon the General's permission, obeyed his instructions; but the General, declaring that he had not, to be sure, objected to the issuing of those certificates, but that he had not pledged himself to respect them, disregarded the encouragement which he had given; and now the "cloven foot" began to be exhibited—the arrests commenced. Mr. Louaillier, a member of the Legislature, was arrested on the 5th of March (fully three weeks after the General knew of the signing of the Ghent treaty) for complaining of the General's treatment to the French subjects: Judge Dom. A. Hall was arrested for issuing a writ of *habeas corpus* for Louaillier; the District Attorney, Mr. John Dick, was arrested for having applied to Judge Lewis for a writ for Judge Hall; the French Consul was exiled from the city, with a number of refractory Frenchmen as they were called, and a Mr. Hollander, a respectable peaceable inhabitant, was arrested for the simple observation, which happened to escape him at one of the corners of the streets before some busy friends of the General's, that the encouragement given by the General to the French Consul to issue certificates, with the secret motive of learning the names of the applicants, was "a dirty trick"! This was immediately reported at Head-quarters—Hollander was arrested upon a charge of "disrespect to his superior officer, with an avowed object to excite mutiny in the camp," and only released upon signing a bond for one thousand dollars, that he would abide by the result of his trial before a Court-Martial. The bond was drawn up *by yourself*, Sir, *in your own hand-writing*, the very morning of Hollander's arrest; and notwithstanding all this, the same individual was arrested a second time, on the same day, whilst at dinner, by Major Augustus Davezac, your brother-in-law, a volunteer Aid of the General's like yourself, strutting

(2) See Appendix, No. 4

with his epaulets before a file of soldiers, because it had been reported at Head-quarters, that an application had been made for a writ of *habeas corpus*. The trial actually commenced before a Court-Martial. Major Davezac conducting the proceedings as Judge-advocate; and when the news of peace, and its ratification, arrived from Washington, Hollander as well as other "military offenders of the same sort, were graciously pardoned." This fact may afford some elucidation of your comment, that not a single punishment was inflicted for a military offence during the campaign. And now, Sir, was it by means like these that the country was saved? Was it by acts of this description, by such wanton aggression, that the "spirit of the law was preserved," as you have the hardihood to assert? (3) Another still more important fact deserves to be generally known, for amongst all the misrepresentations of which your speech abounds, it is the grossest. I allude to your account of the General's appearance before Judge Hall, to answer for his contempt of the laws. You speak of the silence which he imposed on "the murmurs of an indignant audience," of his offer "to interpose his person to protect the tribunal from disturbance." Infamous deception! It is only necessary to say who composed this audience, from what source proceeded these "indignant murmurs," to understand at once the barefacedness with which this falsehood is proclaimed to the world. Have you forgotten, Sir, those piratical times, when the self-stiled Emperor Lafitte, your client, had his Head-quarters at Barrataria; when every inlet, every creek in this state, was infested with his gang; when together with your brother-in-law (sometimes Doctor, sometimes Major, sometimes Alderman) Davezac, you were the constant legal adviser, the permanent counsel of those pirates that occasionally fell into the hands of Justice? When this unexceptionable model of a husband, of a man of honor, Doctor, Major, Alderman, was seen in *daily company* with the younger Lafitte, likewise *a notorious pirate?*—When both of you were the never-failing source of relief to the Dominiques, the Beluches, the Gambas, the Lafittes, and the rest of the piratical crew? Have you forgotten, that at the very time of General Jackson's arrival in this country, in December, 1814, Dominique You, the pirate, now one of the Committee of Vigilance of the General's friends, was in jail upon a charge of piracy? That you were employed, upon conditions not generally known, but fairly guessed at, to relieve him and the partner of his toils and of his profits, (the very Major St. Geme, commander of the dismounted dragoons in Plauche's battallion, whose able counsel you advised the old General to follow) from the inevitable infamy that awaited them? Here was the opportunity to indulge your charitable dispositioa; to render

".....Some gracious service unexpress'd
"And from its wages only to be guess'd,"

and to do also some service to the country. It is a deception to say, that these pirates would have had it in their power to assist the invasion of the British. But that they were usefully employed in the service of the country, admits of no doubt. It was not, as you have thought proper to say, "that moral force which is inspired by a love of country"—for what country do pirates acknowledge? but it was the love of life, the promised exemption from the gallows, that drove them from the post of danger; and whilst they saved their necks by your assistance, it will give me pleasure to learn that your pocket was not assisted by blending the salvation of their necks with the salvation of the country. What else could these people do, than hasten to the United States' District Court, when Judge Hall [who, by the bye, attached but a partial share of blame to the General for the intemperance of his measures, and chiefly laid it at your door, never failing to consider you, and the late A. L. Duncan, as the perfidious counsellors whose pernicious advice had led to them] what else, said I, could they do, than fill the Court and raise those "indignant murmurs" when their great liberator, the old General,

(3) See Appendix, No. III

was summoned before the authority of the law, to answer for its violation? The Court was filled, not indeed with disinterested spectators, but with the members of St. Geme's company, chiefly made up of smugglers and pirates, marshalled by your brother-in-law, Augustus Davezac, the Major and Judge-advocate *par excellence;* and when the General left the Court-house, it was not, as you pretend to say, a crowd of "grateful citizens" that bore him off in triumph, but these very men, these "acquitted felons," and no other, who were bid to do so by your fellow-aid, then Major and Doctor Davezac, and now, neither the one nor the other, nor indeed any thing that would entitle him to something beyond the passing notice of idle curiosity. That Gen. Jackson paid himself the fine which he was condemned to pay, a fine of one thousand dollars, which you call heavy, when, had it been a fee, particularly from a pirate in jail, you would have called it light, is perfectly true. But that the offer to reimburse him was from the *inhabitants*, that it was *unanimous*, is a fresh departure from truth. Your fellow-aid, the late A. L. Duncan, who had enjoyed his share of applause "for his cool bravery and intrepidity," when neither you nor him were to be seen in camp on the "glorious 8th of January," and Mr. Joseph Saul, cashier of the Bank of Orleans, were the prime movers, the great originators of a subscription to raise the amount of the fine of one thousand dollars. It was understood that no body would be allowed to subscribe for more than one dollar, in order to give to it the aspect of unanimity amongst the inhabitants. The expedient failed. The present Marshal of the United States District, Mr. John Nicholson, a nephew of the late A. L. Duncan, was seen skipping about the streets, the list in his hand, and collecting the signature of almost every clodpate he met in congenial mood. With all this exertion of his activity, he gathered about 400 subscribers only, and occasionally a dollar without a signature was tendered to him. Amongst the persons to whom he applied, was Mr. Peter Roche, the captain of the flank company in Plauche's battalion, called *Carabiniers*. "If the General wants a dollar"—said the worthy officer—"I will give it to you with pleasure, but I will not swell the list by my name." Mr. Nicholson's reply was, that it was his name, and not his dollar, that was wanted. Was this unanimity? Another instance of the real feelings of the community, on the subject of the General's unnecessary acts of oppression, deserves to be rescued from oblivion. When the confirmation of the news of peace arrived from Washington, your great idol "graciously pardoned" all offenders, against the military authority. One of these offenders, whose punishment from confinement in the barracks had been commuted into exile beyond the limits of the camp, was Judge Dom. A. Hall. He was at that time living at a plantation about four miles above the city. Some of the most respectable citizens, Mr. R. D. Shepherd, Mr. Wm. Nott, and many others, immediately determined to form a cavalcade and escort the Judge to town. At the head of this cavalcade, composed of about sixty gentlemen of the first respectability, was to be seen, and much to his credit, Mr. John R. Grymes, the late District Attorney for the United States, who, at the very time, was, like yourself, one of the five volunteer-aids to Gen. Jackson, and the only one amongst them to whom the praise of bravery and intrepidity had been justly due; for on every occasion, during the short campaign, had he been seen anxious to seek a post of honor and of danger, disdaining to resort to the batteries of inkstands, and to the mining in the secret recesses of the Camp. (1)

How far the same spirit animated you, may be judged from the circumstance that as soon as it was known in the General's family, from the communications of the late Major-general Laronde, who on the 6th of January, had dined at his own country seat, with General Packenham and the rest of the British staff, and in the course of the 7th, brought the intelligence that a general attack was intended to be

(1) See Appendix, No. II.

made on the 8th, a bowel-complaint took you at once to the city on the evening of the 7th, and that you did not re-appear at head quarters until the afternoon of the 8th—a long time after the fate of the day had been decided, which you accidentally learnt on the balcony of your residence in Conde street, *en robe de chambre*. Another of the volunteer aids, the late A. L. Duncan, was likewise to be seen in the city during the whole morning of the "glorious eighth," galloping up and down the streets, and beating up for reinforcements amongst the old women, with or without petticoats, who met at the corners of the streets. This was "cool bravery" indeed!

I shall say nothing of those patches of scarlet, with which you have thought fit to ornament the General's uniform—of those traits of humanity to which you allude—for there is no man in his senses who can be deceived by so shallow an artifice, and think the deep stains which the habitual barbarity of his character, the Indian massacres, the unnecessary murder of Ambrister and Arbuthnot, and other instances of the kind, have left in the midst of the orb of his military glory, well wiped off by the tritling exertion to exempt the British prisoners, enlisted by General Humbert, from punishment; by the tritling attention paid to the British wounded, left behind by Major-general Lambert, and *especially recommended* to his care and protection. Fudge! To wind up, it may not be unnecessary once more to expose the pliancy, the flexibility of your time-serving policy. In the military ardour which pervaded your breast *after* the eighth of January, whilst penning the official account to government, a severe censure escaped you upon the unarmed Kentuckians who deserted the mud bank on the right shore of the Mississippi—something was said about "inglorious flight." This was too strong for the stomach of the Kentuckians—they talked of tarring and feathering the old General, who, for some years, avoided the limits of that state. How the times are altered! Ever since the elevation of the General to the Presidency, was brought upon the carpet, the vote of Kentucky became of importance; nothing was left untried to put the people of that state in a good humour. Thus it is found that at the close of your oration, a high compliment is paid to the bravery of the Kentuckians, which you say your constituents would blame you for, were it omitted. The Kentucky militia, properly armed and commanded, as it was under Gen. Adair, behaved as well as any other troops on the ground; and that the drafted militia on the right bank, armed with pikes and hay-stakes, under no command, would have run away when there was no officer to stop them, might have been expected.

I have called you the father of the plan to raise General Jackson to the Presidency, and the first whispers that were circulated in Louisiana, even before it had been ascertained what effect the deliverance of N. Orleans would have at Washington, are in every body's remembrance. This prospect gave the first relief to the almost desperate situation in which the struggle for the possession of the Batture, and other schemes, had left you; it was the sheet-anchor of your hopes and expectations, the corner-stone for the re-construction of your fallen fortunes. To a certain extent you have succeeded—the idol of Juggernaut triumphantly rides on the necks of the republican party; but whether they will continue to worship an idol whose traces are blood—whether they will consent to remain prostrate before the man, who, in the midst of so many vices, possesses but one solitary redeeming quality which can be called his own, martial intrepidity, and, with a childish fondness for change, desert another, whose many private and political virtues ought to endear him, wheresoever the unavoidable alloy of the common foibles of mankind, from which he is no more exempt than any other human being, does not throw a temperorary shade over their mild and benignant light; who, unfortunately for him-self, still more unfortunately for his cause—which is the cause of his country—is deficient in political tact, but certainly not in rectitude—time alone will show!

"'Tis not in mortals to command success," says Addison, but it may be deserved as well as usurped. The history of our days has furnished striking instances of the truth of this observation, and were those men who, like yourself, pull the wires of the great political puppet show, entitled to that faith to which you have long since forfeited every claim, the catalogue of heart-sickening anomalies of this kind, would be likely to receive a fresh addition by the elevation of Gen. Jackson to the Presidency. But no! The sober sense of the great American community may be led astray for a while, but cannot, for any length of time, be deceived, much less silenced by any combination of immorality and of thoughtlessness, by any compromise between depth of design and ignorance, by any traffic between dull-headed integrity and unprincipled ambition. These are the discordant materials out of which your party is made up—I call it your's, because it owes its birth to you—it lives by your fostering care—it is your offspring, possessing every legal qualification, without one particle of legitimacy.

Here I shall take my leave of you. Personal motives in addressing you this letter, I have none. I have said already that your splendid talents have commanded my admiration—I may add, that your social qualities have endeared you to my recollection, whilst the silent appeal of your worldly vicissitudes and misfortunes to the kindest feelings of human nature, has not yet lost its effect upon my breast. But your political depravity deserved exposure—censure would be too mild a term: and the contempt, if not the execration of every friend to his country, ought to be the ultimate reward of that man, whose flexible patriotism has ever received its peculiar stamp and direction from the impulse of necessity, and whose political ambition leaves the eye of scrutiny to seek in vain for that distinguished quality, which, to use the language of Lord Chatham, "alone makes its virtue——the sense of honor."

W.

Natchez, 10th March, 1828.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

The reader may justly doubt the evidence of his senses, when he learns that the news of the signing of the Ghent treaty, reached New-Orleans on the 15th of February; that Mr. Livingston was the bearer of it; that the arrest of Judge Hall took place on the 5th of March, three weeks afterwards; and that to these high handed measures, to these wanton violations of the constitution of the United States, he could, 13 years afterwards, unblushingly ascribe the preservation of "the spirit of the laws" by the very man who has never failed to trample them under his feet, whenever he could do so, without open rebellion. From the Louisana Gazette of the 22d February, 1815, published by Godwin B. Cotten, at New-Orleans, I transcribe the following article:

"On Tuesday we published a small handbill, containing such information as we had conceived correct, respecting the signing of preliminaries of peace between the American and British commissioners at Ghent. We have since been informed, from *Headquarters*, that the information therein contained, is incorrect, and we have been *ordered* to publish the following, to do away the *evil* that might arise from our *imprudence*. Every man may read for himself, and *think* for himself; (thank God! our thoughts are as yet unshackled!!) but as we have been *officially* informed that the city of New-Orleans is *a camp*, our readers must not expect us to take the liberty of expressing our opinion as we might in a *free city*. We cannot submit to have *a censor of the press* in our office; and as we are *ordered* not to publish any remarks without authority, we shall submit to be silent, until we can speak with safety—except making our paper a sheet of *shreds and patches* —a mere *advertiser* for our mercantile friends!"

"HEAD-QUARTERS, 7th Military District,
New-Orleans, Feb. 21, 1815.

"SIR—It is expected that you will give immediate publicity to the inclosed, by printing it in hand bills, as you have printed *that* which *this* is meant to counteract: and also, by inserting it in your next paper.

JOHN REED, Aid-de-camp,
Mr. Cotten, Editor of the Louisiana Gazette.

H. Q. 7th MILITARY DISTRICT,
New-Orleans, Feb. 21, 1815.

SIR—The Commanding General having seen a publication which issued from your press today, stating "that a flag had just arrived from Admiral Cochrane to Gen. Jackson, officially announcing the *conclusion* of peace at Ghent, between the United States and Great Britain, and *virtually requesting a suspension of arms*," requires that you will hasten to remove any improper impression which so *unauthorized and incorrect* a statement may have made.

No request, either direct or *virtual*, has been made to him by the commander of either the land or naval forces of Great Britain, for a suspension of arms. The letter of "Bathurst to the Lord Mayor," which furnishes the only *official* information that has been communicated, will not allow the supposition that a suspension of hostilities is meant or expected, until the treaty signed by the respective Commissioners, shall have received the ratification of the Prince-Regent and of the President of the United States.

A COPY OF THAT LETTER HAD BEEN SOME DAYS BEFORE, BROUGHT BY MR. LIVINGSTON, FROM THE ENGLISH FLEET, AND PUBLISHED IN THE CITY.

The commanding General again calls upon his fellow citizens and soldiers to recollect that it is yet uncertain whether the articles which have been signed at Ghent for the re-establishment of peace, will be approved by those whose approbation is necessary to give efficacy to them. Until that approbation is given, and properly announced, he would be wanting to the important interests which have been confided to his protection, if he permitted any relaxation in the army under his command. How disgraceful as well as disastrous would it be, if by surrendering ourselves credulously and weakly to newspaper publications—often proceeding from ignorance, but more frequently from dishonest designs—we permitted an enemy whom we have so lately and so gloriously beaten, to regain the advantages he has lost, and triumph over us in turn!

The General Order issued on the 19th inst. expresses the feelings, the views, and the hopes which the Commanding General still entertains.

Henceforward, it is expected that no publication of the nature of that herein alluded to and censured, will appear in any paper of this city, unless the editor shall have previously ascertained its *correctness*, and gained permission for its *insertion*, from the *proper source*.

By command,
JOHN REED, Aid-de-Camp.
Mr. Cotten, Editor of the Louisiana Gazette.

NO. II.

Amongst the daily visitors of Mr. Livingston's family at that period, was a fellow by the name of *Leclerc*, the Editor of a French paper called *l'Ami des-lois*—a man of some wit and readiness at repartee, but of the utmost vulgarity of manners, low and contemptible in his habits, and in daily association with the Lafittes, the Beluches, and other pardoned pirates, yet admitted at the *dejeuners a la fourchette* of Madam L. (the New-Orleans parody of the Parisian beauty, Madame Recamier) when they would ply him with Champaigne, permit him to talk *ad libitum*, and allow every license to his tongue—"homme d'un genie extraordinaire, d'un esprit superieur, on doit tout lui pardoner"—this was the cant apology for the pleasure with which his most licentious observations and sayings were listened to and received. Upon Judge Hall's return to the city, his personal friends, and the friends of order and constitutional rights, proposed to give him a public dinner—an advertisement to that effect was sent to all the editors of the New-Orleans papers of that period, and it could not possibly be supposed, that the Editor of "*The Friend of the Laws*" would have hesitated about publishing it. But poor Judge Hall was no favourite at the *dejeuners a la fourchette* in Conde street—the clients of Mr. Livingston, the bosom friends of Maj. Davezac, the daily associates of Leclerc, had been in irons—the Judge always declining to admit them to bail. These were mortal offences, that could not be pardoned at immaculate *dejeuners*, and the Judge, whose sagacity in discovering the drift of those shifts that were resorted to for the purpose of screening the pirates from capital punishment, was only equal to his sterling integrity, the Judge was left with the choice of an alternative of epithets, "un malheureux qui ne connait pas ses devoirs" or "un miserable qui les oublie." Accordingly "The Friend of the Laws," of the 28th March, 1815, appeared with the following Editorial article:

"A gentleman, for whom I entertain as much esteem as friendship, sent me, on Saturday last, an advertisement, which I declined publishing. These are my reasons: The object of this advertisement was to make it known that a dinner would be given in honor of a man who had been picked up, *dead drunk*, from the filth in the streets; who like a *cowardly fugitive*, has been seen ignobly deserting his post the moment the first cannon shot was fired, and never stopping until he had succeeded in throwing a space of 150 miles between the balls and himself; who as long as he had it in his power, never could find irons, bolts and chains enough to weigh down some brave fellows (i. e., the pirates, friends and clients of Messrs. L. and D.) who, in half an hour, have rendered more important services to this country, than a thousand individuals similar to the one in whose honor the dinner is to be given, would be able to render during the whole course of their lives; of one of those beings, finally, who, like the mean vulture, never show themselves on the battle field, until the fight is over, in order to sharpen their impure beaks and their rapacious claws upon an easy prey. J. LECLERC."

And the blackguard that could pen such a paragraph, who was considered no unwelcome guest in Mr. Livingston's house, had just received (through the protecting influence of *Colonel* Edward Livingston and of *Major* Augustus Davezac) several hundred dollars of public money for a few handbills *officially* printed for Gen. Jackson.

A few years afterwards, his skeleton corpse was discovered on an old matrass, in a vessel found in the Gulf of Honduras, without a living soul on board. Othello's occupation was gone—his gibes and his jests no longer finding bidders at New-Orleans, with some of his piratical friends he proceeded to join Aury's gang at Old-Providence, where he was made Judge of a mock Court of Admiralty. A *learned* and *righteous* Judge indeed! whose decisions not unfrequently verified the words of a French poem, once circulated at New Providence during Napoleon's belligerent days,

"..... *le Juge, sans foi, et d'un cœur mercenaire,*
Partage sans pudeur les profits du Corsaire."

NO. III.

The reader will not forget that the arrest of Mr. Louaillier, and Judge Hall, took place on the 5th of March. On the 6th, *the very next day*, General Jackson wrote us follows to Major-general Lambert:

"*Head Quarters, 6th March*, 1815.

"SIR—I have just received intelligence from Washington, which leaves little doubt in my mind, that the treaty signed at Ghent, between the United States and Great Britain, *has been ratified* by the President and Senate of the United States; but," &c. &c.

Yet, on this same day, the arrest of Mr Dick took place, and he was confined in the barracks until the 12th of March. On the 8th

of March, the General rescinded the order by which the "refractory Frenchmen" were exiled to Baton-Rouge; but he made an exception with the Consul, the Chevallier de Tousard, against whom he felt, for some reason or other, peculiar spite. All this was done, no doubt, as Mr Livingston said, to "preserve the spirit of the law."

TRUE CHARACTER OF GENERAL JACKSON.

The history of the world, as well as the experience of an ordinary life, establishes the fact, that individuals often obtain a high name, and extensive reputation, from accidental circumstances rather than real merit. Such usually figure for a short time; bright and attractive as a meteor. Their course is as soon at an end: but its progress is always full of mischief. Every community, whether a great nation or a small village, is, at times visited by one of these meteoric characters. Sometimes a hero, sometimes a politician, sometimes a clergyman or a physician.—And whilst his day lasts, he is the universal favorite, endowed, for the time, with every virtue and every talent; and set up as a Sibboleth to be lauded by all who would stand in favor with the multitude.

If we take but a glance at that portion of history with which all are familiar, we shall find these characters in great numbers. The Jews were continually running astray after Korahs, Dathans and Abirams, Absalom, and such like men. Rome had her Manlius, her Gracchi, her Claudius and many more. Greece was ever distracted by characters like Alcibiades. The Thomas A Beckets, John Wilkses and Lord George Gordons of England figure through her whole history. The U. States, as a nation have but just acquired something like the vigor of manhood, and have their General Jackson. Look at the separate states and we shall see the Bidwells of Massachusetts, the Tompkinses of New-York, the Findlays of Pennsylvania, the Deshas of Kentucky, each the Hero of his day, and the man of the People. Descend still lower into the scale of communities. We have had our Gazlay in Cincinnati, our neighbours of Greene county have had and still enjoy their Gardiner. In all these cases the individual's extraordinary popularity, was the result of accident. It grew up suddenly, no one knew why, flourished its season out, and when at an end, was remembered only as a source of mortification and shame to those who had been its instruments.

In no case, however, has the popularity of an individual, been raised so suddenly to the same height, as that of General Jackson. When war was declared in 1812, he was only known, in Tennessee, and the Western country. His character was that of a turbulent and fiery man. One who had principally distinguished himself at the cockpit, and on the race ground. One who had seduced his neighbor's wife, and made her his own; had killed his man in a duel, and had bullied his way thro' the world with little regard to the right of others, or his own duties as a citizen. That such was his general character where known, is within the recollection of all who knew him, and who now allow themselves to think justly and speak truly.

The first year of the war transpired without any thing being done by Gen. Jackson to benefit the country or acquire credit to himself. He obtained a General's command of a body of volunteers, whom he marched from Nashville to Natchez, at a great public expense, and no public benefit. At Natchez he committed an act of open mutiny, and set an example, which led afterwards to the most disastrous result, within his own command. He marched back his men at the public expense and discharged them to rest and amuse themselves. This was his first campaign. His second was against the Creek Indians. He subdued them. The country knew nothing of the means or the cost; but they rejoiced, and praised General Jackson. The government gave him a Major General's command and he was followed by the public applause. He commanded at New Orleans, and was again successful, and again his success was, without scrutiny, received as proof of merit. Here closed the career of General Jackson's usefulness. His

subsequent history is but a repetition of wrongs and outrages.

At the close of the war the impression was almost universal, that Gen. Jackson had displayed high military talents, in his war with the Creeks, and in his defence of New-Orleans. The details were unknown, but the results were certain. His public correspondence was written with force and precision, and though not either accurate or elegant, was respectable. He obtained credit for the authorship, and was thus placed before the nation as one of her most eminent citizens. The opinion thus received, it was the wish of no one to have shaken, until Gen. Jackson, by suffering himself to be put up a candidate for the office of President, made it the duty of every considerate and reflecting citizen to examine the real and true nature of his pretensions. This investigation was commenced with reluctance, and proceeded tardily, until the extraordinary violence of the General's supporters, and the alarming practices they adopted, have stimulated inquiry to all the active exertions necessary to develope and make known the truth. Much is now generally known of Gen. Jackson, which was known to very few at the adjournment of Congress, in March, 1827. Fourteen months of scrutiny, have produced a great change in public sentiment, with respect to the true character of Gen Jackson.

The combination to promote his election to the Presidency, was completed at Washington, in Feb. 1827. The plan of carrying him on the shoulders of the people by means of public meetings, was there concluded upon, and in March, 1827, its operations commenced in Baltimore. In the same month, the White-washing committee was organized at Nashville, and in the same month, Maj. Henry Lee was despatched to the Hermitage, to superintend the General's correspondence. At that time, most men looked upon General Jackson as a respectable man, highly gifted with military genius, possessing a decent knowledge of literature, of unquestioned private and political integrity; altogether above the vice of detraction, or the meanness of taking to himself reputation for that which he did not perform. He was known to be rash and violent in his temper, and to have committed several excesses, which were by most men, attributed to mere temporary excitement. How stands his character now, that it has been subjected to the ordeal of strict scrutiny and close investigation?

What has been his private life? He commenced by invading the sanctity of his neighbour's matrimonial couch. A legislative act, and judicial record have been produced, predicated upon his criminality, and fastening upon him the offences of seduction and adultery. His white-washers have been compelled to acknowledge the fact, and attempt its palliation. Yet so strong is their sense of its enormity, that the newspapers that support him, no longer feel at liberty to notice a case of seduction, or publish a trial for adultery. This fact should sink deep into the minds of all thinking men.

He fastened a quarrel upon Dickinson about a horse race, and killed him in a duel, under circumstances that excited a strong sensation in the community; and then attempted, by bullying, to prevent a token of respect to his memory.

He was prosecuted for an assault with intent to kill, for stabbing Samuel Jackson, and was acquitted, as was Aaron Burr, and many other notorious felons.

He incurred strong suspicions of having been associated with Aaron Burr, in his treasonable enterprise, and of having saved himself, like Wilkinson, by becoming an informer.

He engaged in land speculations of a most fraudulent character, and upon a scale of great extent, which he abandoned only, when the prospect of success became desperate, and when there was reason to fear, that further prosecuting them, would interfere with his new formed projects of ambition.

He was in connection with a party of slave dealers, and engaged in law suits about the division of the spoil. And there is reason to believe, that his threat, to burn Silas Dinsmore and his agency house, originated in the fact, that Dinsmore's faithful execution

of his duty, interfered with the interests of the dealers in slaves.

He has been engaged in numberless quarrels, with those connected with him in business, and has only kept upon terms with men, who made themselves mere panders to his interest and his passions.

Such is a rapid sketch of his private life as it has been more fully developed within the last year.

What has been his conduct as a politician?

He has held public stations, but he has distinguished himself for public usefulness in no one of them. He resigned all, upon his own acknowledged conviction of incompetence to discharge the duties attached to them. Upon one subject of vital public interest, the tariff, he has meanly attempted to impose upon the credulous, by the employment of indefinite and general terms, and by pursuing an equivocal and half-way course. So as to be claimed by those who advocate both sides of the question, and to be disclaimed by both, where it may best suit the objects of political manœuvering.

His course towards his equals, and others in authority, has been shown to have been that of exceeding outrage and violence. Public employment, civil or military, whether under the government of the Union, or of a State, has protected none that crossed his path, from outrage. Grey hairs and public service have been treated, by him, with as little decorum, as might be thought due to beardless impertinence.

His cupidity of public treasure has been detected and exposed. He has been found charging the government for the rent of his own Hermitage, the hire of his own slaves and horses, the burning of his own fuel, as in public employ, when the whole was used for the usual domestic concerns of his family. And when from home has taxed the government, in a single bill, more than $1000 for wines, and other articles of the same character. Thus demonstrating that he is alike subject to the vices of profusion and avarice in public expenditures.

As a politician, a candidate for office, he has lent himself to the basest purposes of faction, and has descended to employ the most discreditable weapons of electioneering.

He has been exhibited to the world as the principal author and promulgator of an atrocious slander against Mr. Clay, insinuated at various times and places to various persons, which he at last partly confirmed by an open publication. The utter falsehood of his allegation has been made manifest, by the refusal of his own witness to support him, and by an overwhelming mass of contradictory testimony. Yet he countenances his partizans in repeating and reiterating the slander.

He has been detected and exposed in a deliberate falsehood, asserted with respect to John Harris, executed for mutiny in a letter written to Baltimore, in 1826. A falsehood uttered for the purpose of excusing his own conduct, and so uttered as to leave no possible ground to believe that he was under a mistake. Because he not only slandered the memory of Harris, but he untruly asserted that the alleged mutineers, most of them marched with him to New-Orleans, when they were, in fact, left in prison, at Mobile, to be tried and punished.

He has been detected in writing electioneering letters, asserting what was not true, to aid his partizans in carrying their elections, in a neighboring state. His letters to T. Moore, and to W. Owens of Kentucky were both of this character. He now stands before the world as a man capable of calumniating a political opponent, or a deceased victim of his own vengeance, to aid in opening his own way to power.

His pretensions to literary knowledge, or general information have also been subjected to scrutiny, & have been found totally unsupported. He cannot write his native language, with the slightest regard to grammatical accuracy, nor can he spell it as should a a school boy of twelve years old. This fact is put beyond all controversy.—His partizans, to shield him from contempt, have attempted to cast ridicule upon all learning, and to maintain that a great warrior, or an eminent politician need not be a scholar. And in

this, as in the case of his morals, his partizan editors find themselves silenced, upon all matters of literature.—They dare not make a jest of ignorance, lest it should be felt as a sarcasm upon their chief. The witticisms of the English press, upon the illiterary, and civil incompetence of the new military premier, find no place in a Jackson paper. The editors feel that the application must be made at home, and are gagged upon the subject.

This exposure of Gen. Jackson's illiteracy, and incompetence to write, involves a conclusion most disgraceful to him, in addition to the disgrace of ignorance. It is that of taking reputation to himself, for the labors of others, making himself a daw in strange feathers, an ass in a lion's skin. The point of both these fables apply to him, in this particular. We are now assured beyond all doubt, that Gen. Jackson has habitually passed upon the world, the productions of others, as his own. Who, at different times has written for him, may be matter of question. It is well ascertained that, at New-Orleans, Mr. Livingston was his writer, and director. Doctor Bronaugh, was for a time, always with him; Major Eaton too, has had the care of him. Now he is in the hands of Major Lee. Thus the fact is made clear, that General Jackson, instead of being a man of strong and vigorous intellect, of high and honorable sentiments, is at best an ignoramus, willing to be guided by others, and poor spirited enough to adopt and pass for his own, what shall be prepared for him by his guardian for the time being.

How, at this day, stands his military reputation?

Six months ago, this was conceded to him by very general consent, nay, when preparing the number of the Expositor for February, it was distinctly conceded that he had given evidence of high military talent. The exposition of his movements at N. Orleans, made by Capt. Clement, were not then before the country. The disclosures in the letter to Mr. Livingston, published in this number, were not then made. By these even his military qualifications are drawn into serious question. Let men of observation examine these publications, carefully and candidly, and they will find much ground to doubt whether General Jackson, is more than a pretender, as a military chieftain.

It is ever a mistake to assume that a man can become great by intuition. Eminence is always acquired in the school of experience; it cannot be otherwise obtained. When a man is suddenly puffed into a hero, or a statesman, without experience in camps or cabinets, it may be taken for granted that his greatness cannot last. What is conferred by accidental circumstances cannot long survive the circumstances that conferred it. General Jackson's fame has raised higher and endured longer than other pretenders. But it is culminating from its zenith, and party effort cannot longer sustain it. Let General Jackson himself; let any one of his adherents, capable of calm reflection, compare his present standing, his present hold upon public opinion, upon the affections of our countrymen, with what they were in February, 1827, and it must be a strange delirium, if a most unfavorable change is not perceived. Party can do much to sustain an instrument or agent, upon which its own existence depends. But party effort cannot effect impossibilities. It cannot make a vicious man moral, an ignorant man a scholar, a weak man wise, a vain man modest, or a violent man dispassionate. Nor can it persuade an intelligent people that an immoral, ignorant, weak, vain, violent man, ought to be made President of these United States.

JACKSON & BURR.

When the article on this subject, page 203, was written, Gen. Jackson's letter to Gov. Claiborne, was not in the power of the writer. It has been published in the Baltimore Republican, and republished here, with a short introduction, of which the subjoined is an extract.

"That every man may be able to meet the scoundrels who dare to insinuate this charge, and confound them with the truth, we publish the following letter from Gen. Jackson to Mr

Claiborne, Governor of Louisiana. *So far from being concerned in that infamous conspiracy, he was the first man who gave the alarm.* We will stake our lives that no respectable man, no man who has any character to loose, will dare to make the charge against him."

This sort of denunciation is not calculated to deter an independant and just man from recording historical facts, nor is it evidence that the party for whom it is employed is invulnerable. On the contrary it partakes a good deal of the blustering of conscious guilt. In consequence of obtaining and perusing the letter to Claiborne, I have been induced to investigate more closely the whole case, and I shall present the result of my investigation with my views upon it, to the reader, totally regardless of the feelings it may excite, or the language it may elicit from the General's worshippers. Gen. Jackson's letter is as follows:

"Sir:—Although it is a long time since I wrote you, still that friendship that once existed remains bright on my part; and although since I have had the pleasure of seeing you I have waded through difficult and disagreeable scenes, still I have all that fondness for my old and former friends that I ever had, and their memory has been more endeared to me by the treachery I have experienced since I saw you by some newly acquired ones. Indeed I *fear treachery* has become the order of the day — This induces me to write to you. Put your town in a state of defence. Organize your militia, and defend your city as well against internal enemies as external: my knowledge does not extend so far as to authorize me to go into detail; *but I fear you will meet with an attack from quarters you do not at present expect* — Be upon the alert; keep a watchful eye upon our General, and beware of an attack as well from our own country as Spain. *I fear there is something rotten in the state of Denmark.* You have enemies within your own city, that may try to subvert your government, and try to seperate it from the Union. You know I never hazard ideas without good grounds, and you will keep these hints to yourself. But I say again, be on the alert, *your government I fear is in danger. I fear there are plans on foot inimical to the Union.*

Whether they will be attempted to be carried into effect or not, I cannot say; but rest assured they are in operation, or I calculate boldly. Beware of the month of December. I love my country and government: I hate the Dons; I would delight to see Mexico reduced, but I will die in the last ditch, before I would yield a foot to the Dons, or see the Union disunited. This I write for your own eye, and for your own safety; profit by it, and the ides of March remember.

With sincere respect, I am, as usual, your sincere friend, Andrew Jackson.

Nov. 12, 1806.

That we may fully understand this letter, it is important to review carefully, many preceding and subsequent facts, which now are established beyond all controversy.

Col. Burr traversed the western country in the summer of 1805, and visited the principal towns of Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and on the Mississippi. He had an interview with Gen. Wilkinson, and associated with most of the principal men. In August, 1806, he left Philadelphia for the west; was at Pittsburgh on the 21st of that month, and left it on the 24th, proceeded by Washington and Wheeling, to Marietta, where he arrived about the 1st of September. He remained with Blannerhasset some days, and about the 1st of September, the publication of the celebrated essays, signed Querist, was commenced, in which the policy of dividing the Union was discussed. Sometime in the same month, he reached Cincinnati, from whence he proceeded to Kentucky, and it is believed to Tennessee. On the 26th of October, he was at Lexington, and on the 5th of November, he was accused before the federal court of Kentucky. A grand jury was convened to meet on the 8th, and adjourned to the 12th, when they refused to return a bill, and Burr was discharged. He was prosecuted again late in November, and early in December again acquitted. On Sunday the 14th of December, he arrived at Gen. Jackson's, and remained there and at Nashville, until the 22nd, when he descended the Cumberland river with two boats, but without any body of men.

I have carefully collated these facts from authentic documents. The two latter are the most material, and I therefore give the evidence upon which they are stated. In the United States Gazette of January 26, 1807, I find the following:

Nashville, Dec. 20.

"Col. Burr arrived on Sunday evening last at Gen. Jackson's, nine miles from this town, and has been in this place several times this week. He appears to be preparing for some movements we know not where."

Upon examination it is found tha

Dec. 20th, in the year 1806, was upon Saturday, consequently, the preceding Sunday was the 14th.

The same paper contains an extract of a letter from Knoxville, dated Dec. 19th, to a member of Congress, containing the following information.

"A few days since Col. Burr was at Nashville. Arrangements were made at Nashville for descending the river with a number of provision boats, said to be intended to accompany him in his unknown expedition. Last evening a man arrived from Nashville, who says Mr. —— is going and several others. Application had been made to Captain —— to descend as a pilot. He refused unless he was informed of the place of destination; he could not receive that information and was not employed."

The time and manner of Burr's departure from Nashville as stated above is taken from President Jefferson's message to Congress of Jan. 22, 1807. From these facts it is clear, that whilst Burr was an object of universal suspicion, he made his home at Gen. Jackson's for about a week, "*preparing for some movements*" of an unknown character. It is fearlessly asked, do not these facts look suspicious? do they not require explanation?

The advocates of Gen. Jackson publish his letter to Gov. Claiborne as at once a triumphant and decisive vindication of him, against the imputation of connection with Burr. It is doubtless to this disclosure that Gen. Adair alluded, when he twitted Jackson with "*raising himself by turning states witness.*" When it is carefully examined can it bear any other interpretation than that given to it by Adair?

It discloses nothing but undefined and alarming horrors. It commits the informant to no fact, and implicates him with no individual. Though calculated to excite apprehension, it gives no distinct information how the apprehended mischief might be met and defeated. All its assertions are vague, confused and perplexing. They profess to be given confidentially. "*This I write for* YOUR OWN EYE *and for* YOUR OWN SAFETY." And the Governor is cautioned, not against conspirators, but against public functionaries. "*Keep a watchful eye upon* OUR GENERAL, *and beware of an attack as well from our* OWN COUNTRY *as from Spain.*"

None of these admonitions have any natural and obvious application to Burr and his coadjutors. The danger pointed out, was to be apprehended from "OUR GENERAL:" "FROM OUR OWN COUNTRY," not from a band of traitors. The fears expressed of plans on foot inimical to the Union, and the vaunt of love of country, and a determination to die in the last ditch, are altogether consistent with the usual conduct of a traitor to traitors. The various '*fears*' which afflicted the General, appear somewhat ridiculous. And all these '*fears*' were without knowledge enough "*to go into detail.*" This sort of letter is just that which a conspirator would write, who was not certain what course it was safest to take. And in almost every point resembles that which one of the conspirators of the gunpowder plot, addressed to Lord Monteagle. This is here copied, and the candid reader is requested to read and compare them together.

"My Lord—Out of the love I bear some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore, I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance on this parliament. For God and man have conspired to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement; but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they will receive a terrible blow, this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is past as soon as you have burnt this letter. And I hope God will give you grace to make good use of it, unto whose holy protection I commit you."

I am sure an ordinary reader cannot but be struck with the great similarity between the general manner of these two letters. The same profession of concern—the same affectation of mystery—the same dark allusions which the person to whom the letter was written, could not possibly comprehend; and why should this be so, if the writers were not similarly situate?

Gen. Jackson's letter to Gov. Claiborne, is dated Nov. 12th. What was the state of public sentiment with respect to BURR at that time? It is very important to ascertain this: because it is necessary to a correct exposition of

the probable motives that induced the writing of the letter.

It has been already stated that the QUERIST was published at Marietta, the first part of September. It soon attracted attention. But instead of meeting approbation, it was almost universally condemned and censured.—The WESTERN SPY, of October 14th, contained the first public notice of it, in Ohio. A writer under the signature of SIDNEY, thus spoke of the situation of the country.

"Fellow Citizens, that there is a plan in embryo to dissolve the sacred compact of our Union, is no longer a secret; the principals and their emissaries have thought the moment to be arrived when they may openly declare their nefarious and villainous intentions, when they may sound the alarm, and speciously deceive you to rally round their rebellious standard."

In the WESTERN SPY of October 21st, the same writer resumed the subject with equal spirit; and the first number of a series headed "*conspiracy*," by "REGULUS," was also published. This writer reviewed and exposed the false reasoning and detestable principles of the "*Querist*." In the first number he held this language:

"In the midst of our happiness, in those days of innovation, certain men have been bold enough to tell us we are a miserable and oppressed people; that our eastern brethren lord it over us, and that our present enviable situation is little better than when we were colonies, under the iron sceptre of Great Britain. But the conspirators against the liberties and happiness of the American People do not stop here. With a boldness worthy a better cause, they assert our happiness cannot be completed, till a dismemberment of the Union takes place, and two distinct governments formed; one comprehending the country east of the Alleghany, the other the country west of those mountains. That such views are widely disseminating through the Western States, is a fact, and that a few men of desperate fortune and character espouse them is no longer doubtful."

These sentiments were soon ascertained to be those of the great mass of the community. They were strongly expressed wherever the doctrines of the "QUERIST" travelled, and the conspirators found they had deceived themselves most egregiously, as to the feeling of the Western people, towards the National Government. On the 5th of November, Col. J. H. Davies, then the United States District Attorney for Kentucky, made, in open court, a formal accusation against Burr, who was then in Frankfort. From the 5th to the 12th there was abundant time for the information to be communicated from Frankfort to Nashville, and it is not to be doubted, that Burr kept his colleagues well informed of what was said and acted, in relation to himself, and his undertaking. Here then, we see a motive that might very naturally operate upon Jackson, and induce him to take steps to preserve himself, at the expense of his confederates; and hence his gunpowder-plot letter was written to Claiborne.

The advocates of General Jackson have the folly and impudence to assert, in the paragragh before quoted, that "*so far from being concerned in that infamous conspiracy, he was the first to give the alarm.*" Now it appears that he sounded the alarm, not to the President, but to Gov. Claiborne, and it is an indisputable historical fact, that the President's proclamation against Burr's enterprise, dated on the 27th of Nov. was founded upon the testimony of many individuals, but Gen. Jackson was not one of them.

That boats were built, on the Cumberland river, is a well known fact.—Two at least were built at Nashville, with which Burr descended that river, embarking at Nashville, on the 22nd day of December, 1806. President Jefferson, in his message to Congress of Jan. 22d, 1807, thus speaks of the movements of Burr in Tennessee:

"NOT APPRISED UNTIL VERY LATELY, THAT ANY BOATS WERE BUILDING ON THE CUMBERLAND, the effect of the proclamation had been trusted to, for sometime in Tennessee. But on the 19th of December, similar communications and instructions, with those to the neighbouring states, were dispatched by express to the Governor, and a general officer of the Western Division of the state, and on the 23d of December, our confidential agent, left Frankfort for Nashville, to put into activity the means of that state also. But, by information received yesterday, I learn that on the 22d of December, Mr Burr descended the Cumberland with two boats merely of accommodation, carrying from that state no quota towards his unlawful enterprise."

Here it is placed beyond all doubt, that the President was not apprised, until very late, that any boats were building on the Cumberland, or that any hostile movements were making in

Tennessee. Gen. Jackson, though by his own assertions, fully apprised of the movements of the conspirators, and alarmed at the threatening character of their preparations, gives no information to the Executive of the Union; but after the bubble began to burst, after inquiry was wide awake, wrote an ambiguous letter to the Governor of New-Orleans; and his followers have the hardihood now to assert, that "*he was the first man to give the alarm*"!!! When the facts I have here collected together, are compared and understood, it seems to me, that the letter of November 12, to Governor Claiborne, may be regarded as a strong corroborative evidence of Jackson's guilt. But there are other views to be taken of this subject.

In the proclamation of the 27th of November, the President recites, that sundry citizens are setting on foot an unlawful and criminal expedition, "that for this purpose, they are fitting out and arming vessels, in the Western Waters of the United States, collecting provisions, arms, military stores and other means: are deceiving and seducing honest and well meaning citizens, under various pretences, to engage in their criminal enterprizes: are organizing, officering and arming themselves contrary to law," &c. And in the same proclamation, after warning all concerned, to desist and withdraw themselves, under the legal penalties, the President proceeds: "*and I hereby enjoin and require all officers, civil and military, of the United States, or of any of the States or Territories, and especially all Governors and other executive authorities, all judges, justices and other officers of the peace, all military officers of the army & navy of the U. States, and* OFFICERS OF THE MILITIA, *to be vigilant, each within his respective department, and according to his functions, in searching out, and bringing to condign punishment, all persons engaged or concerned, in such enterprizes: in seizing and detaining, subject to the disposition of the laws, all vessels, military stores, or other means provided or providing for the same.*"

In the quotation already made from the President's message, it is seen, that the effects of this proclamation "*had been trusted to for some time in Tennessee*," consequently there can be no doubt, that it was made known there, as early as December 22, if not earlier. Yet Gen. Jackson, the.. a General of the militia, one to whom the proclamation was specially addressed, received Burr an inmate in his house, where he remained from the 14th of December, to the 22d of the same month, and then departed with two of the very vessels prepared for the expedition, denounced by the proclamation as criminal and unlawful!! Does not all this necessarily involve Gen. Jackson in strong suspicion?

I have already shown that public alarm existed at Cincinnati as ea ly as October the 14th; that, on the 5th of November, Burr was accused at Frankfort, and that on the 19th of December the state of Burr's preparations at Nashville was known at Knoxville. A letter written at St. Louis, Nov. 9, 1806, published in the Western World, and republished in the Western Spy, of December 16, 1806, contains the following passage: "*great consternation prevails throughout the Territory, in consequence of some recent communications of Col. Burr, containing military commissions, for the purpose of endeavouring to dismember the Union.*" When, on December 14, Gen. Jackson received Col. Burr, as an inmate of the Hermitage, it is here made manifest, that he was a subject of distrust, apprehension and alarm, through the whole Western Country, from Pittsburgh to St. Louis; and if we take the General's own letter to Claiborne, dated November 12, 1806, it is rendered certain, that he was himself apprised of the true character of Burr's conspiracy. I ask, how is it possible to reconcile the conduct of Gen. Jackson towards Burr, in receiving him, and countenancing him, as a deserving and honorable man, with the duties of a good citizen? It is only by regarding him as a party concerned, that his conduct is reconcileable with the ordinary course of human action.

By receiving and countenancing Burr, Gen. Jackson subjected his patriotism to suspicion, and from this suspicion it has never been rescued. He

may have repented him of the evil: but that cannot negative the fact of participation. This however, is not the only odious feature in the conduct of Gen. Jackson. His letter to Gov. Claiborne, had denounced a wicked conspiracy. The General, or his friends for him, say, that this denunciation applied to the conspiracy of Burr. What deceit and hypocrisy must have governed the conduct of Gen. Jackson, in taking to his hospitality, and treating as a friend, him, whom he had thus denounced? But the fact is one which requires no illustration. Every honorable mind must feel at the first suggestion, its degrading character.

I have considerod this exposition of facts, due to the country; because I perceived that much of error was likely to intervene, in consequence of a want of correct information, as to the time, and state of facts, depending upon dates and places. These I have ascertained with great care, and all who read this article, may rely upon the accuracy of its statements. Such reflections as I have made, are intended more fully to illustrate the proper bearings of the facts stated. The whole is submitted with a strong confidence, that it cannot fail to be useful to all who wish to ascertain the truth.

C. HAMMOND.

J. SLOANE, ESQ.

We republish in this number of the Advocate, Mr. Sloane's review of the report of the Military Committee in the case of the six militia men, and we recommend our readers to peruse it carefully. To those who wish to ascertain the truth it will amply repay the labour of reading it with attention.

Mr. Sloane has been assailed with the most furious and unbecoming violence, for the course he has pursued in the Presidential contest. The Heroites act as if no man, but one of themselves, is entitled to his own opinion, or enjoys the liberty to write and speak that opinion. The penalty they impose, is that suggested by the Cincinnati Jackson letter writer, two years ago, "*to overwhelm with a torrent of obloquy and reproaches*" This torrent has been poured upon Mr Sloane in immeasured quantity. But it does not seem likely to *overwhelm* him. He still sustains himself, and manfully advocates the cause in which he is engaged.

Whilst the reader is examining the review now submitted to him, we wish him to bear in mind, that Mr. Sloane is a plain, unlettered mechanic. He is no lawyer, no educated nabob, no high toned aristocrat, faring sumptuously every day. Many years ago, when Mr. Sloane was an efficient member of the Ohio Legislature, and speaker of the House of Representatives, he was advantageously known to the public men of the state, as a decided Jeffersonian Republican, and he has never lost that character, except amongst those who now seek to prostrate him for party purposes. The mechanics of Ohio ought to feel proud, that one of their own number, a wheelwright by trade, and a man who long laboured in that business, is now an eminent and leading man in Congress, successfully contending upon grave and important legal questions, with the legal dons of the Southern aristocracy, and deemed an object of sufficient importance to attract the abuse of these same dons and all their satellites.

View of the report of the Committee of Military Affairs, in relation to the proceedings of a Court Martial, ordered for the trial of certain Tennessee Militiamen.

The situation in which I stand in relation to this subject, requires of me, that I should not let the present session of Congress pass over without making some effort to place it in a different light before the public, from that in which it is now placed by the report of the Committee of Military affairs. From a careful examination of the whole subject, and after much time devoted to the consideration of the report of that Committee, I feel bound to say, that not one of the conclusions to which they have arrived, is warranted by the facts in the case. It shall be my purpose to examine this report, and to compare it with the documents, with a view to show the fallacy of its reasoning, and the unsoundness of its conclusions. In doing this, I will not dwell on what the Committee affect to consider of great importance in the case—I mean the order in which the letters composing the correspondence between the Secretary of War and the Governor of Tennessee, have been placed by the present Secretary in his communication of these documents to the House. On this part of the subject, it will be sufficient to observe, that the arrangement of these papers by the Secretary of War, is in exact conformity with the practice which has always obtained, in all departments of the Government. The Committee, by way of prelude, have thought proper to enter into a 'criticism,' which, in the absence of every thing else in the least calculated to sustain their report, may by them have been considered of great moment; but which, to my mind, seems to be such a resort as no cause, resting upon a substantial basis, need to have called to its support. This 'criticism' of the Committee shows how much more they were inclined to suspect error, in the conduct of the present Secretary of War, than to elucidate facts. To sustain this opinion, I give the following: The Committee, after reciting to the

letters of Governor Blount, of the 10th and 24th of December, 1813, say "to both of which the letter of the third of January, 1814, of the Secretary of War is an answer." This assertion of the Committee, made in what they call a 'criticism on the numerical classification, made by that Department, of the letters composing this correspondence,' shows, incontestably, the bias under which they were laboring, and how much that bias disposed them to make injurious charges which there were no facts to support. This letter of the Secretary of War, which the Committee say was in answer to the letter of Governor Blount of the 24th December, 1813, contains no allusion whatever to that letter; and had the Committee suffered themselves to reflect with due calmness upon the subject, they could not have failed to discover, that it was in the nature of things impossible, that a letter written at Nashville on the 24th of December, 1813, could have been received at Washington and answered on the 3d of January, 1814, a period of only ten days. This I say was impossible, for even now, with all the increased facilities given to the transportation of the mail, it is 15 days in its passage between these points. Viewing all these things, and disposed to entertain all due deference for the opinion of the Committee, I cannot help remarking, that their course forcibly reminds me of some of those ingenious devices, often practiced by crafty advocates to prejudice the minds of a jury in favor of a client; such for instance as the insinuation, that the court had improperly restricted them in the admission of testimony, or had otherwise acted to their prejudice. I have often seen this course adopted in desperate cases, and sometimes with success, when every other recourse was considered hopeless. Having said this much in reference to the 'criticism' of the Committe upon the arrangement of the correspondence, in the Secretary's communication, I shall now proceed to the consideration of the report, under the different heads into which the Committee have divided the subject.

The first proposition which the Committee presents is, "whether the Governor of Tennessee had the power to order out detachments of the militia for a six months tour of service."—This is a question of very easy solution. It is one which must wholly depend upon the then existing laws. Ingenuity may *sophisticate*, and obscure the subject, but legal knowledge and plain common sense will find no difficulty in determining it correctly. By the muster rolls of the detachment, it appears that these men entered the service on the 20th day of June, 1814. The law of that period is well known. On the 28th of February, 1795, Congress passed "an act to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union," &c. The 4th section of this act provides as follows: "And that no officer, non-commissioned officer, or private of the militia, shall be compelled to serve more than three months after his arrival at the place of rendezvous, in any one year." This is the permanent law upon the subject of militia drafts; see Laws of the United States, vol. 2, page 479. To this act an amendment was passed on the 18th of April, 1814, to continue in force during the war with Great Britain; the 9th section of which amendatory act is referred to by the Committee, and may be found in vol. 4, page 703, of the Laws of the United States. The part of this act which relates to the service of these militia men, is in these words: "that the militia, *when* called into the service of the United States, by virtue of the before recited act, may, if, in the opinion of the President of the United States, the public good require it, be compelled to serve for a term not exceeding six months, after their arrival at the place of rendesvouz, in any one year." These extracts from the Laws of the United States, constitute all that governs this case. Were I disposed to imitate the Committee in contending that this case ought to rest upon any [I will not say far fetched, but I will say] nice construction, I would contend that to give a fair operation to the 8th section of the 18th of April, 1814, the orders of the President, for the extension of the term of service, must have been issued, at the time the militia, on which they were intended to operate, had entered the service of the United States. The language of the Statute is, "the militia, *when* called into the service of the United States." The militia *when;* that is, *at the time* they are called into the service. Had it been the intention of Congress to vest the President with power to determine, in anticipation, that the drafts thereafter to be made, were required by the public interest to be for six months, a different language would have been used.—They would not have said, in the language of the act, "the militia, *when* called into the service," &c.; but the militia *to be* called into the service, &c. The obvious intention of vesting this discretion in the President, was to provide for contingencies, which could not be foreseen months or years before making the drafts. The Committee state that "it is a circumstance of indisputable notoriety, and one which belongs to the history of the country, that these men were mustered into service *expressly for six months*, by an order of Governor Blount, dated the 20th of May, 1814." Without entering into the inquiry as to the truth of the "circumstance of indisputable notoriety," I will observe that there is yet one circumstance, which has not sufficiently attracted the attention of the Committee, of much greater importance than the great notoriety of the requisition of the order for this draft. I mean the fact, that the President never did decide, nor express his opinion that the public interest required that these men should be continued in service for six months. Without this order of the President, the governor of Ten. possessed no power, whatever, to issue such an order, & the attempt to retain the men in service after the expiration of three months from the day on which they rendezvoused, was an assumption of power in violation of their rights; which they were not bound to submit to. Before any one of these men could be lawfully punished for leaving the service at any time after the expiration of three months from the time they were actually mustered into service, it was incumbent on those who asserted the existence of such power, to show by the only evidence admissible in the case, that it did exist. That evidence is confined to the order of the President alone; nothing else can supply its place. In the absence of this order of the President, the Committee, in speaking thus emphatically of the "*notoriety*" of the order of Gov. Blount, do nothing more than prove how little regard was paid to legitimate authority throughout this whole transaction; and how feeble are the excuses that are now offered for the violation of the law, which they

transaction embraces. The fact, that no authority to make such a draft as that made by Gov. Blount, was ever given by the President, is now equally notorious with the draft itself, and henceforward will be a more authentic part of the history of this country than any thing else connected with the subject has heretofore been. It is one of the most important features of our Government, that under it no man can be deprived of liberty or life, but by virtue of law duly administered; and it is surely incumbent on those who claim the right to take the life of a citizen, or who attempt to justify the process by which that life has been taken, to show, beyond a reasonable doubt, that there was law to justify the procedure. In such a case it will not do to deal in far fetched implications, the case must be made clear. The lives of our citizens are of too much importance to warrant their being cut off by cunning construction of law. Situated as those men were, I say most unhesitatingly, there was no authority to detain them in service longer than three months; and I challenge the production of a title of testimony showing law to the contrary.

Having submitted these observations, I will now proceed to examine the reasoning of the committee upon this point. Their attempt to derive the power, to authorize Governor Blount, on the 20th May, 1814, to order out a militia draft for the term of six months, from a letter of the Secretary of War, of the 11th January preceding, is such an overstrained construction, that it seems to me it must ever be viewed as one of the greatest curiosities in Congressional proceedings. It exposes a fact that no one unacquainted with what poltical excitement is capable of producing, could for a moment believe to be possible. There is certainly nothing in the letter of the Secretary to warrant such a construction; even had he been authorized by law to grant the power contended for. The phraseology and tenor of that letter lead to a direct contrary conclusion, as I think I shall be able clearly to demonstrate. Were the terms used in this letter such as to favor the construction put upon it by the committee, the whole of their reasoning is destroyed by the fact, that it was written more than three months before the passage of the act granting to the President the power it is pretended that letter transferred to the Governor of Tennessee, to be exercised by him as the Deputy of the President. A power confided to the President to be exercised or not, as his opinion of its tendency to promote the public interest might dictate, transferred to a proxy, is rather too extravagant an idea to meet with general encouragement in a community as enlightened as this is.

Although I feel satisfied that the circumstance of this letter being written more than three months before it could be known that the law on which the report of the committee makes it operate, is sufficient to destroy the whole theory; I will, notwithstanding, endeavor to follow them through their whole argument. In doing this, it shall be my purpose to show, that even had this letter been written after the passage of the law of the 18th of April, 1814, no grant of the power contended for could fairly be inferred from any thing which it contains.

In order to a full and fair understanding of the case, it will be necessary to be a little more particular than it seems to have suited the views of the committee to be. It will be proper to take up the subject from the beginning. During the year 1813, the Creek Indians commenced hostilities on our south-western frontier — To repel this aggression, a portion of the militia of Tennessee was called into the service of the United States. The operations of this force was conducted by General Andrew Jackson, who was at that time a Major General of Militia. Difference of opinion existing as to the length of time the troops thus called out were required to serve, the Governor of Tennessee, on the 10th of December, 1813, wrote to the Secretary of War, indicating a wish that they might be considered as bound to perform no more than a three months tour of duty. In answer to this letter, the Secretary of War, on the third of January, 1814, wrote thus: "The militia may be considered as having been called out under the law of 1795, which limits the service to three months. The President is the more disposed to make this decision, as the State law provides that a period of three months shall be deemed a tour of duty; and as the *spirit* and *patriotism* of Tennessee leaves no doubt but that a *succession of corps*, competent to the objects of the Government, will be regularly provided." Here is laid down, in language as clear as possibly could be employed, the intentions of the President, in regard to the period it was expected that the Tennessee militia would thereafter serve. The Secretary says—"The militia may be considered as having been called out under the law of 1795, which *limits* the service to three months." The reasons assigned for the President having made this decision, had an important bearing on the question — They are of a two-fold kind. 1st. "That the State law provided that three months should be deemed a tour of duty." 2d. "That the spirit and patriotism of Tennessee leaves no doubt but that a *succession of corps*, competent to the objects of the Government, will be regularly provided." These reasons were of a specific and permanent character. They could not be misunderstood. The President had, in substance, decided, that as the State law required but a three months tour of duty, and the militia being partial to that term of service, he would adopt it for his government. Whilst, then, the State law remained unchanged, and "the spirit and patriotism of Tennessee" continued to exist, there was no room to suspect a change of views on the part of the President. Mark the language in reference to the latter reason. "A *succession of corps*." That is—one draft following another; and coming in the place of another, required to perform the same duties, and under the same liabilities, unless changed by other laws, or varied by subsequent orders. This, I think is, beyond a doubt, a fair interpretation of the letter of the Secretary of War, of the 11th of January, 1814, in connexion with that of the 3d, and the reasoning of the Committee on the import of the former. This letter they assure us, is the basis of that authority, which it was lawful for Governor Blount to exercise, by a call on the militia for a six months tour of duty. The letter is in the following words: "You are authorized to *supply*, by militia drafts, or by *volunteers*, any *deficiency* which may arise in the militia division under the command of Major General Jackson; and without referring on *this head*, to this department. It may be well that your Excellency should consult General Pinckney on such occasions as he can best judge of the whole *number* necessary to the attainment of the public objects." This is the letter

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which the Committee say "vested Governor Blount with plenary power until it was revoked, either by express orders, or by peace, to call out such militia drafts as in his discretion he might think necessary for the attainment of the public objects under existing laws for either three or six months." Will the language of this letter bear out the committee in their assertion?

I think that no one can look at it, and, without prejudice or prepossession, answer in the affirmative. So far from this letter being a grant of general and "plenary power" over the whole subject of the militia drafts, for all and every purpose, it is, on the contrary, specific—limited to a single point—a power to "*supply any deficiency* that may arise in the militia division under the command of Major General Jackson." "To supply any deficiency;" that is, to make good in the first place any deficiency," which a compliance with the letter of the Secretary, of the 3d of January, 1814, which limited the term of service of the militia, thereafter to be called out, to three months, would necessarily create; and all other deficiencies which contingent circumstances might from time to time produce. Not a word is contained in this letter about the term of service. There was no necessity of saying any thing in that letter on the subject of length of service. That point had been already settled by the decision of the President; and communicated in the letter of the 3d of January, 1814. The letter of the 11th, it is clear, related to the *number* of men, and not to the term of service. To that point the "*plenary power*" claimed for the Governor must be confined: and that was limited to the militia division under the command of General Jackson; and still farther limited by the direction to consult General Pinckney, as being better able to decide as to what *number* might be necessary.—It must be a very singular kind of "plenary power" that was so circumscribed. To me it appears that language could not be more explicit. You are authorised "to supply any deficiency, &c. without referring on *this head* to this Department." On what *head?* On the head of length of service? By no means. That point had been settled by the President, and previously communicated to the Governor. It had been settled that the *spirit* and *patriotism* of Tennessee were such, that a longer term than three months would be unnecessary. Should any farther elucidation of this point be called for, it is afforded in an ample manner in the letter of the Governor of the 5th of January, 1814; and that of the Secretary of the 31st of the same month. In his letter of the 5th of January, the Governor states that he had made a call for 2,500 militia, and encloses his order, issued on the occasion. He proceeds farther to enforce upon the mind of the Secretary the necessity of confining the militia drafts to a three months tour of service—declares that the troops will feel disgusted at the idea of a longer term—expresses his fears that any attempt to extend it might lead to great evils; and indulges a hope that the President will approve of his conduct. To this letter the Secretary replies, on the 31st of Jan., in the following language: "I have had the honor to receive your Excellency's letter of the 5th inst. My letter of the 11th will have anticipated your enquiries relative to farther detachments of militia."

This reply of the Secretary shows most conclusively that the proceedings of the Governor of Tennessee, in ordering out a detachment of militia for a tour of three months, was in exact conformity with the powers intended to be conferred upon him by the letter of the Secretary of the 11th of January. The Secretary says in his letter of the 31st of January: "My letter of the 11th will have *anticipated* your enquiries relative to further detachments of militia."—As much as to say, your desire to confine the tour of militia duty to three months was known by your previous communications—the President has acquiesced in your views; of which you have been informed. It was foreseen that this would produce a deficiency in Gen. Jackson's division. Your inquiries have been anticipated by my letter of the 11th, and your conduct in calling for a three months draft is approved. There can be nothing more plain than that this is the fair common sense construction of these letters. So much for the "plenary power" which the committee say was vested in Governor Blount. It has already been observed that the "militia division under the command of Major General Jackson," to which the Secretary alludes in his letter of the 11th January, was called out for the express purpose, (as Governor Blount informs us in his letter of 10th of December, 1813,) of acting against the hostile Creeks. The object was of a temporary nature; and whenever that was brought to a close, every thing which depended upon it ceased to operate. That war at an end, Gen. Jackson's command ceased, and the powers of whatever kind, granted to the Governor of Tennessee by the letter of the Secretary of War of the 11th of January, 1814, became removed of course, because they were confined to that command.

The Creek war closed in April, 1814. This fact was announced by General Jackson in a letter to the Secretary of War, dated the 8th of May, 1814. No. 9, of document 146, communicated to the House by the Secretary of War, on the 14th of February last. Gen. Jackson in that letter informs the Secretary that "the Creek war being terminated, the West Tennessee troops will be discharged at Fayetteville on the 10th; and those of the Eastern division, who are not left to garrison the posts, will be discharged at Kingston as soon as they can be marched there." Here we have the official announciation of the fact by Gen. Jackson himself, that by his own order his militia division was disbanded early in May, 1814, and with it terminated the "plenary power" of Governor Blount. This disbanding of "the militia division under the command of Major General Jackson," took place ten days previous to the issuing, by the Governor of his famous order of the 20th May, 1814, calling these men into service. That this fact was know to Governor Blount is apparent, from his directing his order to General Jackson, who had returned from the campaign. This is corroborated by the circumstance of all orders issued by the Governor whilst the General was in the field, being directed to the "eldest Brigadier General, in the absence of the Major General." The light in which the Secretary of War viewed this "plenary power," which the committee contend he had vested in Governor Blount, may be further illustrated by the circumstance of his after orders being such as to exclude the idea that he understood any such power as having been

granted. Had he understood Governor Blount as being vested with "plenary power," in all things appertaining to the calling out of militia drafts there would have been no necessity for any additional orders on that subject. Yet we find that on the 4th of July, 1814, the Secretary of War, did issue his order to Governor Blount, requiring him to "organize and hold in readiness 2,000 militia, under the laws of the 28th of February, 1795, and the 18th of April, 1814.—This order goes conclusively to prove that the letter of the Secretary of War, of the 11th of January, 1814, was intended to apply to nothing more than the *supplying*, by militia drafts, the *deficiency* which might arise in General Jackson's division whilst engaged in the prosecution of the Creek war.

In the view which I have presented, I cannot but think it clearly shown, that there was not in the letter of the Secretary of War, of the 11th of January, 1814, any authority to the Governor of Tennessee, to call out militia drafts for a period of six months' service. But that on the contrary, this letter, taken in connection with those which preceded and follow it, gives ample proof that the intention of the President was to limit the service of the Tennessee militia, engaged in the Creek war, to three months. It must be borne in mind that this correspondence, and the decision of the President took place during the existence of the law of the 10th of April, 1812, which required a six months service; and which law expired on the 10th of April, 1814. With these facts before us, let us inquire if it is at all probable that the President, who, at the earnest solicitation of the Governor of Tennessee, consented that men who were legally required to serve six months, should be discharged at the expiration of three months: and who said that he depended upon the *spirit* and *patriotism* of the State thereafter to supply "*a success on of corps*, competent to the objects of the government," would within eight days subsequent to that decision, attempt to confer a power, which at that time he did not himself possess, to compel men to serve six months, who by law were only liable to serve three months? Common sense must revolt at the promulgation of such an idea.

There is still another fact that has an important bearing upon this question, and which appears to have entirely escaped the notice of the Committee. It is this: that the law of the 10th of April, 1812, expired by its own limitation on the 10th of April, 1814; and the law which authorized the President to exercise his discretion, as to whether the militia should serve for three or six months, did not pass until the 18th of April, 1814, leaving an intervening period of eight days, during which no discretion as to length of service, could be exercised even by the President himself: the law of 1795, which limited the term of service o three months, being the only law remaining in force. The Committee in their report say, that the letter of the Secretary of War, of the 11th January, 1814, "vested Governor Blount with plenary power to call out militia drafts for either three or six months, until it was revoked either by express orders or by peace." How will this declaration of the Committee stand the test to which I am about to put it? Suppose that on the 11th day of April, 1814, one day after the expiration of the law requiring under any circumstances, a six months term of service, Governor Blount had seen proper, under this fancied "plenary power" of the Committee, to issue his orders for a six months draft, is there any man who would risk his reputation for sanity, and contend that men might legally be shot to death for refusing to serve after the expiration of three months, in obedience to such an illegal order? I think not; yet, in principle, the case is the same with that contended for by the Committee of Military Affairs. To contend that after the expiration of all law except that which related to a three months tour alone, the discretionary power to require six months was still vested in the Governor, by virtue of an authority derived from the President, before the passage of any law under which the President could claim to exercise the power himself; and before it could have been known that any such power would have been given to him, is such an unreasonable stretch of influence as most men would wish to avoid; and which none would adopt, except driven to the necessity of doing so, in defence of a desperate cause. Such, however in substance, is the reasoning of the Committee. Having shown, beyond all doubt, that there was a time between the writing of the letter of the Secretary of War of the 11th of January, 1814, and the order for calling out this draft of militia, when no power existed any where to require a longer term of service than three months, an interval during which this pretended "plenary power" had ceased to exist, had become extinct; I should like to know by what kind of legal argument the Committee will undertake to resuscitate it; this ground is utterly untenable: it cannot be sustained; it must be abandoned: and with it must fall the whole edifice of sophisms with which it stands connected.

But after all that has been presented on this subject, if it be possible that a single doubt should remain in the minds of any one who honestly wishes to understand it, that these men were not required by law to serve beyond the period of three months, I feel a confidence that that doubt can easily be dissipated. The President of the United States, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army thereof, is fully authorized at all times to order the discharge of any part of the militia in the public service. The order of Gov. Blount of the 20th of May, 1814, calling these men into service, although it assumed the illegal authority of calling them into service for six months, required that term only on the condition of their not being "sooner discharged by order of the President of the United States." A question now presents itself of vast importance to the issue: did the President order the discharge of these men: and, if he did, when was that order given? Should it turn out that such an order was given by the President, it must convince even the most sceptical, that the Gov. of Tennessee, Gen. Jackson, and the committee of Military Affairs, have all misconstrued the letter of the Secretary of War, of the 11th of January, 1814. An order by the President for the discharge of these militia men, must be received as proof positive, that in his *opinion* the public interest did *not* require that their term of service should be extended beyond three months. Indeed, it goes further: it proves that their service were not required at all: and therefore, they were entitled to a discharge immediately on the receipt of the order by the commanding General but as to the order itself; document No. 146, of the present session, already referred to, contains a letter from the Secretary of War to General Jackson; it is

No. 2, of that document, and is dated the 24th of May, 1814. The following is an extract from that letter:—"If the hostile part of the Creeks is really broken down; if they are prostrated before us, and even begging from us the means of subsistence; and if the friendly part of the nation, has, in itself, any force and a friendly disposition to employ it, [and of all these facts there is no doubt,] why retain in service any portion of the militia? The 3d and 39th of the line [with the friendly Creeks] will be amply sufficient to cover the negociation, and that terminated, [as you think it may be,] even these may be carried promptly to New Orleans, where their services may be wanted." Here we have a direct opinion of the President, that the services of militia were no longer necessary. But this is not the only letter on that subject; No. 3, of the same document, is another letter from the Secretary of War to General Jackson: it bears date the 25th of June, 1814, and holds the following language:—"No faith was given to the information received and communicated by Toulman. The report of a British naval force on our Southern Coast, is nearly of the same character. Having permitted the months of April, May and June, to escape without effort, on their part, it is not presumable that they will attempt much during the hot and sickly season. These remarks are meant to apply to your argument for keeping up the large militia force now in service in the Creek country, and to furnish occasion to repeat the wishes of the President that this force be diminished, and the whole of it discharged as early as may consist with the interests of the public. There are now 3,000 men of this description employed to hold the country against the fugetives who have escaped the destruction you caused among them. It is not probable that the Seminoles, who wisely refused to take part in the war when its issue was doubtful, will now be disposed to renew the combat on their own account, and under no new reason for so doing." These letters must forever put to rest all further questions as to whether these men were required to serve for a longer period than three months.

It was the opinion of the President, as expressed in May, and also in June, both before and after they had been mustered into service, not only that a period of six months service was not necessary to be exacted of militia; but that the public good did not require the service of militia for any term whatever. That the militia then in service ought to be discharged, and were ordered to be discharged accordingly. All room for controversy or difference of opinion is removed by these letters. They constitute the very express orders required by the committee in revocation of the fancied "plenary power" of Governor Blount. They go further than an order revoking his pretended authority, and bringing back the militia term of service to three months: they order the discharge without reference to the term of service; and had General Jackson evinced the one twentieth part of the promptitude in carrying into effect this as well as other orders of the President, as he has always shown in exacting obedience to his command, of whatever nature, these unfortunate men would have been discharged long before the expiration of three months from the time of their entering the service.

It is believed that there never was a man who, in so short a career, has made more pretensions of devotion to the principles of subordination in military affairs, than General Jackson; and certainly there is no man, in modern times who has given so many pratical evidences of a total disregard of all orders issued by superiors, when they did not suit his convenience or caprice. This remark will be sustained by documents appended to these observations.—The last of these documents, it will be observed, is a proclamation of disregard of the orders of the President of the United States; which upon General Jackson's own avowed principles, was such an act as must be considered a mutiny of the most aggravated character—one for which he ought to have had awarded to him the most rigorous penalty of the law. It was a proclamation of a bold defiance of the highest military authority known in this country, and which, in any other country, would have resulted in the forfeiture of the life of the author.

When all these facts are duly considered, I do think that sophistry itself will not dare any longer to contend that there was any legal authority for continuing these men in service longer, at the farthest, than three months; which time, it appears from the testimony, they did serve, and served faithfully; and were, therefore, upon every fair and legal principle, entitled to a discharge on the score of service, to say nothing of what they were entitled to under the orders of the President, which orders Gen. Jackson, in his letter of the 31st of July, 1814, to the Secretary of War, acknowledges to have received, and promises to obey.

This letter is dated at Fort Jackson, the very place where all the difficulty occurred. That part of it relating to the orders of the President for the discharge of the militia, is as follows: "I shall, as soon as practicable, visit the posts in the lower country, ordering on the 3d Infantry, and leaving this post and Decatur possessed by the militia and friendly Indians, until the public stores can be transported to Alabama heights, when I shall, unless otherwise directed, discharge the militia agreeably to the wishes of the President, as expressed in yours of the 25th of June."

Under these circumstances, the attempt to hold these men to the performance of a six months tour of service, was illegal and cruel.—An act dictated by no public necessity. A transaction which however the feverish excitement of the present times may for awhile obscure it, will one day be looked upon with horor, and will be condemned by every lover of those institutions which, if fairly administered, will, in this country, protect the poor but patriotic militiaman, from the persecutions of the ignorant minions of an assuming and sanguinary leader.

Believing that I have demonstrated from facts that cannot be controverted, that the first enquiry of the Committee must be answered in the negative, I shall now dismiss that part of the subject, and proceed to examine the other points of the report.

The second inquiry of the Committee is, "Whether Col. Pipkin's regiment was so ordered out, and in conformity with such authority."

This inquiry of the committee requires but a few words to answer it, and to show that it has little or no bearing on the case. Power, exerted against law, gives no right to inflict a punishment for a refusal to submit to its usurpation. Having shown that the power exercised by Governor Blount, in ordering out mi-

litia drafts for a six months' tour of duty, under color of authority derived from the President of the United States, was a violation of law and an outrage upon the rights of the citizens—a particular detail of the manner in which this outrage was committed, becomes perfectly immaterial. The committee are welcome to all the advantage which its "notoriety" can give to it. The whole affair, so far as it regarded length of service, was illegal.

The only remaining inquiry propounded by the committee which requires to be answered, is the third. To that I will now direct my attention. It contains two propositions.

1st. "Whether the soldiers of Col. Pipkin's regiment, who were arraigned for certain crimes and offences before a Court Martial which convened at Mobile, on the 5th of December, 1814, were legally tried?"

2dly. "Whether the Commanding General, approving the proceedings of the court, properly exercised the power and discretion vested in him by law."

The first of these propositions appears fraught with that sort of ambiguity which renders it somewhat doubtful as to how it was intended to be understood. The language in which it is couched would induce a belief that the Committee were about to consider the constitution of the court, and the mode of its proceedings; when the whole of their argument goes to the sentences pronounced by it, and not as to the trial itself. Trial and condemnation are very different. A man may be legally tried, but very illegally condemned: because his condemnation may be against law and evidence. Such, as I feel convinced, was the sentence in the case under consideration. But in order that nothing may be passed over unnoticed, which has the least bearing on the case, I will first consider the legal constitution of the court. I think it has been abundantly shown that the utmost legal term for which the regiment of which these men formed a part could be called to serve, was three months, and three months only. Immediately after the expiration of that term, the obligation on the part of the men to obey, and the authority of the officers to command, ceased. If I am right in this position, then this was not a legal Court Martial, and, consequently, could not legally try any person whatever. This regiment, officers as well as soldiers, were not legally in service after they had completed their three months' tour of duty. The officers could not, therefore, legally serve as members of a Court Martial, after the expiration of that time, as they were not legally in service.—Three of the seven members of this Court were officers of this regiment, whose legal term of service having expired on the 19th day of September, could not be legally qualified to act as members of a Court Martial on the 5th of December following. Their legal authority to assume command in the service of the United States having expired more than two months previously. On that occasion they were no more legally qualified to act, than any other adventurers who might think proper to offer their services. I am aware that I shall be answered, that this might have been good cause of objection or challenge, and that having been waived, it is now too late to urge it. I know that strictly speaking, that is correct, but, let me ask when a subject of this kind comes to be examined by men who aspire to the rank of statesmen, is it fair to expect of them that they will urge the ignorance of a poor friendless militiaman, as constituting the legal qualifications of the members of a Court Martial? If they do they very much impair their claim to the character they assume. In this view of the case, I feel confident that this Court Martial was by no means legally competent to pronounce sentence of death upon any offence whatever. From every thing which has been developed concerning it I feel warranted in saying it very much resembled one of those sham tribunals, known in some foreign services by the name of a *Drum Head* Court Martial. Dismissing this part of the subject, I shall next undertake to follow the Committee in their attempt to maintain the legality of the sentence pronounced by this very extraordinary Court Martial, which at once presents the whole subject matter again for discussion.

I have already shown, by facts and arguments which, in my opinion, defy contradiction, that these men were originally bound to serve but three months, and not even that long, if the President of the United States should think proper to order their discharge at an earlier period; that the utmost extent of time they could legally be detained in service was until the 19th of September, 1814; that as the President did, on the 24th of May, and 25th of June preceding, order *all* the militia remaining in service under the command of General Jackson, to be discharged: and that the last of these orders being acknowledged by the General to have been received by him on the 31st of July, 1814, these men from that day forward, were not legally subject to be retained in service; consequently, any attempt to exercise martial law over them after that period, was a violation of their constitutional rights. After the view I have presented of this case, it will be entirely unnecessary to follow the Committee with a refutation of their assertions about desertion, &c. I say assertions, because every one will look in vain for either law, evidence, or argument on that head. This charge of desertion, so often repeated by the Committee, and which, with robbery and spoliation, forms such a conspicuous feature in their report is, on their part, entirely gratuitous; at least as it respects five of the victims. As to all except one, these crimes were not charged upon them on their trial, and could have found a place in the report from no other cause than as a means of adding finish by way of symphony. Why the Committee should have travelled out of the record, to mention these subjects, I will not pretend to determine; it is sufficient for my purpose to refer to the fact of their having done so, and leave others to judge of its justice or propriety. The question of mutiny as entering essentially into the offences for which these men were arraigned and tried, is one which, in its general character, is more difficult to define than any crime recognized by our laws. The term *mutiny*, although it has been long in use among military men, seems not to have been defined in a very satisfactory manner. The writers on military law have been comparatively few, and hence the great uncertainty as to what, in a general sense, constitutes the crime. In the rules and articles of war, there are certain specified offences, which are declared to be mutiny; but this goes very little towards determining the import of the word, which is applied in this arbitrary manner to numerous offences very dissimilar in their nature. It does not appear from

the evidence in this case, that any of these men had been guilty of any of the offences which, in the rules and articles of war, are specifically known and recognised as acts of mutiny. Their case, on the general charge, must be judged of by the best lights which can be collected from the books of authority on that subject.—To a person who has never undertaken any thing of the kind, this might seem an easy task. Not so. After much examination, I have been able to find very little indeed which goes directly to the point. Of the writers who treat of this subject, that it has been in my power to refer to, the most comprehensive and explicit, is E. Samuel, whose work was published in London, in 1816. This author discusses the subject at some length, examines the history of the most prominent cases in the British service, and finally concludes that mutiny is, "rebelling against lawful authority." I presume that no one in this country will accuse an English writer, whose work is dedicated to his royal highness the Duke of York and Albany, of a wish to promulgate doctrines calculated to impair the discipline of the army. According to his definition of the crime of mutiny, there must have been, in order to constitute the crime, a "lawful authority," and a "rebelling" against that authority. That was the authority which in this case was refused to be obeyed! The authority set up and claimed, was the power to compel the performance of a six months tour of duty. To this illegal assumption of power, the men in question refused to yield obedience; and, at the expiration of three months, they quit the camp, and returned to their respective homes. Here was no "rebelling against lawful authority." There was no lawful authority against which to rebel. The post at which they were stationed had been confided to the exclusive command of Militia officers; their authority to command had expired with their term of service; there was, therefore, in the breaking up of the corps, and the return of the men to their homes, no rebellion, no mutiny. It was a sort of interregnum in which there was no legal military authority. Such instances were common during the late war. Gen. Jackson's correspondence with the Secretary of War mentions numerous instances of like conduct; and many of a much more objectionable kind; all of which passed off, without any attempt to inflict punishment. Indeed so far from any thing of the sort being attempted, honorable discharges and full pay had always been awarded to troops in that situation; who amounted in all to a great many thousand men. It would be a useless waste of time, to take up and again refute the assertion of the Committee, that mutiny was committed by quitting the service on the 20th of September; the day after the full expiration of their legal term of service. The only point that remains of this branch of the subject, is, whether a mutiny or rebellion against "lawful authority" took place, before the expiration of the legal term of service; and if so, how far these men participated. The criminal character of every act must, in a great degree depend upon the *quo animo*, or intention with which it is performed.

It is not sufficient to characterize a mutiny in a militia camp, that a few men are seen pursuing a disorderly course of conduct. The idea of mutiny cannot be fairly associated with the simple wish on the part of a militia corps, to return to their respective families and friends, after they have performed what they think is the extent of all that the law has required of them. To constitute this crime, there must be a more dangerous principle in operation: the indication, at least, of an intention to put down the authority of the officers by force, and to substitute some other in its place. A fair sample of mutiny, in the true sense of the word, may be found in the case that occurred on board the British fleet in the year 1779, when the authority of the officers was resisted and finally suppressed; and the whole force governed by a *caucus* of delegates chosen from the crews of the different ships.—What is it fair to presume in the case of the Tennessee militia? Can it for a moment be supposed that they intended to prejudice the service, or felt any wish to paralyze the arm of the Government? By no means.

It is shown by the testimony that a very general impression prevailed in the camp that they were entitled to a discharge at the end of three months. All previous drafts had been so discharged, or had quit the service of their own accord. They knew that General Jackson had always contended for a six months' tour, but that when the President had been appealed to, he had dispensed with it, and that, too, during the existence of a law requiring that length of service. They knew that that law had expired; and from the testimony adduced on the trial, it is pretty certain that the law of the 18th April, 1814, had never been seen by either the officers or men. It is in proof that repeated applications had been made to the Colonel and other officers, to ascertain what the law was, but without effect. Under this state of things, an order was published on the 23d of August, announcing the intention to detain the troops for six months: but it does not appear that any thing further was done, by way of satisfying the minds of the men, who, it seems, could not forget that they were American citizens, and had rights. The taking of provisions on the 19th of September, and the preparations for going home appears not to have met with the slightest resistance. The Colonel of the regiment, the officer in command, was an eye witness to the whole procedure. He made no effort to prevent it; nor did he interpose his authority in any way, either by words or actions. With these facts before our eyes, who is it that can call this a mutiny; a rebellion, stimulated by evil intentions on the part of the men; an offence for which both law and justice required that the lives of these unfortunate men should be taken? I humbly conceive there is no unprejudiced man who can fail to come to a directly contrary conclusion. It appears to have been an affair in which no violence was used; an occasion on which the conduct of every individual was governed by the opinion he had formed of the obligations he was under; such as believed they had fulfilled the requisitions of the law, determined to return home; such as doubted chose to remain. There was nothing new or extraordinary in this. The letters of Gen Jackson show it to have been a very common occurrence. Indeed such a state of things was to have been expected, from the continual disposition evinced by the General, to require more from the militia than the President, the chief of the country and the army was disposed to exact. A few months service in the militia is not sufficient to obliterate from the mind of an American freeman all recollection and knowledge of his rights; and it is in vain to expect from him the

abject servility of a *scapoy*. Whenever he is reduced to that condition, even when under arms, that spirit which has heretofore nerved his arm, and taught the invaders of our soil his superiority, will have departed forever. Let the visionary, abstract, theoretical reasoners on military discipline, reflect on this part of the subject.

General Jackson was at the post where this alleged mutiny took place, for some time previous to its occurrence. He concluded a treaty here with the Creek Indians, on the 9th of August. If he was then satisfied with his authority to continue this detachment in service for six months, it was due to a body of 1,000 yeomen of the country, that the authority should have been explained to them. But nothing of this kind was done. The proceedings of this court martial show, most conclusively, that it was for the most part composed of an ignorant or bloody minded set of men—men regardless of human life—men wholly unfit for the trust in this instance reposed in them. There is a palpable disingenuousness on the face of the whole transaction; for although the plea is still kept up that these men were bound to perform a six months tour of duty, yet none except one were officially charged with desertion. If the parties who got up this prosecution had been satisfied that the men were legally bound to perform a six months tour, why not charge those who had left the service at the end of three months at once with desertion? This would have greatly simplified the case. The law and the fact would then have been brought to the test. But it was discovered that to ensure a conviction on a charge of desertion, it would be necessary to produce the law of the 18th of April, 1814, and the order of the President, extending the term of service to six months. This could not be done, for the plain reason, that no such order had ever been made. Hence the preferring of the charge of mutiny was resorted to, as the result of an after thought—a charge trumped up to suit the occasion without any thing substantial to sustain it.

The last branch of the third inquiry presented by the Committee remains to be answered.

"Whether the commanding General, approving the proceedings of this court properly exercised the power and discretion vested in him by law?"

This is a very important inquiry. It contains the gist of the whole matter. But it will be unnecessary to recapitulate the facts and arguments already adduced: they will be recollected, and their bearing on the case must be obvious. To the mind of a calm dispassionate man, one not heated by the excitement and delusion of party feeling, the case presented by the sentence of this court martial for the decision of General Jackson, must appear one of great plainness. It was one which is almost every day submitted in our courts of justice to the decision of the common sense of our ordinary juries. It was nothing more nor less than a requisition to decide the law and the fact. These men had been called into the service by his own order, in compliance with the commands of Governor Blount. True it is, that when he issued that order he was acting as a Major General of militia, in a subordinate capacity to the Governor, and had then no discretion to exercise.—But his situation was now entirely changed.—He was now a major general in the service of the United States. In this new situation he was under no obligation to sustain the illegal proceedings of the Governor of Tennessee. The facts which have since been developed, in his correspondence with the Governor of Georgia, in 1818, shows with what deference he has been disposed to treat the persons and opinions of governors of States, whenever those opinions came in conflict with his views. General Jackson must have known that, in order to make a legal draft of six months, it was indispensable that the special orders of the President, requiring it, should have been given. I am aware that to this it may be answered that, in as much as the governor had issued his orders for a six months draft, he was bound to presume that such an order had been given by the President. This presumption, in the absence of all evidence to the contrary, would have been sufficient to govern him in deciding a question of ordinary or minor importance; but certainly would not warrant an order which was to take the lives of six American citizens. When the life of an American citizen is at stake, inference must be abandoned. The clear, unquestionable, "indisputable facts," both of law and crime must be shown against him before he can be condemned. Whenever the day shall arrive, on which the people of these States shall sanction, by their approbation, the taking of the lives of our militiamen, on the principles advanced by the Committee on Military Affairs, the transition to a different system of government will not be so difficult to effect as many of our ardent patriots, in the flow of their zeal for the duration of Republican government, had supposed.

But General Jackson was under no necessity, in this case to rely on the authority of Governor Blount as to the legality of a six months draft. He had received instructions direct from the War Department, which contradicted, in the most positive terms, the inference now attempted to be drawn from the letter of the Secretary of War of the 11th of January, 1814, to Governor Blount. He had received the orders of the President, stating that, in his opinion, *no militia* force was in that quarter necessary, and ordering that they be discharged. He knew that it was owing to his *own* disobedience of this order of the President, that these men were, on the 19th September, in a situation which admitted of the charge for which they were thus illegally deprived of life.

I have now finished my reference to facts and documents, and am ready to answer the enquiry propounded by the Committee. I say unhesitatingly, that "the commanding General, approving the proceedings of this court martial, did NOT properly exercise the power and discretion vested in him by law." I say, that in approving the sentence passed upon these men, and in ordering their immediate execution, General Jackson acted a most cruel and sanguinary part: one which ought, in justice, to have subjected him at least to the pointed displeasure of the Government, if not to the punishment of our laws. But at all events, it ought at this time to call down upon him the condemnation of every man who regards the stability of our Government, and the protection of the constitutional rights, of our citizens.

The votaries of military power, and the eulogists of martial achievements, may boast as much as they please; these are all well, when they tend to the security of liberty. But I do hope that the good people of this country will, after all, settle down in the plain, common-sense

opinion, that the security of personal liberty ought to be the principal object of all government; and that he who, under any pretext, however specious, without authority of law, shall take the life of a fellow citizen, is guilty of tyranny, whatever pretences he may set up of devotion to public interest, and the people. They, it is hoped, will refuse to aid in the attempt to shield from just condemnation conduct at once so cruel and illegal; conduct such as has no parallel in this country; and the like of which has, of late years, rarely been displayed in any country enjoying the advantages of civilization. I know that it is natural for men who give loose to feelings of military enthusiasm, to look with indifference on the civil rights of the citizen, which it is the main object of our Government to secure; & hence it is that military predilections are so dangerous in a republic. The chief value of a republican government consists not in its superior adaptation to the repelling of attacks from foreign foes. Were that the main object of government, it is still a matter of dispute whether it is entitled to a preference.—The real excellence of a republican government is, that it is always under the control of the public will, and the rights of the humblest citizen is secured from the encroachment of power and official violence. It is the beauty and excellence of our system, that, if fairly administered, it equally secures the rights of the humble ploughman, with those of the wealthy landlord whose fields he tills. It is this free principle of our civil polity that we now see an effort made to impair. It is now, for the first time in this country, that we are called to witness an attempt to justify the illegal and wanton destruction of the lives of our humble citizens who form the rank and file of our armies, because, forsooth, their destroyer has gained a splendid victory!! Such a sentiment, if it once gets possession of the people of this country, will, I fear, in a very short time, blight all the hopes of the real friends of human liberty. Military service has ever been the capital stock with which usurpers have commenced their career; and public gratitude has always been the fund on which their drafts have drawn. Unfortunately for the world, too few of these drafts have been protested. It has ever been the disposition of the people to give men possessed of military fame credit for every good quality. Entertaining a just pride on account of the superiority of our institutions of government, it is to be feared that we are growing careless of the manner in which, on some occasions, certain branches of it have been administered. Wise statesmen have ever regarded indications of that kind as giving just cause for alarm. We have ever been taught to regard European governments as treating with indifference the rights of the great body of their people. To a certain extent, the opinion is certainly correct. But there are instances in English history of officers whose conduct nearly resembled that of Gen. Jackson in the present case, who have forfeited their lives for the crimes thus committed. The case of Joseph Wall, sometime Governor of Goree, in Africa, is a prominent instance of that kind.

The history of the case may be found at large in the 28th volume of Howell's State Trials; it is long and tedious, and I will only refer to a few of its principal features, in order to show the analogy which exists between it and the case now under consideration. The case of Governor Wall is familiar to every person of legal research. He was indicted for the murder of Benjamin Armstrong, and tried at the Old Bailey, on the 20th of January, 1802. Armstrong was a serjeant of a company composing part of the garrison. He had offended the Governor by appearing at the head of a portion of the men before the government house, to demand certain alleged arrears of compensation. They were ordered to return to their quarters; but on a second appearance in the same situation, the Governor ordered a drum-head court martial, under a pretence that a request to be paid what they alleged was justly due to them, was an act of mutiny. The sentence of this court was, that Armstrong should receive a large number of lashes, of which, a few days afterwards, he died. Twenty years after the perpetration of this outrage, the culprit was arraigned for murder, and an English jury gave a verdict of guilty, on which verdict an English judge pronounced sentence of death, and the criminal was executed accordingly. This event occurred at a time when the martial spirit in that country was, perhaps, at its greatest height; and is an evidence of the just conception of the difference between the execution of legal authority, and cruel tyranny, very creditable to a people supposed by many amongst us to have become the mere slaves of power. If, under a Government such as that of England, the man who trifles on the rights of individuals, and wantonly takes the life of an humble private soldier, is condemned by an English jury to suffer for his crimes upon a gibbet, shall we submit to be told, in this country, by those who are ever and anon declaiming about the rights of the people, that acts of the same character, when committed here, shall be a passport to public favor; that it is our duty to hug such persons to our bosoms; consider them as public benefactors, and confer on them the greatest honor in our power to bestow? I trust in Heaven, that such doctrines will never be generally sanctioned by the public voice in this country; but, on the contrary, that it will be the unanimous decision, that he who, in this manner, may have contemned our laws, ought never to be entrusted with their administration.

J. SLOANE.

(Note V.)

(Copy.) WAR DEPARTMENT, *February 6th*, 1813.

Sir: The causes of embodying and marching to New Orleans the corps under your command having ceased to exist, you will on the receipt of this letter consider it as dismissed from public service, and take measures to have delivered over to Major General Wilkinson all the articles of public property which may have been put into its possession.

You will accept for yourself and the corps the thanks of the President of the United States.

I have the honor &c.

J. ARMSTRONG.

Major General JACKSON, *New Orleans.*

Head Quarters, near Washington, Mississippi Territory, 22d March, 1813.

Sir: My letter of the 15th inst. informed you, that I had received yours of the 5th of January, 1813.

I have now the honor to inform you, that I received under cover from Major Gen. Wilkinson, of date March 8th your notification to him, without date, but post marked February 8th, 1813, which runs as follows

"SIR: The militia force organized by Governor Blount, under command of General Jackson, expedited to New-Orleans early in last month, is discharged from further service. The Gen. is required to have delivered over to your directions, such articles of public propety as have been committed to them.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

Your notification to me, received as above, and having no 'militia force organized" under my command, places me in a delicate situation. I have the honor to command only an organized volunteer corps enrolled and tendered to the President of the United States, under the act of February 6th, 1812, and whose services, with my own, were accepted and made known to me through Governor Blount; but the President, under date, War Department, July 11th, 1812, and all the officers under my command, down to a Captain, have been commissioned by the President of the United States, on the 21st of Nov. 1812, in pursuance of his authority under the act of Congress, of July 6th, 1812: hence the words in your notification to Gen. Wilkinson, "*organized militia*," cannot be applied to the detachment under my command. But from your communications to Gov. Blount, Major General Wilkinson, and your unofficial note to me, of January 5th, 1813, I infer that the wishes of the Government are, that the detachment under my command, is to be discharged. I have, therefore, ordered their return to Nashville, Tenn. There being no direction for the payment of the troops, or their supplies on their return home, by you directed; from a perusal of the law on the subject, I find I have been correct, and anticipated the intention of the Government, in ordering supplies of provisions, and conveyance for the sick and their necessary baggage to Nashville, where they will be discharged. The law runs thus: "That whenever any officer or soldiers shall be discharged from the service, he shall be allowed his pay and rations, or an equivalent in money, for such term of time as shall be sufficient for him to travel from the place of his discharge to the place of his residence, computing at the rate of twenty miles to a day." There being no direction to pay the troops here; no compensation directed to be given to them in lieu of rations. I have ordered the Contractor and Quarter Master, as you have been advised in mine of date the 15th inst. to furnish the necessary supplies for my detachment on their return to Nashville. I have been detained ever since the 13th inst. by the agents of government, but, in justice to Mr. Brandt, I would observe, that every exertion has been used on his part to expedite our departure. I have, however, been notified that necessary supplies will be ready against the 25th inst. when I shall take up the line of march for Nashville; at which point, or some other with in the State of Tennessee, I hope they will be directed to be paid off, and the Paymaster be furnished with funds for this purpose. I have a hope (although not ordered to a theatre of war) that my detachment merit as much from our Government, as the detached militia from this Territory, who are ordered to be paid and discharged at Baton Rouge.

Your note of the 5th of Jnn. 1813, directs that two thousand well organized volunteers, under the acts of Congress of February 6th, and July 6th, 1812, are to be dismissed at New Orleans, without pay or a compensation for rations. Is this your impartial rule; and this reward to whom? men of the first character, patriotism and wealth of the Union; who left their comfortable homes and families for tented fields, to support the Eagles of their country at any point ordered by the constituted authorities.

ANDREW JACKSON.

(Note B.)

Extract from General Jackson's order.

"DIVISION ORDER.

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE.

Head Quarters Division of the South.

Nashville, 23d April, 1817

"The commanding General considers it due to the principle of subordination which ought and must exist in an army, to prohibit the obedience of any order emanating from the Department of War, to officers of this division, who have reported and been assigned for duty, unless coming through him as the proper organ of communication."

Here we have the order of General Jackson, officially promulgated, prohibiting the officers of his division from obeying any order or performing any service in obedience to direct and positive commands of the President of the United States, "emanating from the Department of War." And yet we are told by the Committee of Military Affairs, who undertake to instruct the nation on the great importance of military subordination, that the conduct of General Jackson in taking the lives of these unfortunate men was absolutely necessary; because it was "striking a severe but salutary example in the minds of those who were liable to be misled." Such is the difference sanctioned by the opinion of this committee, between the conduct he has ever prescribed for himself, and that which he has dictated for others—the difference, in short, between his precepts and his examples. I should have given the whole of this anomalous order, but that all which follows what has been already given; consists wholly of the reasons which prompted its publication, and was therefore, considered to be unnecessary. Reasons for the deliberate determination, on the part of a high military officer for publishing a bold defiance of the orders of the President of the United States, the commander-in-chief of the army; and by one, too, who had often signed the death warrant of such as he chose to say had exhibited a spirit of insubordination, though not one-twentieth part as reprehensible as was this order, could not be very important in sustaining the report of the committee.

JACKSON AND DICKINSON.

The fact that Gen. JACKSON killed Mr. Charles Dickinson in a duel, in June, 1806, has been generally made known. The circum-tances, too, have been explained. But it is conceived proper to insert them in the Expositor, that they may be preserved more certainly, and more conveniently referred to, than in a newspaper.

Z.

The following statement of the circumstances, was published last summer by a person who received them from Doctor Catlett, the second of Dickinson.

"General Jackson and Mr. Dickinson made a race, and run the four mile heats for five thousand dollars; the heats were broken, and each heat tightly contested. Mr. Dickinson's rider said he had lost the race by foul play, and that Gen. Jackson's riders had jostled him near the close of the last round; Gen. Jackson, on hearing this charge, said he would hold any man personally responsible, who dared to accuse his rider of foul play. Dickinson answered, "I believe my boy's statement to be correct, for I never knew him to deviate from the truth." This was followed by a dispute, which ended by Jackson's sending Dickinson a challenge, which was accepted. The terms agreed on were—that the parties should fight at ten paces, that a snap was not to be considered a fire, &c. Mr. Overton, Gen. Jackson's second, and Dr. Catlett, Dickinson's second, threw up for the word; Overton won it. When he gave the word 'fire,' both Jackson and Dickinson pulled their triggers at the same instant. Dickinson's ball grazed Jackson's breast, slightly touching the skin: JACKSON'S PISTOL WENT TO HALF-COCK. HE NODDED TO THE SECONDS, RE-COCKED HIS PISTOL, TOOK DELIBERATE AIM, AND KILLED MR. DICKINSON. Mr. D. after firing stood firmly and SILENTLY, and received Gen. Jackson's fire. The public excitement thence arising against Gen. Jackson was so great, that Mr. Overton was induced to offer a certificate, for Dr. Catlett's signature, prepared with a view to allay it, which certificate Dr. C. refused to sign."

Lest the candid reader may apprehend that this is an electioneering tale, got up now, to affect Gen. Jackson's election to the Presidency, it is deemed adviseable to publish several corroborating testimonies to which no such objections can be made.

At the time of the duel, there was published in Nashville, a newspaper, entitled "*The Impartial Review, and Cumberland Repository.* This paper of the 7th of June, 1806, contains an account of the duel and of the funeral of Mr. Dickinson. It adds:

"There have been few occasions on which stronger impressions of sorrow, or testimonies of greater respect were evinced, than the one we have the unwelcome task to record."

The same paper contains also other interesting details in relation to the transaction. The editor states, that a written request had been made to him, by sundry citizens, to dress his paper in mourning, upon the occasion; in consequence of which he received the following note from Gen. Jackson:

"Mr. EASTIN—I am informed that at the request of sundry citizens of Nashville, and its vicinity, you are about to dress your paper in MOURNING, as a 'tribute of respect for the memory, and regret for the UNTIMELY death of Charles Dickinson.'

Your paper is the public vehicle, and is always taken to be the public will, unless the contrary appears. Presuming that the PUBLIC IS NOT IN MOURNING at this event, in justice to that public, it is only fair and right to set forth THE NAMES OF THOSE CITIZENS, who have made the request. The thing is so novel, that the names ought to appear that the public might judge the true motives of the signers 'were a tribute of respect for the deceased,' or something else, that at first sight does not appear. Yours with esteem,

ANDREW JACKSON."

June 6, 1806.

This call of Gen. Jackson, induced several individuals to withdraw their names from the request to dress the paper in mourning.

These facts are of great importance in forming a just estimate of Gen. Jackson's character. No inference against him need be drawn from the cause, in which the duel originated.—Unfortunately for the country, most of the lives lost, in affairs of this kind, are sacrificed to discreditable quarrels, growing out of transactions, in which good and virtuous men have no concern. But the manner in which Dickinson was killed, though agreeably to the rules of the duel, was highly reproachful to Gen. Jackson. It is the only instance now in general recollection, in which such advantage over an antagonist, has been improved. It demonstrates a feeling of rancour, and a thirst for vengeance, that resembles an evil demon, more than a human being. No doubt it was owing to this circumstance that public feeling was so strongly excited. The very fact of the excitement, is proof of something uncommon in the manner of the duel; for the thing itself was not unfrequent in that country.

Gen. Jackson's note to the editor proves both his callosity of feeling and his arrogant and overbearing disposition. He had murdered a fellow citizen, esteemed and respected by his neighbours. Those neighbours, by way of indulging their own sympathies, and for the purpose of soothing the

sorrows of an afflicted wife and friends, proposed that the newspaper in which the death and funeral would be announced, should be dressed in mourning. At this proposal Gen. Jackson takes offence, and, in a manner not to be mistaken, insists upon having made public, the names of those who made it. Thus saying almost, in terms, the public take no interest in the fate of Dickinson. The TRUE *motive*, of this movement, is one inimical to me, and as such I shall resent it. Surely, little favorable can be said of the state of society, in a place where such things as these are tolerated. The arrogance of the homicide was even more intolerable than his brutal insensibility. At the very time when the victim of his vengeance lay a cold and lifeless corpse, in the habiliments of the grave, surrounded by a frantic wife, and mourning children, he was not only untouched by remorse, and unmoved by compassion, but had the audacity to mingle in the affairs of the funeral, and indicate a determination to embroil the surviving friends in a further quarrel, unless they took counsel from fear, and submitted to his dictation!! We know nothing of the kind, in which humanity and decency have been so scandalously outraged.

In other cases, the successful duellist has deemed it a duty, so far to respect the feelings of relations, and the opinion of the community, as to withdraw, for a time, from the scene of the homicide. Upon most occasions, the survivor is deeply afflicted at the result, and a man, who feels as a man should feel, at occasioning the death of his neighbour, could never think of resenting public sympathy, as an offence to himself. But Gen. Jackson was then, as now, so much wrapt up in himself, and had so long given the rein of indulgence to his imperious temper, that he could brave that, which any other man would shrink from, as from infamy.—What would now be thought, in any part of the Union, should a surviving duellist obtrude himself into the funeral obsequies of the deceased, with a publication like that of Gen. Jackson? We are much mistaken if he would not be instantly overwhelmed with one universal expression of contempt and execration. Is the deed less characteristic of savage feeling—less to be condemned and reprobated, because perpetrated twenty two years ago by Gen. Jackson? We think not. And as we are not of the number, who hold that a deed is excusable or censurable in reference to the person who commits it, we deem it proper that the public should be made acquainted with the offences of Gen. Jackson, against morals, law, and decency, the commission of which, spreads over his whole life from the seducton of Mrs. Robards to the slander of Mr. Clay.

GROANINGS
OF ONE A——W J——N.

TO BE HEARD DECEMBER, 1828.

"Cæsar aut nullus, was his aim,
Cæsar non venit—"*nullus* came!"

Oh! hud I am dished—Oh sons! I'm undone,
I must give myself up to despair—
For Adams, that rascally turncoat has won,
And is still in the President's chair.

In vain did I fight so, behind *cotton bags*,
Which gained me such glorious renown—
In vain turned so pious—the curst Adams wags
Said the world would not swallow it down.

They say I don't know e'en our G'ography here,
But I know enough plenty for me;
I know Washington's up in the District somewhere,
And *Kentuck* I know a'nt Tennessee.

But a phoo! for your *larning*—for where is the use?
If a man should go off on a tour,
There's any black *nigger*, that's walking the street,
Can tell him the way, I am sure.

I murder King's English, they say—so I will—
For it shows true American *pride*—
I hate all your *kings*, and your Englishmen too,
And every thing *English* beside.

Then a nice *writing-man* I have hired for my use,
To hide the bad *spelin* I *skrawl*,
And *them are* as *says* how my grammar is bad,
Don't know nothing about it at all.

Though spouting sometimes in the Senate, 'tis true,
I've stammer'd most sadly and blundered;
But if I've occasion to make a speech now,
Van Buren will write me a hundred.

"The three R's—honest 'Rithmetic, Reading and 'Riting,
I think, I can say, I'm no fool in—
Considering my time was so *took up* in fighting,
That I only had *three quarters schooling*.

I hate Clay—I hate bargain—except as a bet
On a game-cock, or horse at the races;
I like one of Clay's acts, though—'tis so much like me,
When he fought with slim *John* at ten paces,

And then about that Mrs. Robards affair—
That, too, they've told Adams and Clay—
Had it never *leaked* out, I'll make bold to declare,
'Twould not be *known* to this day.

Then poor *Mrs.* Gin'ral—I blush when I'ts told,
How they laughed—(I can never forgive her)—
When she said that "she cotch'd a most wiolent cold,
For the Gin'ral had *kicked off the kiver.*"

Though every objection I've answered enough,
Still the Adams men jabber and squall,
'Bout militia men—marriages—*morals & stuff*,
And war—and the deuce knows what all.

Make me President once, and the scoundrels shall feel—
With *my fist* 'gainst the wall would I jam e'm—
If they still made their jabber—by thunder and steel
I'd *shoot* every rogue of 'em—d—n 'em*

TRASH.

*NOTE. The author is no more blameable for the "*hard words*" made use of by the Hero, than Milton and Byron for the blasphemies put into the mouths of Satan and Cain. The language and sentiments must be characteristic of the speaker.—*N. J. Eagle.*

WHITE-WASHING COMMITTEE.

GENTLEMEN:—You seem to have suspended your operations, and resigned your functions, to the redoubtable editor of the Nashville Republican.—As his labours do not appear likely to be more efficacious than your own, and as you have not formally renounced your official character, I take the liberty of making certain suggestions, of matters that seem to require your especial interference. Your attention is earnestly asked to the following subjects:

1. Was Hugh Lawson White's brother, tried for murder before Gen. Jackson, when a judge, and the trial pressed, in the absence of a material witness for the state, so as to secure an acquittal, and attach the said H. L. White, to Gen. Jackson?

2. Had Gen. Jackson ever an affray with a man of the name of Macklin? Did Gen. Jackson get a cudgelling in that affray; and what part did Gen. Coffee and W. T. Lewis bear in it?

3. Did a man of the name of Swan ever challenge Gen. Jackson, in consequence of a quarrel on a race field? Did Gen. Jackson refuse to meet him, and afterwards assault him with a posse of myrmidons, and did Swan throw the redoubtable Hero in the fire?

3. Did a quarrel and duel ensue in consequence, between N. A. McNary and Gen. Coffee, in which Coffee was wounded?

Did a paper war follow, between McNary and Jackson, concluded with a challenge and a compromise?

6. Was Jackson second in a duel between Thos. Dickinson and Thomas Overton, in which the latter was badly wounded?

7. Was Gen. Jackson second in a duel between Alexander Donelson, nephew of Mrs. Jackson, and J. Winston, two lads about eighteen years of age? and did they fight at six feet distance?

8. Was Jackson second in a duel between Jesse Benton and Gen. Carrol? Was Jackson charged with foul play, out of which grew the celebrated affray at Nashville, between Jackson, Coffee, and the Bentons?

9. What was the character of the Hero's quarrels with John McNairy, now one of your own body, David McGavock, Wm. Polk, Robert Weakly, John Strother and Robert Hayes?

10. Did John Brown, a soldier of the Revolution, die in jail, at the suit of Gen. Jackson, for debt? and in what manner did Brown offend the chieftain, so as to provoke this rigor?

11. What was the nature of the castigation the Hero received from Hugh Montgomery, and who relieved the said Hero from its further infliction?

For what did Jackson challenge, and fight a duel with Col. Avery?—Can Gen. Adair give any explanation of the matter?

12. For what offence was Jackson bound to keep the peace towards one Lewis Robards, before Robert Weakly, Esq. a justice of the peace, about the year 1790?

13. Upon what account did the Hero quarrel with John Donelson?—Where was he when a warrant sued

out against him, by J. and William Donelson, was returned not found?

14. For what occasion did Jackson take, without leave or license, the canoe of Tim. Desmambrum, subjecting himself to a suit which was prosecuted, and judgment recovered against him for the same?

15. Wherefore did the Hero quarrel with Governor Sevier a d Gen. Robinson? Why did he challenge Sevier. and how was the quarrel adjusted?—Had a man of the name of Van Dyke any hand in it?

16. What was the nature of the General's connection with two Virginians, of the name of Coleman and Green? (not Gen. Duff.) and did his wrath against Dinsmore, grow, in any way, out of that connection?

17. Was there a funeral at the Hermitage, shortly after the address of Buchanan was received there, last summer? Does there hang any tale by this interrogatory?

You will perceive, gentlemen, by these interrogatories, that I am in possession of more or less information, upon many matters involving the character of your idol. I have named, for the present, persons only. If satisfactory explanations are given, the subject may be put to rest. Otherwise, I may, at a future time, go a little more into detail. It will not do, to say, that this mode of putting queries, by anonymous scribblers, is the true assassin mode of attacking reputation. Remember, it was thus the myrmidons of your chief attacked Mr. Clay. It is thus they have assailed, and continue to assail Mr. Adams and Mr. Webster. If you stand mute, you convict your principal; and I warn you to be careful how you answer.

QUERIST.

PRECIOUS CONFESSIONS.

The hatred of General Jackson toward Mr. Clay, bears date, from his speech on the Seminole war. This hatred has been gradually transferred from the Hero, the mock Hero I should say, to his followers, since the election of 1825, when Mr. Clay had the independence to prefer Mr. Adams for President, over Gen. Jackson. Upon that occasion Mr. Clay spoke of General Jackson as a "*military chieftain*," and although many of those who now shout "*hurrah for the Hero*," had previously designated him by the same terms, they at this time steadily denounce Mr. Clay, as the first who applied these terms to him, and speak of them as highly offensive.

It has been Mr. Clay's misfortune recently to give new and very heinous offence to the chieftains worshippers, in relation to the same subject. In a short address to a few select friends, in Baltimore on the 14th of May, Mr. Clay held the following language:

"Regardless of all imputations and proud of the opportunity of free and unrestrained intercourse with all my fellow citizens, if it were physically possible and compatible with my official duties, I would visit every state, go to every town and hamlet, address every man in the Union, and entreat them by their love of country, by their love of liberty, for the sake of themselves and their posterity—in the name of their venerated ancestors, in the name of the human family, deeply interested in the fulfilment of the trust committed to their hands—by all the past glory we have won—by all that awaits us as a nation—if we are true and faithful, in gratitude to HIM who has hitherto signally blessed us—to pause—solemnly pause, and contemplate the precipice which yawns before us! If indeed, we have incurred the divine displeasure, and if it be necessary to chastise this people with the rod of his vengennce, I would humbly prostrate myself before HIM and implore his mercy, to visit our favored land with war, with pestilence, with famine, with any scourge other than military rule, or a blind and heedless enthusiasm for mere military renown."

The wrath of our Jacksonians at the employment of these terms is almost boundless. The recital of them operates on their senses as violently as the coffin hand-bill, or the words *Mrs. Robards*. It transports them out of all discretion. And the effect is the same from the highest to the lowest; from Hugh Lawson White to Amos Holton. from Moses Dawson to his correspondent Knickerbocker. or the Down Looker of the Republican. One and all, they insist that Mr. Clay has put up a prayer for war, pestilence and famine, rather than the election of General Jackson. They do not see that by this interpretation, they necessarily admit that the success of General

Jackson would be to inflict the "*scourge of military rule*," and "*a blind and heedless enthusiasm for mere military renown upon the country.*"

Mr. Clay would prefer war, pestilence and famine to what? To "*the scourge of military rule.*" Will the election of General Jackson inflict this "*scourge*?" If it will, then does Mr. Clay make the application to General Jackson. If the election of General Jackson will not inflict this "*scourge*," then Mr. Clay's imprecations do not touch Gen. Jackson. So of the "*blind and heedless enthusiasm for mere military renown.*" Is it this, and this alone, that attaches to General Jackson, the followers that laud him to the skies? Then does Mr. Clay's remarks apply to General Jackson; otherwise they do not. The denunciations of Mr. Clay's remarks are neither more nor less than open confessions of their truth and application, both to the chief himself and to his satellites. By their clamor they acknowledge that his election would inflict the "*scourge of military rule*," upon the country: that they are themselves influenced solely by "*a blind and heedless enthusiasm for mere military renown.*" These are "*precious confessions*," and the people ought to treasure them up with careful remembrance, as evidencing the undisguised approach of military despotism.

HERO OF TWO WARS.---A DRAMA.

Act 3, Scene 1,—Street in New-Orleans.

ENTER TWO CITIZENS, MEETING.

1 Cit. So, you have been a party to this pageant,
Got up by demagogues to sound abroad,
And cheat the public to believe, that we,
Who know this chieftain, and have seen our friends
The victims of his lawless outrages,
Can honor, eulogise, almost adore him.
It shames me, that a firm substantial citizen,
Should join a herd of idlers, slaves and children,
Who run and shout, as demagogues may bid them,
Lending yourself to the ambitious views
Of one, who climbs to power that he may crush you,
With all who dared to thwart the selfish plans,
Of the base flatterers, who seek to raise him,
That they may use him for their own vile purpose.

2 Cit. Hold you, nor censure thus unsparingly.

1 Cit. Hold me! I have little patience to be calm.
Have you forgotten all his deeds of violence,
When flushed with victory, by others won,
And rendered giddy by our weak applause,
This chief became the ready instrument
Of L————n and D—c—n, and their tribe
Of pirate clients, rabble followers?
His powers usurped, were wielded at their wills,
To gratify their vengeances, and serve
The ignoble purposes of private malice:
Making the public safety, the pretext
To imprison every man who dared dispute,
The power supreme of his Dictatorship.
Have you forgotten, how our citizens,
The strength, the bone and muscle of the city,
Were cooped in camp, at distance from their homes,
Their wives and children; midst a pestilence,
That swept them to their graves by tens and scores,
That this same chieftain might, in greater safety,
Rule with despotic sway o'er all around him?
That those, who set him on to this fair work,
Subjecting Louaillier to marshal law,
And placing life and death upon the blast
Of his own nostrils: prostrating at his nod,
The laws, and all called to administer them,
Could with impunity indulge their passions?

2 Cit. Nothing of this, have I forgotten yet.

1 Cit. Yet you have run to hail and worship him,
To aid in trumpeting abroad his fame,
And cant and pipe about his victories,
With which he vainly hopes to gull the people;
Or did you go to indulge an idle gaze,
To please his worshippers, and win their smiles?
Thus crowds do often swell unconsciously,
The pageantry of despots, which they use
To make the vulgar think it pure respect.

2 Cit. You have berated me with biting censure,
Nor time allowed for word of explanation.
Though I have been a witness to the pageant,
I was no party to it. From my soul,
The weak, vain tyrant that is idolized,
I do despise; and his idolators
Hold in profound contempt. Full well I know,
'Tis such as they that tyrants always use,
To work their own destruction, and destroy
That very freedom they pretend to love.

1 Cit. Why joined you then the rabble, why be present,
To countenance this folly, and be counted
As one uniting in its wicked object?

2 Cit. A motive just and laudable impelled me.
This Hero and his partizans are wont,
To build themselves a fabric up from falsehood,
A very trifle, by the aid of fiction,
Is magnified, embellished, decorated,
And thus exaggerated, made to seem
What it was not; then passed upon the country
For real; when in fact, 'twere but mere seeming.
Now, of this pageant I was fain to see
Its reality; to witness who was present,
To observe who played the sycophant, and how
The parts of all the actors were performed,
That I might make a true report, and check
What impudence and daring might invent.

1 Cit. I stand corrected. It was well conceived.

I pray you, what were the chief circumstances?
2 Cit. A volume might be filled with half of them.
Folly herself, might hang her head, at some,
Confused and shamed; at others,
Nothing but folly could refrain from laughter.
Again, at others, a deep indignation,
Must rise and swell in every patriot bosom.
When first the pageant set his foot on shore,
The bacchanalians roared *hurrah for Hero.*
A red nose crew, some reeling to and fro,
Too drunk to shout, yet they essayed, and oped
Their bloated chops, and greeted him with hiccoughs;
The air infecting with their fetid breaths;
You might have nosed them half a mile to windward.
The chieftain smiled and bowed, and bowed and smiled,
And shook their fists in seeming cordial mood,
As demagogues are wont before elections.
I saw him, smiling, take a pirate's hand,
Call him his brave companion in the hour
Of former danger, and his present friend;
Whilst D—v—z—c with his Sardonic grin,
Looked in contempt upon the grog-shop train,
That did attend to hail and honor him.
Then came the orators and made their speeches,
With fulsome flattery so charged, as none
But willing slaves could offer to their fellow:
And none, but one of weakest arrogance,
Receive without disgust and detestation.
Whilst these were mouthed and mumbled by the speakers,
The mob huzza'd applause at every blunder.
To each the Hero made a fit reply;
Himself the hero of his own discourses,
Put in his mouth, by those who manage him.
On each occasion the set speech was made,
Was fumbled from his pocket, ready written;
And near him stood his prompter: one much needed,
For badly had the pageant conned his lesson.
At one time he mistook, and gravely read,
Part of a speech, intended for another.
The prompter gave the check—and Hero blushed;
Confused he crushed the paper in one hand,
And thrust the other in his wadded pocket,
In search of that he wanted:—Loudly the herd
Acclaimed and cheered him, at this ticklish moment,
Mistaking his gross blunder, for the tact
Of happy aptness to perform his part;
Thus, making an appropriate commentary,
On all his claims to merit and distinction.
1 Cit. Did you observe amongst the numerous band,
That from above followed in Hero's wake,
Like screaming vultures, in an army's rear,
No man of note, and honest character?
2 Cit. I say not so—for there were some, no doubt—
Amongst them, I observed the son of Hamilton,
As if ambitious to degrade his name,
And cast a shade upon his father's fame,
By eulogizing ignorance, and placing
On the same eminence, exalted worth
And impudent pretension. Well the ghost
Of the departed father might have risen,
To frown reproach on the degenerate son,
For thus dishonouring his memory.
And by the side of Hamilton, I saw
A wretch of deepest infamy, who bears
An honored name, with talents of high order;
Whose very touch, an honest man should feel
As foul pollution; yet with Hamilton,
He interchanged all courtesies and kindness.
Even Madam Hero hung upon his arm;
Hero himself, seemed all dependent on him,
As pupil on his tutor. [*Loud hurrah.*
1 Cit. Hark! that shout
Announces his approach; the rabble greet him.
We'll stand aside, and mark the pageant pass.
[*Enter in procession, Hero, Toady, Colonel Plump, D—v—z—c, Lofitte, and a rabble behind them, shouting, hurrah for Hero. They pass.—Citizens again come forward.*]
1 Cit. Didst thou note the countenance of Hero?
A deep dejection sat upon his brow,
Betraying the emotions of a mind
Writhing in agonies of disappointment.
2 Cit. The excitement and confusion of first landing,
Have now subsided; and his eyes are open,
To see by whom it is, he is surrounded
Instead of meeting worthy citizens,
He finds himself escorted by a band
Distinguished nor for virtue, nor for talent;
Composed, in part, at least, of former pirates,
Who purchased life, by fighting in his ranks,
And made themselves familiar by their services,
When Lonaillier, and Hall, and Dick were seized on,
Victims of violated law and justice.
To approach our shore in the delusive hope,
That the invitation was in verity,
From the whole people, and that all would join,
To greet him, and give eclat to his movements;
Then to be met by such a rabble rout,
Headed by those who lead them, and conducted
To quarters, at the house of D—v—z—c,
Humble indeed, must be the pride that would not
Be agonized at such a disappointment.
But let us to our homes—lest we should witness
The profanation of the holy temple,
And sacred functions of the aged bishop,
Which now are soon to follow.
[*Exeunt Citizens*

GEN. JACKSON'S
LAND SPECULATIONS.

The Nashville Republican and State Gazette, of May 16, contains an article in explanation and vindication of the conduct of Gen. Jackson, in the land speculations, noticed in the last Expositor. So much of the matter, for the present number, was made up and printed, before the vindication was received, that there was no room to publish or review it. This shall be done in the July number. It is proper here to remark, that this attempt is one of the most lame and impo-

tent I have ever witnessed. It, in fact, convicts Gen. Jackson of much greater impropriety, than the publication of the TENNESSEAN attributed to him. The writer is too much under the influence of his feelings, to see any thing, except through a most partial medium.

He has thought fit to introduce my name, in three different places, each time for the purpose of defaming me. I shall requite him, by reviewing his article, and exhibiting its statements and principles in their real character. I shall be much mistaken, if the friends of the General do not most heartily deprecate the interference of the Republican in this affair, before I am done with it.

There is one falsehood in this publication, so totally destitute of all colour, that it may serve to characterize its other statements. It is this:

"*In 1825, Charles Hammond was the warm eulogist of the man, on whose head he is now exhausting the poisoned cup of slander.*"

For what purpose such a notorious untruth could be published, I am unable to conceive. I have never been the eulogist of any man. But more especially, I was never the eulogist of such a man as Gen. Jackson. Up to the time of the publication of his famous Swartwout letter, in March, 1825, I was content to forbear any censure of Gen. Jackson. But in that letter, I perceived all the bitterness, all the egotism, and all the malice that have marked his career through life. I criticised and exposed it, so as to excite the most bitter revilings from the General's minions, here and elsewhere. So decisively did it fix his character, in my mind, that I declined being introduced to him, when he was dined here, on his return from Washington, in March, 1825. Yet in the face of these facts, the Nashville editor has the hardihood to assert, that in 1825, I was his warm eulogist. After such a specimen of Jackson veracity, it disturbs me very little, to be called by the same writer, "the prince of slanderers." When such a falsehood as this, is fastened upon me, I may feel some apprehension that the charge may seriously affect me. Until then, I shall repose on the belief, that to state truth is no slander, even though it may disturb the self complacency of General Jackson, by bringing to light iniquities, which he hoped no man DARED expose to the world.

C. HAMMOND.

"JACKSON AND REFORM."

We notice in the Farmers' Chronicle, printed at Richmond, Ky. a curious statement under this head. The substance of it is this: Col. R. M. Johnson, Senator of Congress from Kentucky, resides at a place called the "*Blue Spring.*" There is a post office at the "*Blue Spring,*" at which Thomas Henderson is post master, he being the only white voter residing at or about the "*Blue Spring.*" A black man named Daniel Chinn, a slave of some of the Johnsons, resides at the "*Blue Spring*" also. It is asserted, that during the last session various packets have been sent by the mail, directed to Daniel Chinn. "*Blue Spring,*" endorsed "*Public Documents,*" and franked by Col. Johnson. It will naturally be asked, what could Daniel Chinn, a slave unable to read, have to do with public documents? The explanation is, that these packages contained not "public documents," but light pieces of dry goods, suitable for female dresses. It is asserted, that the envelope of one of them being rubbed off, the article was distinctly seen by respectable citizens of Georgetown, Ky. which is within five or six miles of the "*Blue Spring.*" Col. Johnson was never married, and no white females reside at the "*Blue Spring.*"—Such are the statements, and it will be remembered that, in a debate on this subject, last winter, Col. Johnson asserted the propriety of a Senator franking presents for his family.

It was this same Col. Johnson, who said the Administration should be put down, though pure as the angels in Heaven. He is a chief in the Jackson phalanx, who roar "*Jackson and reform,*" and is also one of the firm of Elijah Mix & Co. in matters of public contract.—What benefit can the public expect from such reformers? Nothing can be looked for but that its affairs would be

"*Made worse for mending, washed to fouler stains.*"

Cincinnati Gazette.

TRUTH'S ADVOCATE

AND

MONTHLY ANTI-JACKSON EXPOSITOR.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, JULY, 1828.

GEN. JACKSON'S LAND SPECULATIONS REVIEWED.

The true history of the land speculation here vindicated, as now ascertained, from the accusation and the defence, is this:

Allison, in 1795, mortgaged to Pryor 35,000 acres of land, to secure the payment of 21,800 dollars, and died insolvent, without paying the mortgage money, leaving no children, but several brothers and sisters his heirs at law. In May 1800, Pryor made a contract with Joseph Anderson, to prosecute proper legal proceedings, to foreclose the equity of redemption, and, in case this was effected, Anderson was to have one half the lands for his compensation. Pryor resided in Philadelphia, the heirs of Allison in Georgia; the lands were situate in the state of Tennessee.

Gen. Jackson was then a judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, and consequently could not act as an attorney at law. Nevertheless General Jackson "*contracted*" with Anderson to have this equity of redemption foreclosed, for which service Jackson was to receive one fourth of Anderson's half of the land, which would be a little more than ten thousand acres.—Jackson engaged the famous John Overton, of White-washing committee notoriety, to transact the business. As the Nashville editor observes: "*Every thing went on quietly and smoothly.*" A bill was prosecuted, in the federal court, against the heirs of Allison. A decree was obtained against them, as absent defendants, requiring them to pay the mortgage money with interest by a certain day, or be forever foreclosed of their title. And directing that in case of failure of payment, the Marshal sell the land, for the debt, on a day fixed. The money was not paid, and the land was sold. At this sale, Pryor purchased forty thousand acres, Anderson thirty five thousand acres, and Jackson ten thousand acres. Half, that is five thousand acres of Jackson's purchase, was conveyed to John Overton and Jenkin Whiteside, the other half to Jackson, and the quantity purchased in the names of Pryor and Anderson, was conveyed to them respectively. The whole tracts of 85,000 acres were purchased for 1550 dollars and divided between the different partners, Pryor, Anderson, Jackson, Overton and Whiteside, and "*for several years every thing went on quietly and smoothly.*"

If any other person than Gen. Jackson was concerned, it would seem only necessary to state this case, to draw upon it, the reprobation of every honest man. Here was a Senator in Congress, a judge of the Supreme Court of the state, and two of the most eminent practitioners of the law, confederated with a citizen of Philadelphia, to possess themselves of an immense tract of land, the property of unknown heirs in a distant state. They prosecute a suit against these heirs, who never hear of its pendency, obtain a decree against them, force a sale of the property, and become the purchasers for a mere song, and then "*quietly and smoothly,*" take possession of the plunder and divide it. Eighty-five thousand acres of land, sacrificed for fifteen hundred and fifty dollars!! and the legal plunderers are honorable men!!

There is no branch of the practice of the law more simple than proceedings in chancery, to foreclose a mortgage, or obtain a sale to raise the mortgage money. Why was it thought necessary to engage so many *great* men in this plain and ordinary case? If nothing had been contemplated but the common and usual proceeding, all this was unnecessary. But if a plundering speculation was the principal object, then the course adopted was the only safe and prudent one.

Anderson was at Philadelphia, and there made the contract, to get half the whole land, for transacting the business. Why did he make application to Jackson and engage him in it? The vindication says:

"The official duties of Judge Anderson, disabling him from attending to the business himself, he contracted with General Jackson, then a judge of the Supreme Court of this state, not that he should transact the business in person, but that he should HAVE *it done*."

It was not then expected or intended that Jackson should "transact the business in person, but that he should HAVE it done." In such a state of things the question forcibly recurs why apply to Jackson at all?

Anderson knew Overton and Whiteside, why not apply to them himself, instead of engaging the agency of General Jackson, then a judge? There must have been some reason for this application to Jackson, for it is of uncommon character. A judge ought to keep aloof from the litigation of the country where he officiates. He ought to be no man's counsel or agent in controverted matters. Every rule of propriety and every sentiment of delicacy unite in requiring this. Yet in violation of them all, General Jackson is selected as an agent to "HAVE" certain claims litigated and enforced, for which he is to receive a FEE in part of the controverted subject. A movement so improper in itself and so out of the ordinary course of business, must have originated in some strong motive. The only obvious one is this: He was engaged as a sop to Cerberus. The speculation was too great to succeed without his aid, or against his inclination, therefore, he is made a party interested. If any other plausible motive can be assigned I shall be glad to hear it.

According to his Nashville Vindicator, General Jackson was himself to do nothing. He was to "HAVE" the business done. But, for doing this nothing, he secured five thousand acres of land! Upon what principle of sound morality could General Jackson appropriate to himself 5000 acres of land for doing nothing? What consideration did he give for this land? Clearly the responsibility of his agency: and why was this worth so large a FEE? Because, with his countenance the speculation was practicable, without his countenance it would probably fail.

The arrangements between Pryor, Anderson, Jackson, Overton and Whiteside placed them in a certain legal relation to each other. What was that relation? Did it constitute them partners, or did it create a principal and sub-agencies? Whether one or the other, the consequence is the same. If they were partners, then the act of one was the act of all, and the legal and equitable remedies against them would not be individually as individuals, but collectively as partners. Any attempt of one partner to prejudice the rights of his copartners would be a fraud, upon the other partners, and upon those claiming under them. On the other hand, if they were not partners, the legal relation between them was that of principal and agents. Pryor was the principal. All the others were agents under him, with an interest in the subject. Now he who has acted as an agent, in any particular matter, is not permitted to assume, at a future day, the character of principal, to prejudice the right of him for whom he acted as agent, in relation to the same subject. The moral taint is so offensive to honesty, and the temptation to vice so strong that every attempt of the kind is held to be a fraud *per se*, that is, a fraud in its very nature, so that no honesty of purpose can make it valid.

Although it is manifest that the object of Pryor, Anderson, Jackson, Overton, Whiteside, was a combination of influence and talent to prevent any interference with their contemplated speculation, so that a *quasi* partnership existed between them, still it seems to me, their legal relation was that of principal and agents. Jackson, in virtue of his contract with Anderson, was the agent of Pryor, to procure a foreclosure of the mortgage: not to transact the business himself, but to "HAVE *it done*." He was then equally responsible to both Pryor and Anderson to "HAVE *it done*" correctly: and could

be permitted to do nothing, inconsistent with an intelligent and faithful performance of his agency, whether he performed it himself, or by aid of others. As Pryor and Anderson purchased all the land, except that purchased by Jackson himself, Jackson became the agent through whom they derived their titles, a relation of as high trust as that of attorney at law, and surrounded with all the same incidental consequences.

Here an important and interesting question presents itself. Can an agent, engaged to complete and perfect a title to lands, who goes on to "HAVE IT DONE," and receives his compensation for doing it, subsequently take advantage of his own blunders, and defeat, for his own benefit, the title he was paid for completing? Is there an honest man in the nation, who would not promptly answer this question in the negative, did he not know it might be brought to bear upon General Jackson? I am sure there is not.

I proceed now to the subsequent branch of this case, as presented by the Vindicator of Gen. Jackson. "*For several years every thing went on quietly and smoothly, the validity of the decree and sale was not questioned.*" The purchasers respectively took possession of their parts of the land, Jackson sold and conveyed his share with warranty. In 1807, Col. Andrew Erwin and his partner, a Mr. Patton, came forward as the agents of Pryor, and resurveyed his proportion, and in August, 1808, purchased Pryor's right. Previous to this, however, Whiteside, one of the lawyers, who, under Jackson, managed the legal proceedings and sale, and who received title to part of the land, informed Erwin that the proceedings upon the mortgage were a nullity, in consequence of a defect of jurisdiction in the federal court. Erwin purchased notwithstanding, and to secure himself, took from Pryor an assignment of the mortgage, assuming that, if the proceedings were a nullity, the mortgage was still in force. After this, that is, after 1808, but the precise time is not stated, Gen. Jackson learned from Whiteside, that, in his opinion, the legal proceedings were void. He consulted Geo. W. Campbell, whose opinion coincided with that of Whiteside; and Campbell advised Gen. Jackson to take measures to secure himself as to the "*lands held by him under the decree and Marshal's sale.*" To protect himself against his own warranties of title, and also to secure a debt due from Allison to Jackson, contracted in 1796, General Jackson was stimulated to make an instant effort to purchase up, from the heirs of Allison, their right to the lands in question, which consisted of the equity of redemption; that is, a right to repossess themselves of the title, by paying the mortgage money and interest. In 1812, Gen. Jackson made a journey to Georgia, and purchased of Allison's heirs their title to the lands in question, the eighty-five thousand acres, the title of which he had been employed to secure to Norton Pryor, Joseph Anderson and others, under the mortgage of David Allison. Having made this purchase, Gen. Jackson informed Mr. Erwin, who held the right of Pryor, of the nature of his claim, and proposed a compromise. Erwin expressed a similar wish, but offered no terms that Jackson could accept. In 1814, Jackson brought suit. Before this, and pending the suit, frequent attempts were made by Jackson to effect a compromise. At one time arbitrators were appointed; amongst them Overton, White, and McNairy. But nothing was done. Finally Jackson "*filed a bill to compel his adversary to receive his mortgage money with interest, which he had previously tendered to him, and deliver up the land.*"

This, the reader will understand, is the state of the case made by General Jackson's Vindicator, the Editor of the Nashville Republican. It varies very essentially from the state of facts appearing from written engagements and judicial records. But admit it to be true, and how stands the case?

In October, 1800, Gen. Jackson agreed, with Joseph Anderson, to 'HAVE' Pryor's mortgage foreclosed for one eighth of the whole tract of land mortgaged, which eighth was equal to ten thousand six hundred and forty five acres of the land. He proceeded 'to "HAVE IT DONE," through the

agency of Messrs. Overton and Whiteside, and received and sold the quantity of land stipulated. The legal proceedings instituted by those whom he employed, were supposed to be utterly void and inoperative. Upon this supposition, Gen. Jackson, intending to take advantage of his own ignorance and wrong, for the ignorance of those he employed is legally imputable to him, purchases the very title he had undertaken to have legally transferred, and insists to treat the assignees of those, for whom he acted as agent, as mere strangers—claims to assume the very title he had been paid to defeat, and demands to redeem the land mortgaged, in the right of the original mortgagor!! All this his Vindicator supposes to be perfectly right and proper, just and honorable!! Good Heaven deliver me from such notions of justice and honor.

It is singular enough that respectable and eminent lawyers should suppose a claim like this could receive the sanction and aid of a court of equity. Let us examine it but for a moment.

No principle of law is better settled than this. He, who undertakes to act for another, in any matter, to receive a reward for his service, is liable in damages to his employer for his negligence or want of skill, in the matter he undertakes, if the employer be prejudiced by that negligence or want of skill. An attorney at law is liable for the mismanagement of a cause; so is every description of agent liable for his misconduct, whether of negligence or blunder. Every lawyer knows this; no man of any character in his profession will controvert it.

When Gen. Jackson contracted with Anderson to "HAVE" the mortgage foreclosed, his agreement enured for the benefit of Pryor, for whom Anderson was attorney in fact, with an interest. It was, in its operation, a contract between Jackson and Pryor, and it necessarily included an engagement, on the part of Jackson, that he would "HAVE" the business "*done*" in a legal and obligatory manner. If he failed to do this he was unquestionably liable to Pryor in an action for any damages sustained by such failure.

If, as between the parties, or over the subject, the federal court could exercise no jurisdiction, it was the duty of Jackson to have known that fact. He resorted to that tribunal at his own risk upon these points. The state courts of Tennessee were competent to decree a foreclosure of this mortgage. In them the jurisdiction was indisputable. If, then, the proceedings were null and void, because instituted in the federal court, it was Jackson's fault, and for that fault he would be responsible in damages to Pryor. Had the heirs of Allison, upon their own account, proceeded to set up their rights, and succeeded in doing so, upon the principle that the decree and sale were void, there can be, I think, no doubt, that Jackson would have been accountable to Pryor for all the damages sustained in consequence.

It was Jackson who confided the case to Overton and Whiteside, and he, therefore, would be responsible to Pryor for their conduct, if Pryor chose so to consider him. Though Pryor might have passed Jackson by, and treated Overton and Whiteside as his immediate counsel, and looked to them for remuneration. Assuming that the alleged error was committed, that the federal court had no jurisdiction, and that the decree and sale were utterly void, there can be no doubt of Jackson's liability to Pryor, in an action on the case for negligence, in the performance of his contract and agency to foreclose the equity of redemption. His being the judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, and his undertaking being, not to "*transact the business himself, but to HAVE it done*," would not, in any manner, lessen or vary his responsibility.

When, under these circumstances, Jackson purchased the equity of redemption from the heirs of Allison, and attempted to enforce it against the purchasers from Pryor, he stood in this predicament. If he succeeded in recovering the lands, he was liable in damages for the injury inflicted by such recovery. That, in such a case, a court of equity would refuse to aid his claim to redeem, I entertain no doubt whatever. That he would have been

restrained from proceeding at law, had he possessed himself of a legal advantage, I feel equally certain; and the foundation of the decision of the court, in either case, would be the same; that the transaction was unconscionable, one which no system of equitable jurisprudence could safely tolerate.

Such, in my view, would be the legal results, if the statement made by General Jackson's Vindicator were literally true, and contained the whole truth. But this is not admitted. On the contrary, the records supply evidence to contradict that statement in several important particulars, and in some, it is inconsistent with itself.

The statement conveys an assertion that Jackson waited near two years after his purchase from Allison's heirs, before he commenced suit, hopeing to effect a compromise. This, though it does not affect the legal question, is not correct. He purchased in August, 1812. In January 1813, he contracted with James Jackson and the same lawyer Whiteside, to take them in as partners in the speculation, each to own an equal share. After this, compromise was no longer in the power of Gen. Jackson. They commenced proceedings in 1813, and abandoned them to commence new ones in 1815. It was not necessary, to an honest and fair defence, to make this misrepresentation.

Dr. Armstrong's allegation was, that Gen. Jackson purchased the claim of Allison's heirs for a mere trifle. The vindication asserts, that a considerable sum was paid for it, which it makes out thus: Allison was a debtor of Jackson in 1796, $6676, upon promissory notes. These Jackson assigned, but owing to the failure of Allison, had to redeem at a great sacrifice of other property. This debt remained unpaid, and was the consideration of the purchase from the heirs of Allison, amounting, principal and interest, to near 20,000 dollars. However plausible a tale like this may appear on paper, it cannot endure the test of legal scrutiny. It presents several aspects, in no one of which it can be viewed with much credit to the present pretension.

When, in October, 1800, General Jackson contracted with Anderson, to "HAVE" Pryor's mortgage foreclosed, this debt was due to him, and Allison was dead, insolvent. As a creditor of Allison, he would naturally, at that time, have perceived, in the equity of redemption of these lands, a fund to secure himself this then desperate debt. Why did he not then think of redeeming them to pay himself? No doubt this aspect of the case escaped his Vindicator's consideration. Contemplate it as you may, it involves Gen. Jackson in a cloud of suspicion, injurious to his integrity.

Such a claim, on his part, would have interfered with the speculations of his coadjutors, Pryor and Anderson, and possibly he regarded his own share of that speculation as an indemnity; yet it might have been then attempted with much more credit than when resorted to.

If, in fact, Allison died insolvent, leaving nothing to his heirs, his debts was no concern of theirs, and could be no consideration for obtaining any thing from them. Such interest as remained to him, in the lands in question, descended to his heirs charged with the payment of his just debts. But it was no subject which they could legally barter, to cancel any particular debt, or make any profit to themselves. The equity of redemption in these lands, if it existed, was a common fund for distribution amongst all the creditors of Allison, and could only be legally reached through his executor or administrator. The debt due from Allison to Gen. Jackson, was due from his estate in the hands of his personal representatives, and not in the hands of his heirs. It was only of the executor or administrator that it could be demanded; and until established against the executor or administrator, the heirs could not be called upon to pay it, even if they had inherited property from their brother. An attempt to obtain from the heirs a preference for his debt, and to monopolize to himself a fund common to all the creditors, was an attempt to commit a fraud upon both the heirs and other creditors. I entertain no doubt, that if the ground of defence, assumed by the vindication was correct, as to the existence of the equity of re-

demption, and the manner of obtaining it by Jackson, that the other creditors of Allison could have reached their proportion of it in his hands. That Gen. Jackson and his legal advisers did not think so, only goes to prove that they were not thoroughly conversant with the broad and just principles of equity applicable to such a case.

The vindication assumes, that the purchase of Gen. Jackson from Allison's heirs, and his attempt to enforce that purchase against the claimants under Pryor, is strictly defensible, not only upon legal principles, but upon the plain maxims of justice between man and man. None but parties interested, politically or otherwise, can unite in this opinion.

When all the facts asked for, by the vindication, are admitted, they lay but a very narrow foundation for attributing any thing like liberality to him. His debt was of 18 years standing, against a deceased insolvent. The obvious presumption is, that it was barred by the statute of limitations, and by the presumption of payment from lapse of time, so that it could not have been legally enforced. We have no evidence of its existence, but the recital in the deed, and the assertions of Gen. Jackson. How it arose we know not, and whether of legal obligation at its commencement, may be made matter of question; but, in 1812, when made the consideration of this purchase, it was worth little to Gen. Jackson. The consideration which he paid, consisted entirely of this supposed antiquated debt; and his sole motive to make the purchase, as his Vindicator says, was to protect his own conveyances. A liberal man, in such a case, standing in the relation which he stood to the title, would have been content with a very moderate compensation. He would have extended his protection to the assignees of his confederates, in the original speculation, for a very small sum: Because it was right and proper that he should do so. The ten thousand dollars finally paid, was vastly more than his alleged debt was worth; and he should, at first, have been satisfied with a smaller sum, even if his own previous conduct and character had not been involved in the issue.

The vindication winds up with a fine flourish about an ambuscade practised upon the veteran by Mrs. Erwin, in which she is made to acknowledge all his justice, and make an appeal to his generosity, accompanied with tears and supplications. And this produced immediate effect!! The General abandoned all compensation for himself, but stipulated for the payment of ten thousand dollars to his confederates!! This took place in the fall of 1823, so that after eleven years pursuit of this speculation, the General was moved by the tears of an old woman, to abandon it for the paltry sum of 10,000 dollars!! This fine story wants proof—I give it no credit myself, because the writer has paid no more attention to truth in his whole article, than usually characterized his predecessors of the White-Washing Committee. But admit that the compromise was effected in the manner stated, its merit depends upon enquiring what was, at that time, the General's prospect of success? and how might the continued prosecution of the suit affect his opening projects of political ambition?

In my opinion, the prospect of success was very far from being of encouraging character. This prospect depended altogether on the legal question, whether the decree of the federal Circuit Court, under which the sale was made, was, or was not, void? This ground is distinctly stated by the Vindicator.

"The title was invalid, he claimed through the Marshal's sale, *which is acknowledged on all hands to have been null and void*, for want of jurisdiction in the federal court, both the parties to the proceeding residing out of the state."

I do not believe that it was "*acknowledged on all hands*," that the proceedings of the federal court were "*null and void*" for the want of jurisdiction. I do not credit this, because I cannot suppose that an error of this kind could be universal. As the parties, in fact, resided in different states, it was a clear case of jurisdiction, under the constitution; but the law, organizing the court, had not provided for its exercise. Hence a decree, where the record did not show the parties to

be citizens of different states, would be erroneous, and might be reversed; but, until reversed, would bind all the parties and privies. This is now decided and settled to be the law, whatever opinion might have prevailed in 1808, or in 1812, when Gen. Jackson embarked in this speculation. I am persuaded there is good reason to believe, that, in 1823, when the compromise was made, Gen. Jackson and his counsel were apprized, that there was strong reason to apprehend, that their doctrine about the invalidity of the decree, would not be sustained in the federal courts.

The states of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio, compose the seventh circuit of the United States' Circuit Courts. Judge Todd was the supreme judge, who held the circuit courts, in these states. In 1822, the case of *McCormicks, vs. Sullivant and others, reported 10th Wheaton*, 192, was decided in the Ohio circuit, by Judges Todd and Byrd. This case involved the very point, upon which Gen. Jackson rested.

To the complainant's bill, the defendants set up by way of bar, the fact that the same complainants, against other defendants claiming the same land, had filed a previous bill, which had been answered, heard and dismissed. The complainants replied, setting forth the record, and alleging that the proceedings were *coram non judice*, the record not showing that the complainants and defendants were citizens of different states, and consequently that the decree being a nullity, was no bar to a new suit. The Circuit Court decided that the matter of the plea was a good bar, which went to "*cut up by the roots*," the entire ground upon which the General relied to maintain his claim.

The complainants appealed this cause to the Supreme Court of the United States, where it was decided, February term, 1825, and the decision of the Circuit Court affirmed. In delivering the opinion of the court, Judge Washington says. (*10th Wheat.* 199)

"The reason assigned by the replication why that decree cannot operate as a bar, is, that the proceedings in that suit do not show that the parties to it, plaintiffs and defendants, were citizens of different states, and that, consequently, the suit was *coram non judice*, and the decree void. But this reason proceeds upon an incorrect view of the character and jurisdiction of the inferior courts of the United States.—They are all of limited jurisdiction: but they are not, on that account, inferior courts, in the technical sense of those words, whose judgments, taken alone, are to be disregarded. If the jurisdiction be not alleged in the proceedings, their judgments and decrees are erroneous, and may, upon writ of error or appeal, be reversed for that cause. But they are not absolute nullities."

It will be seen that this decision goes to the foundation of Gen. Jackson's speculation in these lands. The decree of the Circuit Court, under which they were sold, was not a nullity, but was a binding decree, and therefore the sale under it was a valid sale. The time had elapsed, in which it could be reversed for error, so that the title of the defendants was perfectly safe and secure; the speculation of Gen. Jackson utterly hopeless. What credit is then due to him for the compromise?

Perhaps it may be said that the Supreme Court had not made the decision quoted, when the compromise was effected. This is true. But the Circuit Court had made it, and it is a just inference, that Judge Todd had made the fact known to some of the Tennessee bar. It was a common thing, with the Judge, to communicate, to counsel in Ohio, decisions made, upon new points in other parts of the circuit; and hence I esteem it a fair inference, that between January, 1822, when this decision was made, and October, 1823, the period of the compromise, some knowledge of it had reached General Jackson and his counsel. Besides this, various decisions of the Supreme Court, leading to the same conclusion, had been made, and were becoming more familiar to the western lawyers. It is, therefore, in my opinion, a rational inference, that doubts about ultimate success operated more effectually, to produce a compromise, than the alleged tears of Mrs. Erwin, admitting the story told to be true. Thus much is now certain, the ten thousand dollars paid by the defendants was the price of peace, against a claim, which could not have been enforced, had the defendants continued to contest it.

When the whole ground of General Jackson's speculation is attentively ex-

amined, connected particularly with its bearings upon his character, and the probability of succeeding in it, together with his public relation as a candidate for the Presidency, the compromise, in my opinion, does him no credit.

If he succeeded, it would be in consequence of an error of his own. For as he received ten thousand acres of the land, as a fee, for "*having the business done*," it was his duty to see that it was well and safely done, for the interest of his employers. There are few minds, so constructed and organized, as not to feel some consciousness of blame, some sense of doing wrong, at gaining an immense estate, in consequence of a blunder of its own. It reflects no credit upon Gen. Jackson, if his mind was at perfect ease, in the prosecution of this claim. He had purchased it without the advance of a cent, and given for it nothing but a desperate and hopeless debt of sixteen years standing, against a deceased insolvent. He was pressing the suit against purchasers from his own colleagues in the original speculation, who had paid him a fee, to transact the very business, in which the error was committed, that was made the foundation of his present claim. His success would be to establish, judicially, his own malfeasance, in the discharge of an important agency, which would be, in the plainest sense, taking advantage of his own wrong, and growing rich by it.—The man who could serenely and quietly push a claim thus circumstanced, must be, in a great degree, insensible to the value of good character, and to the good opinion of his fellow-citizens. For no man could be ignorant of the imputations to which it must subject him. However this might be the case, when a man was seeking wealth and not office, a different sentiment could not fail to obtrude itself, when high office became a principal object of ambition. It was therefore the plain policy of Gen. Jackson in 1823, to compromise this claim, upon any terms that would permit a decent retreat from it. This, with the increased doubts of ultimate success, I am satisfied, induced the compromise, for which I can allow Gen. Jackson no credit whatever. And I am persuaded that every unprejudiced man, who makes himself acquainted with the facts, and the legal principles applicable to them, must unite with me in opinion.

It is not proper that I should close this review without some notice of the style and spirit of the vindication, which the Editor of the Republican has put forth, in a semi-official form. This document is characterized by nothing that belongs to candid argument, or gentlemanly discussion. There is all the coarseness of vulgarity, all the rudeness of manner, all the illiberality of insinuation, and all the rashness of assertion that belong to the Jackson school of composition. The spirit that vilified Scott, insulted Adair, and blackguarded Fromentin, pervades the whole production. Was this necessary to demonstrate the integrity of Gen. Jackson's conduct?

The vindication is introduced by these terms: "*Murder, Adultery, Treason, Swindling.*" Is there any doubt that Gen. Jackson is a homicide? The death of Dickinson was a legal murder, however gilded with other definitions. The cohabitation with Mrs. Robards, before the divorce from her husband, was open and unqualified adultery. If Burr was a traitor, as he has been pronounced, the aid and countenance shown to him, by Gen. Jackson, in December, 1806, was little short of treason—and the transaction I have been examining, if practised upon a small scale, by some poor starving pettifogger, would be characterised as swindling. Dogmaticism of assertion cannot change the essences of things, nor can they be altered by the bravados of presumptuous violence.

Such terms as "*desperation*," "*coalition*," "*subterfuge*," "*degrading spectacle*," "*unhallowed ambition*," "*ill gotten power*," have no natural connection with fair argument. When they figure in the introduction of an essay, they prepare the reader to expect a partizan effort, not candid discussion. There is seldom any mistake about what is to follow them. In the case before us, they precede the assertion, that the opposers of the General do not themselves "*attach the slightest credit to the numerous*

accusations with which they hope to overwhelm him." To maintain this unfounded allegation, it is roundly asserted, that in 1825, I was myself his warm eulogist. An assertion more destitute of truth could not be uttered.

Another item of proof is adduced: "So late as the 8th of January, 1821, Mrs. Adams was proud to hang on the arm of him whom the *minions* of her husband now have the *audacity* to brand with the epithet of *adulterer*."

"*Minions*" and "*audacity*" are terms of reproach, but of no other import. All who *have* the "*audacity*" to speak truth of Gen. Jackson, are "*minions*" of Mr. Adams. This is a calumny upon a large portion of the community, and applied to them, for no other reason than that they have caused the General's real character to be made known. For doing this, they are charged with "*audacity*," by those who feel themselves justified in following the General wherever he may lead, in attacks upon his equals.

It is true Mrs. Adams did, in 1824, hang upon the arm of Gen. Jackson, *then* an *adulterer* as much as he is *now*. But it is equally true Mrs. Adams did not *then know* the fact. In March, 1827, the Nashville Whitewashing committee appointed Nelson Patteson their Secretary. He was *then* guilty of forgery. His subsequent detection made his character known. Does it impeach the conduct of the committee, for giving him distinction, when ignorant of his true character? Or does that appointment in March furnish ground to suppose that he was not a forger? The cases are similar. Mrs. Adams, when she invited Gen. Jackson to the fete of January, 1824, and hung upon his arm in traversing the rooms, was as ignorant of Gen. Jackson's *adultery* as was the Nashville Committee of Mr. Patterson's forgeries. This shows what the reference to the conduct of Mrs. Adams is worth.

Again we are told: "In the fall of the same year, Mr. Clay was desirous of extending the hospitalities of his house, in Lexington, to a man whom his *hirelings* now proclaim to the world as a *traitor* and a *murderer*."

Here again we have a specimen of Jackson argumentative discussion.—Those who speak of Gen. Jackson's connection with Burr, and his shedding the lives of his fellow-citizens, in the manner their judgments dictate to be correct, are classed as the "*hirelings*" of Mr. Clay. Why should an argument about facts be dressed in ribaldry like this? But to the fact.

There is no proof that Mr. Clay invited Gen. Jackson to his residence near Lexington, in 1824. The invitation is alleged to have been made in writing. Mr. Clay, in his address to the public, of last December, has declared his belief, that he never sent any such invitation to Gen. Jackson: and gave his full assent to its publication if he did. No such publication has been made, which warrants the inference that no such letter was written. Yet the General's Vindicator, evidently supplied with the General's own defence, makes this assertion as an established fact.—Another proof, with how little ceremony assumption is substituted for fact, by the General's advocates.

But suppose that the invitation was given, how does it contribute any thing to sustain the assertion that the charges made against Gen. Jackson, are not credited by those who make them?—In 1824, Gen. Jackson's character was comparatively unknown. He had not then written his Swartwout letter. He had not then retailed slanders upon Mr. Clay, from Washington to the Hermitage, and repeated them there to "*all his company.*" He had not then delivered his speech to the Legislature of Tennessee, asserting what was manifestly untrue as to the manner and understanding of his previous election. He had not then written the letter to Baltimore, misrepresenting the conduct of Harris, and vilifying his character. He had not then assailed Mr. Clay, in any of the forms in which he has since assailed him. Much, very much, that now serves to sink the character of Gen. Jackson was not then transacted. Since 1824, he has been no inactive agent in earning the discreditable traits of character that now attach to him. No inference can be fairly drawn, from the estimation in which he was *then* held, that the same respect must of necessi-

ty *now* remain to him. On the contrary, not only his conduct *since* that time, but the developement of his previous conduct necessarily tend to place him on totally different ground.

Mr. Adams, too, is introduced.—There is not one particle of proof that Mr. Adams has said or done any thing impugning the *present* or *previous* character of Gen. Jackson. For what is written and published by others, Mr. Adams cannot be justly held responsible. He has no power over the press that supports him; no more in fact than the press that opposes him. Does the Vindicator of Gen. Jackson suppose that the author of the Tennessean would be staid in his course by the suggestions of Mr. Adams? Does he believe that this review would be either written or withheld, were Mr. Adams to interfere in respect to it? He can have no foundation for such belief, unless he feels that he might, himself, be so influenced. He does injustice to the free spirit of the country, and to the independent principles of his fellow-citizens, as well as to Mr. Adams' sense of propriety, in making this charge and he ought to be ashamed of it.

Finally, upon this head, I assure both Gen. Jackson and his Vindicator, that it is an egregious mistake to suppose, that all the principal allegations, made against Gen. Jackson, are not credited by those who urge them.—Whether those who accuse, or those who palliate and justify are most deluded, may be *now* a question. The confidence of the Vindicators is not stronger than the convictions of the accusers. I shall not take upon myself to say that I am above the ordinary biases of human action. But this I do say—I seek most earnestly to avoid their influences. I have said nothing of Gen. Jackson that I do not conscientiously believe. I have urged no argument that I did not consider warranted by the premises upon which it was predicated. He appears to my most candid judgment, a bold, bad man; a weak and incapable politician. Believing this, it is my right as a freeman, in a land of freedom, to assert it. This I have done openly and fairly. But always in terms allowable in controversy: if strong and expressive, not therefore vulgar and abusive. For pursuing this course, I have been reproached in the most unwarranted and unmeasured manner. I have not deemed it necessary to repel the innumerable attacks to which I have been subjected. They are never of specific character, and are confined usually to the general charge of being a slanderer, in all the various modes of asserting a charge of that untrue nature. My sole reply is, point out an instance in which I have asserted, as fact, what is not sustained by evidence deserving credit, and I will so far submit to the justice of the imputation, however the incorrectness may have proceeded from error, rather than mendacity. My calumniators dare not do this. And I am content that they shall enjoy all the consolation and all the credit, *now* and *hereafter*, of the course they have pursued, and continue to pursue toward me. Gen. Jackson's character ought to exist independent of mine. When I assail him I proceed openly, and I state the grounds of my accusation. To repel these, if incorrectly stated, involves no question, who or what I am. When the proof demonstrates I have uttered a calumny, there is no occasion to call me slanderer. But when the proof fails to do this, there is an obvious motive for garnishing it with somewhat of abuse, the only substitute that remains when the just conclusion is against the object of the argument.

C. HAMMOND.

GENERAL JACKSON'S LAND SPECULATIONS.

Murder, Adultery, Treason, Swindling! The desperation of the Coalition, like that of an unlucky gamester, increases as the final consummation of their ruin draws near. No discomfiture, however great, can for a moment check their mad career—no defeat, however signal, can induce them to relax their exertions. There is no subterfuge so pitiful, that they disdain to resort to it: there is no act so daring, that they fear to attempt it. The singular and degrading spectacle is now presented, of a systematic attempt to ruin the reputation of a great national benefactor,

because his popularity threatens to wrest from the grasp of unhallowed ambition, its ill-gotten power. It cannot be believed, that the enemies of General Jackson, attach the slightest credit to the numerous accusations, with which they hope to overwhelm him. Their former conduct precludes all belief in their present sincerity. In 1825, Charles Hammond was the warm eulogist of the man, on whose head he is now exhausting the poisoned cup of slander! So late as the 8th of January 1824, Mrs. Adams was proud to hang on the arm of him, whom the minions of her husband now have the audacity to brand with the epithet of *adulterer!* In the fall of the same year, Mr. Clay was desirous of extending the hospitalities of his house in Lexington, to a man, whom his hirelings now proclaim to the world, as a *traitor* and a *murderer!* A few years since and the eloquence of the Secretary could find no nobler theme, than the glory which the Defender of New Orleans had shed upon his country. At a subsequent period the pen of Mr. Adams triumphantly defended him, from some of the most atrocious charges, which the Coalition prints are, now, so zealously circulating. But time has wrought a change among his former eulogists and defenders. Old relations have been broken, and new connections formed. By the force of circumstances, the destruction of his character, both public and private, has become necessary to preserve for his *quondam* friends, that which they value more than life.—*power* and *office*,—and to which they adhere with all the pertinacity which characterizes the struggles of a dying man.—All their efforts, however, will be fruitless—the people are too virtuous and enlightened, to be estranged from the object of their choice, though oceans of calumny and detraction should be poured upon him—the great tide of public opinion is rolling rapidly along, and must eventually sweep from before it, every obstacle that offers a resistance.

With these reflections, which the current of events a few months past, and the nature of our present task, very naturally produced, we shall proceed to fulfil a former promise, by giving to the world, a *true* statement of the facts, on which the charge of "*swindling*," has been recently founded, and preferred, by one Dr. J. L. Armstrong, of Bedford county. After the wearisome repetition of stale accusations, with which the public mind has been so long sated, it may well be imagined, that the partizans of the Coalition were as eagerly desirous of *novelty*, as the monarch who offered a reward for the discovery of a new *source* of pleasure. It will be readily believed therefore, that the charge of "*swindling*," was hailed with suitable acclamations, and received with every mark of approbation.—We have even been taunted by the Administration prints, for delaying so long to take up the glove which was thus thrown down by the gallant Doctor; and that oracle of truth—Charles Hammond—has said, that the conduct of General Jackson, as detailed in the numbers of the "*Tennessean*," on this subject, wears rather a "knavish aspect." If the publication of Doctor Armstrong wear not a "*knavish aspect*," by the time we have finished its examination, then we will confess that our ideas of *knavery* are extremely erroneous. Indeed he committed an egregious blunder in omitting to consult a certain friend and neighbor of his, ere he ventured before the public with his *swindling* accusation. Col. Andrew Erwin, of Bedford county, the father of a son-in-law of Mr. Clay, *knows*, as well as any man living the qualities of General Jackson's heart—*he knows* that General Jackson is *not* a *swindler*. If Col. Erwin had deemed Gen. Jackson an unfeeling swindler, he never would have bethought him, of employing the eloquence of *Mrs. Erwin*, to obtain from him a relinquishment of his claims—if General Jackson *had been* a swindler, the *tears of Mrs. Erwin* would *not* have prevailed. It is plain then, that if Doctor Armstrong had *consulted* Col. Erwin, before he came out with the charge, we *might* have been spared the trouble of this defence. As he failed to do so, however, he must pay the penalty of his neglect; but as this penalty consists in nothing more than being convicted of disseminating gross and malicious falsehoods, it will, doubtless,

be borne with christian resignation by one, who has so frequently demonstrated to the world that he regarded the preservation of the *body*, as the chief duty of man, and "*corporal* sufferance," as the most formidable evil that "human flesh is heir to." But to proceed with the infliction of this penalty:—

It is untrue, that Gen. Jackson at certain land sales in the state of Alabama, bid off at government price, *eight* quarter sections of land, by which he virtually received from his fellow citizens, a donation of some forty or fifty thousand dollars.

As this averment has no connection with the main subject, and was probably thrown in—to use a legal phrase—by way of *inducement* or *aggravation*, we will despatch it at once, before we proceed to the consideration of the other mis-representations contained in the second number of the "Tennessean." General Jackson, never, except on one occasion, attended the land sales in Alabama, and then purchased *one* section of land at the government price, the bystanders refusing to bid against him. The circumstance of his omitting to bid off more than *one* section, demonstrates conclusively, his unwillingness to take any advantage of the gratitude and courtesy of his fellow citizens. This section of land was afterwards sold for ten dollars per acre, on a credit of one, two, and three years, without interest. Thus the enormous donation of forty or fifty thousand dollars, upon examination, dwindles down to an insignificant sum, and affords a strong illustration of Dr. Armstrong's accuracy of statement, and regard for truth.

It is also untrue, as stated by him, that Judge Anderson employed General Jackson as his *lawyer*, to obtain a foreclosure of the mortgage from David Allison to Norton Pryor. Gen. Jackson was at that time, Judge of the Supreme Court of this state, and it was not expected, or even understood, that he should transact the business in person.

It is wickedly and maliciously false, as stated by Dr. Armstrong, that a discovery of a flaw in the title, "was made by General Jackson himself." The first information that he received of a fatal defect in the proceedings, on which he could rely, was from the Hon. G. W. Campbell. He then consulted Jenkin Whiteside, Esq. and found that his opinion coincided with Judge Campbell's.

Lastly, it is positively untrue, that General Jackson purchased the claim of Allison's heirs for a mere "*trifle*." He gave in exchange for their claim to lands in this country, just and legal demands to the amount of near twenty thousand dollars, which he held against the estate of David Allison.

The truth of the above assertions will be apparent from the following detail of facts:

In the year 1795, David Allison, for the purpose of securing the payment of $21,800, due from him to Norton Pryor, mortgaged to said Pryor 35,000 acres of land on the three forks of Duck river, in this state. The time appointed for the Payment of the mortgage money, passing by, without a liquidation of the debt, Pryor became desirous of foreclosing the mortgage, and entered into an agreement with Judge Anderson, then a senator in Congress from this State, by the terms of which, Anderson was to have a decree of foreclosure obtained, and to receive a certain portion of the lands for his services. *The official duties of Judge Anderson, disabling him from attending to the business himself, he contracted with General Jackson, then a Judge of the Supreme Court of this State, not that he should transact the business in person, but with an understanding, that he should have it done.* He also gave him a written memorandum specifying the place and manner of proceeding, and agreed that he should have a certain portion of the land for *his* services. Gen. Jackson then engaged Judge Overton, an eminent lawyer of the day, to obtain a foreclosure of the mortgage, and handed him the written instructions of Judge Anderson. In pursuance of these instructions, a decree of foreclosure was had in the Federal Court in the fall of the year 1801, and in the spring following, the lands were publicly sold by the marshal. At this sale, 40,000 acres of land were bid off in the name of Nor-

ton Pryor, 35,000 in the name of Judge Anderson, and the remaining 10,000 in the name of Gen. Jackson. Five thousand acres of that which was bid off in the name of Gen. Jackson, pursuant to an agreement between the parties, were deeded by the marshal to Judge Overton and Jenkin Whiteside, Esq. For several years, *every thing went on quietly and smoothly*, the validity of the decree and sale was not questioned; Gen. Jackson disposed of his part of the land, giving in many instances general warranty deeds, which is proof positive, that he considered the title good; and to as many persons as desired to know his opinion about the title, did doubtless express the utmost confidence in its validity. In 1807, Col. Erwin and partner, appeared as the agents of Norton Pryor, resurveyed the lands, and exercised other acts of agency. It was while Col. Erwin was acting as the *agent* of Pryor in the early part of the year 1808, that he was informed by Jenkin Whiteside of the nullity of the proceedings in the Federal Court.*—Yet, with a full knowledge of this—and we wish the reader to bear it in mind—it appears that on the 23d day of August, 1808, Erwin and Patton became the purchasers of Pryor's right, under the marshal's sale, which sale Erwin had been previously informed, was wholly null and void! Thus we find that this business of purchasing up defective titles for the purposes of speculation, was commenced by Col. Erwin. Here an inquiry naturally arises.—With what view could Col. Erwin, a man of sense, have purchased 40,000 acres of land, held under a decree and sale which he *knew* to be void? The conclusion irresistibly follows, that he never would have knowingly purchased so large a quantity of lands held by a defective title, unless he knew of some device by which he could strengthen this title. Now, Col. Erwin knew well enough, that if the foreclosure of the mortgage was informal and void, the mortgage itself was in force, and that an assignment of the mortgage to him by Pryor, would, to a very great extent, secure him. And here another question arises: How long would a man of sense, particularly a *skillful trader*, holding valuable property by a title which he knew was defective, neglect to secure himself by the purchase of an outstanding title, which could be easily obtained, without labor and without expense? It is incredible, therefore, that Col. Erwin, knowing he acquired no title to the 40,000 acres of land purchased of Pryor in 1808, would have remained quietly and contentedly, for the space of five years, without taking an assignment of the mortgage, which he was well aware would secure him to a certain extent, and possibly, altogether. A conclusion then must force itself upon the mind of the reader, that if Col. Erwin never did take an *absolute* assignment of the mortgage from Pryor until the year 1813, as stated in his answer, matters were nevertheless so arranged between him and Pryor, that he could obtain an assignment at any moment when it suited his views, and that the mortgage, to all intents and purposes, was beyond the reach of any grasp save his own. We have been thus minute on this part of our subject, because it was important that the reader should know who was the *real* aggressor in this business of buying up old and defective titles, with ulterior views of speculation. The truth is, that instead of General Jackson's having made the discovery of the flaw of title himself, the knowledge of it was in the possession of Col. Erwin sometime *before* it ever reached him. Jenkin Whiteside deposes, that Gen. Jackson came to learn his opinion of the validity of the decree and sale, *after* he (Whiteside) had informed Col. Erwin that they were void. And the presumption is fair, that Gen. Jackson would lose very little time in ascertaining the validity of a title so important to him, after the rumor of its invalidity first reached his ear. No sooner, in fact, did it reach him, than he hastened to Judge Campbell for the purpose of learning his opinion. That opinion was unfavorable to the validity of the decree and sale under which Gen. Jackson claimed; founded, we presume, on

*See J. Whiteside's deposition in the clerk's office.

a want of jurisdiction in the Federal court, neither party to the proceedings having been residents of the state. Judge Campbell, furthermore, states in his deposition, that he "suggested to him [Gen. J.] as a friend, the propriety of taking such steps, on his part, as the case for further examination might seem to require *to secure his own right to that part of those lands held by him under said decree and marshal's sale*, as he to whom the said lands were originally granted, intended to commence some legal proceedings, it was supposed, by offering to pay the mortgage money in the name of Allison's heirs."

The opinion of Judge Campbell having been quickly confirmed by that of Jenkin Whiteside, Esq. the situation of Gen. Jackson became truly alarming. His deeds of warranty made him liable to the different individuals who claimed under him; and the measure of damages recoverable in such cases from the warrantor, at *that* period, was not the purchase money with interest, which is the rule in force now, but the full value of the land at the time of eviction. Unless, therefore, he could make good the titles of those claiming under him, he was absolutely ruined. Thus situated, the principle of self preservation prompted him to prepare for the coming storm, and the rumor previously mentioned to him by Judge Campbell, that the Blounts intended to attempt a recovery of the lands, by offering to pay the mortgage money in the name of Allison's heirs, doubtless directed his attention to the feasibility of preventing the ruin which on all sides threatened to overwhelm him, by purchasing the claims of Allison's heirs himself. Independently of the strong desire implanted in the breast of every man, to protect himself from imminent danger, another inducement equally natural, and almost as powerful, operated on Gen. J., and urged him to the purchase of the claims of Allison's heirs. The nature of this inducement will appear from the following facts.

About the year 1796, David Allison became indebted to General Jackson in the sum of $6,676 on three several notes of hand. Having the utmost confidence in the solvency of Allison, he transferred these notes by endorsement, and to his great astonishment and alarm, soon after received information of the failure of Allison, with a notice to prepare to cover his endorsements. To enable him to do this, he was compelled to sell 30,000 acres of land at 25 cents per acre, and was thereby brought to the very brink of ruin. Nothing but the utmost energy and activity could have preserved his credit. The principal and interest of these notes amounted, in the year 1812, to about $13,000; which, together with some other claims against David Allison, increased his demands against the estate, to near $20,000. This is the *trifle* that Doctor Armstrong spoke of, as the price given by General Jackson for the claims of Allison's heirs. Influenced by the considerations above mentioned, General Jackson, in 1812, mounted his horse, rode to the state of Georgia, and purchased from the heirs of Allison the equity of redemption.—We appeal to the justice and common sense of every man, if there be any thing unfair or dishonorable in such a purpose. He had previously been brought to the very verge of ruin by the failure of Allison; was it strange then, or improper, that he should feel desirous of recovering the large sums which as the endorsor of Allison's notes, he had been compelled, at an enormous sacrifice, to pay? The whole tenor of his conduct, after his return from the state of Georgia, bears the strongest evidence of the uprightness of his intentions. He did not immediately resort to the legal tribunals, to obtain satisfaction for his undoubted claims, but informed Col. Erwin, of the true nature of his rights, and expressed a great desire that their respective claims should be amicably adjusted. Col. Erwin expressed a similar wish, but never offered any terms that could, with any sort of propriety on the part of Gen. J., be accepted. Prior to the commencement of suit by Gen. J., and during its pendency, frequent attempts were made to effect a compromise. On one occasion, arbitrators were appointed —among whom were Judges Overton, White, and McNairy; and these gentlemen can say, whether Gen. Jackson

did not, on that occasion, as well as on every other which came within their knowledge, manifest every disposition to have the matter fairly and honorably compromised--they can say whether the propositions made by him, were characteristic of the griping swindler, or of an honorable high-minded man. The purchase from Allison's heirs was made some time in the year 1812, and it was not till 1814, after General Jackson had used every exertion to effect an amicable adjustment of his rights—that he resorted to the judicial tribunals of his country for redress, and *filed a bill to compel his adversary to receive the mortgage money with interest—which he had previously tendered to him—and deliver up the lands.*

Let us now take a brief view of the opposite and conflicting claims set up by General Jackson and Col. Erwin—their justice and equity, and particularly, the *manner* in which they had been obtained.

We have seen that Gen. Jackson, at the Marshal's sale mentioned heretofore, in the *bona fide* belief of its validity, became the purchaser of a large body of valuable land. This land being sold out by him to different individuals, for the most part, with general warranty deeds, he became liable to them, in case the title through which he claimed, proved invalid. *The title was invalid—he claimed through the Marshal's sale, which is acknowledged on all hands to have been null and void, for the want of jurisdiction in the Federal Court, both the parties to the proceedings residing out of the State.* The individuals to whom he had sold, became alarmed at their situation. For the purpose of protecting them and himself, and with a view to recover from the estate of Allison some remuneration for the sacrifice of nearly his whole fortune, which Allison's failure had caused, a few years before, he obtained an assignment of the equity of redemption from the heirs of Allison, by releasing to them a claim of about $20,000 against the estate, and then came forward and claimed a right to redeem the mortgaged lands, by paying up the mortgage money with interest.

It may not be irrelevant to observe here, that the right of redemption is always regarded with peculiar favor in the eye of the law—cases have occurred where parties have been permitted to redeem after the lapse of thirty, forty, and even fifty years—with so much jealousy, indeed, does the law regard the power of the mortgagee, that no compact or agreement however solemn on the part of the mortgagor, can deprive him or his representatives of the right of redemption.—Armed with a right thus sanctioned and favored by the law, which was obtained for the purpose of self preservation, and also, to recover a large sum of money, which at an immense sacrifice, he had been compelled to pay for Allison some years before, did Gen. Jackson stand in 1814, when he filed his bill in the Chancery Court, with a view to redeem the lands.

How different is the case of Colonel Erwin? He made no purchase in good faith, and was deceived—he bought the lands from Norton Pryor, *knowing* the title was a bad one. Jenkin Whiteside in his deposition, now in the Clerk's Office, states, that in a conversation with Colonel Erwin, while he [Erwin] was the agent of Pryor, and *before* he had purchased one foot of the land, he informed him that the decree of foreclosure in the Federal Court, and the sale under it, were entirely null and void. Whiteside further deposes, that when Colonel Erwin was charged in his presence by Gen. Jackson, with having had a full knowledge of the defect in the title at the time he purchased of Pryor, he did not pretend to deny it. We should like to know, therefore, what claim in justice or equity Colonel Erwin had to any thing more, than to the mortgage money and interest, the right to which he had acquired by taking an assignment of the mortgage from Pryor?

But it is alleged, that Gen. Jackson having acted as the lawyer of Anderson, and having frequently expressed a belief in the validity of the decree and sale, to sundry individuals, was *estopped* in *honor*—it is not even pretended he was in *law* from availing himself of the equity of redemption which subsequently came into his possession. If A

then, be employed by B, to engage C to manage a piece of property, and C acting in obedience to the directions of B, manages it badly, is A debarred from urging any *subsequent* right to the property he may afterwards acquire? Yet this was Gen. Jackson's case precisely. Judge Anderson never could have expected, that he a Judge of the Supreme Court of the State, would do any thing more in the matter, than merely to place the matter in the hands of some eminent lawyer, and direct him to proceed according to law.

As to the assertion, that Gen. Jackson was, in *honor*, debarred of his right to redeem, because he had frequently said the decree and sale were good and valid, it involves the grossest absurdity. When a man warrants the title of a tract of land, he proclaims to the world his belief in its validity; yet, will any one pretend that by this act of warranty, he debars himself from setting up a *better* title to *other* land held under the *same* title which he had previously warranted to be good? We imagine not. Gen. Jackson filed his bill against Erwin and Patton in 1814. Being unable to raise the mortgage money and interest, James Jackson and Jenkin Whiteside became interested with him. Whiteside afterwards released all his interest, to James and Gen. Jackson, and Patrick Darby was employed to assist in conducting the legal proceedings, and to attend to taking of depositions, &c.

During the pendency of the controversy, which lasted for several years, various propositions for a compromise were submitted by Gen. Jackson, one of which was, that a decree should be entered in his favor; that Erwin should pay Gen. Jackson and James Jackson, $20,000—that Gen. Jackson should convey to Erwin, all the lands not within the bounds of other claimants—and that each party should pay their own costs. This proposition, though so just and reasonable, was not accepted. At length General Jackson was notified by Colonel Erwin, to attend, on a specified day, at a place called the Stone Fort, near the Colonel's residence, in Bedford county, where the depositions of certain witnesses were to be taken. After his arrival, *Mrs. Erwin* sought an interview with him, which was immediately acceded to by General Jackson. We are greatly tempted to stop here! The vilest cur of the coalition pack—the prince of slanderers, Charles Hammond—the most infamous of forgers, John Binns, can instantly anticipate the result of this interview between Gen. Jackson and Mrs. Erwin! The subject of the law suit, was without delay introduced by the latter. Gen. Jackson observed, that all he required was simple justice, and as an evidence of his sincerity, referred her to the propositions which he had previously submitted, and which we have already stated. Mrs. Erwin acknowledged the reasonableness of the terms, but urged, that simple justice to *him*, would leave her family in indigence. She then with tears in her eyes, intreated him in the name of their former friend-ship—she conjured him, by all that he held dear, to offer such terms, as they could without ruin to themselves, accept. This appeal, was of course irresistible. The gallant defender of New-Orleans, was not proof against the tears and distresses of a woman. He immediately consented to release, *without compensation*, all claims which *he* had against the property in dispute; but stipulated, that Mr. James Jackson, who was a party concerned, and whose rights he could neither release nor interfere with, should receive some remuneration. His proposition was joyfully accepted—James Jackson received $10,000 for his interest, from Colonel Erwin—Gen. Jackson not one *cent*; at the intercession of Mrs. Erwin, he gave up every thing, and afterwards, as the Clerk informed us but a short time since, paid upwards of $2,700 out of his own pocket! Thus ended this *swindling* transaction of Gen. Jackson, by which he voluntarily resigned just & equitable claims to an enormous amount, because he had a heart that glows with the kindest feelings of humanity. He merely stipulated for the protection of the individuals who claimed under him, & granted to the tears of a woman, that, which on every principle of honor, justice and equity he was fairly entitled to,

SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS.

Since the foregoing articles were put to press, the seventh number of the TENNESSEAN has been received, which is devoted to an investigation of the subject. It is a refutation of this same Nashville vindication, by the developement of additional facts, as well as by argument. I extract from it some of the most material parts of the documentary evidence, which seems to show the utter disregard of truth, that characterizes the vindication.

It is proper to state, that Joseph Anderson, the original contractor with Pryor, is now Comptroller of the Treasury of the United States. Although it was entirely through him, that Gen. Jackson was let in, for a share of the original speculation, it appears that in the new speculation, he was also to be sacrificed. The Tennessean gives the following extract of a letter, written by Mr. Anderson to Mr. Erwin, after Gen. Jackson had filed his bill.

"*Knoxville, 9th August*, 1814.

I am astonished beyond the expression of language, at the *bill* which I have seen coming from Gen. Jackson. I could not be persuaded that he would ever contemplate such a measure.—On my return home, I will examine my papers, and carefully select every one, that will aid in defeating the scheme so *unrighteously* formed, against the holders, under the decree of the Federal Court. New and strange must be the doctrine, if a state court can reverse a decree of one of the Federal Courts—even if there had been an error in the proceedings. How Gen. Jackson could avail himself of it, in any way, (even if an error had been committed, which I deny) I cannot well conceive, for it is a maxim in law, *that no man* can take advantage of his *own wrong*.

(Signed) JOS. ANDERSON."

This is the light in which Mr. Anderson viewed the conduct of General Jackson, and this is the view entertained by a respectable lawyer, of the doctrine, that the proceedings of the Federal Court were void. It puts the seal of falsehood upon the assertion of the Vindicator, that the Marshal's sale was "*acknowledged on all hands to have been null and void*;" and confirms the disbelief of this fact, asserted by me in the foregoing review.

The Vindicator, it will be found, makes several references to the testimony of Whitesides, who has testified that he communicated the fact, that the title was defective, in consequence of the nullity of the decree, to Erwin, in 1807. This I consider of little importance, either in a legal or a moral point of view. Erwin attempted no speculation upon Pryor, but bought of him for $25,000, and Pryor never complained, so far as is made known. But the parties considered it of great importance, and to obtain the advantage of the testimony of Whitesides, the other partners, Gen. Jackson and Samuel Jackson, purchased out his interest, and took Patrick Darby into partnership with them, to transact the law part of the concern. The impression made upon the community, by this movement, is evidenced by an act of the Legislature of Tennessee, passed at the session of 1821, of which the following account is from the Tennessean:

"Need I add any more on this part of my subject? Surely not. Indeed such was the consternation and alarm excited in the State of Tennessee, in consequence of the combination among a certain class of lawyers (a large proportion of this profession, I esteem as honorable and upright men) and others, to wrest property from the innocent purchasers, that the Legislature thought it necessary to pass a severe *Champerty* law. In this law, it is enacted, "That no practising attorney, or person who has been a practising attorney in this state, shall be permitted to give testimony against a client, or person who consulted them as attorney, with a view to employ him or them, by disclosing any communication made to them, as attorney, either during the pendency of the suit, or afterwards to their injury. Nor shall any attorney or other person, under the pretext of having transferred their interest to real estate, or obligations for the performance of contracts, or notes for money during the pendency of any

suit at law, be permitted to give testimony in favor of those who held a joint interest with him, her or them, at the commencement of said suits, or by which they themselves could be released from any liability to perform contracts or pay money." This law was passed almost unanimously; and although Mr. Darby, on behalf of himself, Mr. Whitesides, and Gen. Jackson, attacked it most violently in his "Constitutional Advocate"—and altho' several attempts have been made since to repeal it, they could not succeed. In fact Mr. Darby alleges directly in his "Advocate" that the law was passed purposely to affect Gen. Jackson and Mr. Whitesides, relative to the Allison estate."

Many of our readers know, that Mr. Darby has made loud complaints, that the Legislature of Tennessee had assailed, by legislative enactments, his private rights. This short quotation explains the whole matter. The law itself is demonstrative of a monstrous state of society. The legal profession cannot but feel themselves much scandalized, that, in any state, the conduct of their legal brethren, should have made such a law necessary.—Nothing but the most outrageous scenes of legal combination and chicanery, could have called for this kind of legislation. Such a law, if existing circumstances required it, to protect the citizens against combinations among lawyers, to join in speculation & swear to aid one another, even by disclosing the secrets of former clients, was a just one. Here, the proposition would shock us. We have no court of the least intelligence, that would permit a lawyer to disclose the communications of his former clients. The lawyer who should attempt to do it, would be shunned as an abandoned villain. But in Tennessee, where Gen. Jackson has been looked up to, as the tutelary genius of both bench and bar, a very different morality seems to have prevailed. And a legislative act was deemed necessary to prevent General Jackson himself, from thus using one of his confidentes. There is a degree of turpitude implied in this law, which ought to sink Gen. Jackson into disgrace with every good man. Was it his conduct that occasioned its enactment? It is exactly adapted to his case; and was passed shortly after he had purchased out Whitesides, and improved him as a witness. The inference is irresistible.

The advocates of Gen. Jackson, seem to have imbibed, in a peculiar manner, the traits of conduct that usually characterise the most subservient parasites. Where his conduct is least defensible, they attempt not merely to palliate, but insist to bestow high commendation. In this case, the Nashville Vindicator makes an effort to obtain credit for the General in compromising the claim. He finds in it evidence of the most unbounded benevolence, and tells a mighty affecting tale about the tears of Mrs. Erwin, and the generous, liberal, and instant concessions of the General. In the preceding review, I expressed my doubts of the accuracy of the Vindicator's statements on this point. It turns out that I was right. The whole is a gross and shameful misrepresentation, as the subjoined documents prove, which, with the introductory remarks of the Tennessean, are given at length.

"In the defence it is stated, that 'at length Gen. Jackson was notified by Col. Erwin, to attend on a specified day, at a place called the Stone Fort, near the Colonel's residence in Bedford county, where the depositions of certain witnesses were to be taken." Part of this extract is *true* in the letter, but all is *false* in the spirit of it. It conveys the impression to the mind of the reader, that this was the only place named in the notice, in order to assist in the inference, that the notice was designed for the purpose of a meeting between Gen. Jackson and Mrs. Erwin; now the truth is, there was a string of five or six places pointed out to take depositions at, in the notice, commencing in Warren County, then in Franklin county, and then in Bedford county. The Stone Fort is in Franklin county, a distance of fifteen miles from Col. Erwin's residence; the next place, was to have been within

two or three miles of his house in Bedford county; and if any *design* was intended, this would have been the most natural place.

In Warren county, the General and Col. Erwin met, and after taking a deposition, the next day rode together to the Stone Fort. What took place after arriving *there*, will be understood by reading the following *statements*, in answer to letters from me, requesting information on the subject, from Colonel Erwin, Major Murray, and Mr. Wm. H. Murray.

"*Bedford County, 5th June*, 1828.

"Dr. Jas. L. Armstrong.

Dear Sir:—Your note of the 3d inst. is before me. The statement in the 'Republican' alluded to, is untrue.—The facts are these: In the fall of the year 1823, Gen. Jackson and his partner and agent, Mr. P. H. Darby, were notified by me, (on behalf of myself and the other defendants,) that I should on certain days specified, proceed to take depositions at various places, to be read in our defence, commencing in Warren county, then in Franklin county, and lastly in Bedford county, in all, five or six places. The first place named in the notice, was at the house of Elisha Reynolds, in Warren. I had not the most distant idea or expectation of seeing or meeting Gen. Jackson at the taking of these depositions, he having never before attended in person himself, except when the place was Nashville, to any of my notices, although the suits had been on hand nine years, and although at various other times and places depositions had been taken: being uniformly represented by some of his partners or lawyers. After I had been at Mr. Reynolds's some short time, to my surprise Gen. Jackson made his appearance, and for the first time in many years, extended to me his hand, and seemed desirous to be on better terms. The deposition taken at that place, was very important to the defendants, and I was then well convinced the General's desire was increased to effect a compromise. We were next to take three depositions of a similar character, at the Stone Fort in Franklin county, at which place we arrived the next afternoon, and put up at the house of an old acquaintance and intimate friend of mine, whose wife, accompanied by my youngest son, and a Mrs. McGrew, had that day, (just before our arrival,) set out to North Carolina, on a visit to her relations, (and our's also) in that state. Mrs. Erwin, for the purpose of accompanying her son and her neighbour, Mrs. McGrew, and of visiting and conversing with Mrs. Murray, before she started, had arrived there the preceding evening. Mrs. Erwin did not even know that I was to be there, much less Gen. Jackson, and was very much surprised at meeting us. This fact, I presume, is in the recollection of Maj. Murray, who also knows how peculiarly unprepared she was to receive company. Late in the evening, the General and Mrs. Erwin were introduced, and having never seen each other before that time, although he and myself had been at law for nine years. Next morning, after breakfast, the subject of the land dispute was introduced by General Jackson *himself*, to Mrs. Erwin; when some conversation ensued, in which it was natural enough, that she should join him in saying, that it was desirable the controversy should be ended—but that she importuned him, or endeavoured to excite his sympathies, is utterly untrue. Without any advances on my part, or of Mrs. Erwin, the General commenced the conversation about a compromise.—I told the General then, that I never had viewed his claim to the lands in dispute, as worth 12 1-2 cents; but as he had created a division in our ranks, by means of two of his friends who lived among us, I would agree to submit his proposition to the settlers on the land, to take $10,000; but at the same time assured him, I would not persuade them to accede to it; believing, as I did, that if I lived, they were in no danger of losing their lands—and the people know this was the course I pursued with them.

Yours respectfully,

A. ERWIN

Franklin County, June 5th, 1828.

Doct. ARMSTRONG,

Dear Sir:—Yours of the 3d inst. is before me; in reply to which, I can state what I saw, and what I believe about the meeting between Mrs. Erwin and General Jackson at the Stone Fort, at the time alluded to. I have a perfect recollection of Mrs. Erwin's accompanying her youngest son, and her neighbor, Mrs. McGrew, to my house at the Stone Fort, the evening before General Jackson and Col. Erwin arrived there; and the next day Mrs. McGrew and my wife set out for North Carolina, in company with Mrs. Erwin's son—a youth about seventeen years of age. I accompanied them a few miles, and on our way met General Jackson and Col. Erwin going towards the Fort. I returned home that evening. Mrs. Erwin had remained with my son's wife. General Jackson and Col. Erwin, had spent the evening in exploring the Fort, Mill, Shoals, &c. about one mile distant. Mrs. Erwin said she had never before seen Gen. Jackson, and could not then be introduced to him, as she had come there entirely unprepared to meet company, that she had been taken entirely by surprise, and that unless Mrs. Wm. Murray, my son's wife, could supply her with a dress, &c. she would not be introduced to the General. Mrs. Wm. Murray tells me she did assist her in this way, and after General Jackson and Col. Erwin returned in the evening, she was introduced to him. We all supped and breakfasted together. I heard of no conversation about the land, by any of the company, until after breakfast the next morning, about the time the witnesses began to arrive. I feel entirely confident Mrs. Erwin had not mentioned Jackson's name, and that she had no expectation of seeing him—nor do I believe, from all that passed, she left home with any expectation of meeting Col Erwin. I am confirmed in this opinion, from her being so unprepared to meet company, and her wish to return home, the day General Jackson and Col. Erwin arrived.

SAMUEL MURRAY.

I certify, that I was at the house of my father, at the Stone Fort, both when Mrs. Erwin arrived, and when General Jackson and Col. Erwin arrived—and was present during their stay, which of the latter was about 24 hours: and I fully concur with my father, in the foregoing statement. I am entirely confident Mrs. Erwin had no expectation of meeting General Jackson; nor do I believe she expected to meet Colonel Erwin.

WM. H. MURRAY.

The reader is requested to look back to page 256, of this number, and there carefully read what the Vindicator has said about the interference of Mrs. Erwin, and then compare it with the facts here stated. If he be an honest man, though a supporter of Gen. Jackson, I ask him to say whether he has ever witnessed a more scandalous misrepresentation of fact?—What should be thought of a vindication, where falsehood is resorted to, with so little ceremony.

Their is one view of this affair, to which I would ask the attention of every man. The allegation of the Vindicator, as to the part acted by Mrs. Erwin, is clearly, and, as I think, most fully falsified, not by the assertion of Mr. Erwin alone, but by that assertion, confirmed by the statements of the two Mr. Murrays, and other corroborating circumstances. Did General Jackson originate this falsehood with regard to Mrs. Erwin? It could originate with no other person: for there is no pretence, as the story is told, that any other person was conversant with the pretended facts. Can it be, that honorable men will continue to support for the high office of President, a man, of whose readiness to utter falsehood, proofs have so accumulated? But suppose General Jackson not to be the originator of this falsehood, with respect to Mrs. Erwin, he has seen it employed for his vindication, and permitted it to pass uncontradicted. By this conduct, he has adopted it as his own—and has become accountable for it. No highminded, no honorable man, ever did permit direct falsehood, in relation to a plain, private matter of fact,

unmixed with opinion or motive, to pass upon the world associated with his name, much less could he suffer it to be palmed off to palliate his own conduct. That General Jackson has permitted this, with respect to Mrs. Erwin, is indisputable. And under all the circumstances, it is more probable that he is himself the fabricator, than that it originated with his Vindicator of the Nashville Gazette.

Doctor James L. Armstrong, who is the author of the Tennessean, has been violently assailed by the supporters of Gen. Jackson. Their mode of attack, is in accordance with their means. They denounce him as a man destitute of character, and as one who played the part of a coward in the late war. Dr. Armstrong is a regular member of the Methodist Church, and of respectable standing in the community where he lives. He has been recently nominated a candidate for elector in the district.

He served as a surgeon in the Creek war, where his character and capacity must have become known. He was afterwards retained in the same employment, or station, in the campaign at New-Orleans, by the same officers. Had he been known either as cowardly or incapable, there was no excuse for again appointing him. These facts, stamp the charges against him with the indelible marks of slander: and Dr. Armstrong has sustained them by indubitable proof. The Editor of the Nashville Republican, has been sadly imposed upon, or stands convicted of a tissue of falsehood and misrepresentation. He is welcome to the choice of these predicaments.

C. H.

TO GEN. ANDREW JACKSON.

Sir—I again take the liberty of addressing you on a subject which stands so conspicuous among your numerous acts of violence and outrage, that it ought not to be passed over in silence. I refer to your abuse of the Kentucky troops at the battle of New Orleans, and to your subsequent *prevarications* in attempting to escape from the difficulty in which you were involved. To exhibit your conduct in all its naked deformity, it will be necessary to detail the position of the calumniated troops, and to recount the facts which transpired in reference to them at the time.

The main battle of the 8th, was fought below New Orleans on the *left* bank of the river. Here you commanded in person. It had been previously determined, however, to make a defence on the *other side*—on the *right* bank of the river. For this purpose, two positions were taken. The first was about a mile lower down than the main army. At this place, a breast work, had been thrown up, extending three hundred yards from the river, and defended by three pieces of artillery: from the end of the breast work a ditch extended three hundred yards further. From the end of the ditch, it was still about two hundred yards to the swamp. This space was open and defenceless.

Gen. Morgan, with about fourteen hundred Louisianians, commanded at these lower works, stationing his troops behind the breast work, and leaving the rest of the line to the swamp unoccupied. The other position on the same side of the river, was about a mile *above* Morgan, and nearly opposite to the main army. This was commanded by Com. Patterson, with a battery of eight guns. Thus stood matters on the 7th *of January*.

Late on the evening of the seventh, an order was issued from the adjutant General's office, commanding General Adair to detach from his corps, *four hundred* Kentucky Militia, and to place them under a proper officer—then to have them marched immediately up to the city to be *armed*, and thence to cross the river and join the troops under Morgan. This order was executed so far as it was practicable. The four hundred men were detailed, and placed under the command of Col. Davis and marched to the city;—but only two hundred of them could receive arms of any kind—the remainder of course returned to their camp. Col. Davis with his two hundred Ken-

tuckians, crossed the river as directed, and reached Gen. Morgan about four o'clock on the morning of the 8th.—Immediately on his arrival, he was ordered by Gen. Morgan, to proceed on down the river, and in conjunction with Maj. Arnaud's command, to meet and attack the enemy, and if overcome by numbers, to retreat, disputing every inch of ground, back to the works.—This order was promptly and fully executed. Col. Davis met the enemy, about half a mile from the breast work, and although deserted by Maj. Arnaud, he formed his men and commenced the attack, firing from three to five rounds; but receiving a heavy fire from a much superior force, he was obliged to retreat. Having fallen back to Morgan's lines, Col. Davis was ordered to form his men on the *right* of the breast work. This threw him along the ditch, and although the situation was much exposed, and his men nearly exhausted, and badly armed, the order was executed with the utmost promptness and decision. In this weak and defenceless condition, he received the attack of the enemy, and his men again fired several rounds. The British moved steadily forward, and tho' somewhat pressed opposite the breast work, there was no resisting them along the ditch. This was the weak point—the right of the Kentuckians was soon gained. Part of the enemy in fact, were passing the open space between the end of the ditch and the swamp. As soon as this was discovered, the retreat was commenced, first on the right; but it quickly extended along the line, to the breast work, where the Louisiana militia instantly joined it. Com. Patterson seeing what was taking place, spiked his cannon, and also retreated. No attempt was made on the part of Morgan, to support the Kentuckians by a detachment from the breast work. He suffered them to maintain the conflict alone, and was unquestionably, wholly to blame, for the disasters of the day. It was impossible for two hundred men, strung along a ditch to the extent of two or three hundred yards, to maintain their position against *eight hundred* British *regulars*. It was unreasonable to expect it. This little band had been under arms all night—they had *eat nothing* for FOURTEEN HOURS—they were wretchedly armed—they had advanced and met the enemy; after firing and retreating, as described, they had again formed along the ditch; here they stood unaided and unsupported, till the enemy had turned their right, and was passing to the rear, when they were again compelled to retreat; *and for this, they have been branded with* ☞COWARDICE.

I have here, Sir, given a concise and correct account of the Kentuckians, whom you so basely slandered in your report to the Secretary of War. In proof of my accuracy, I submit portions of the testimony given before the court of enquiry which was expressly convened to investigate the truth of your charges. Colonel Ford* testified as follows:

"He occupied about the centre of Colonel Davis's line. The retreat of the right did not commence until the army had gained our lines on the right flank, and were advancing upon them. He had three men wounded by the fire of the *enemy who had crossed the line, and were firing on his rear.* The enemy in front kept up a hot fire and were about 100 yards distant. He saw no general officer on horse-back; the arms of Colonel Davis's men were in very bad order; many of the guns would not fire at all."

The following is from the testimony of Lieutenant Stevens:

"He was about the centre of Col. Davis's line, when the firing commenced. He passed several times along the line from right to left; our men fired generally from *three to five rounds.* He thinks the enemy, when the Kentuckians commenced retreating, were within 60 or 70 yards. He was wounded at the commencement of the retreat. On getting up he found the enemy had gotten some distance in advance of him, and he presumes from that circumstance, that the enemy must have gained the right flank of Col. Davis's line before the retreat commenced. There was one fourth of his arms that had no bayonets, and about one eighth would not fire."

From Captain Holt's testimony:—

"He was rather on the left of Col. Davis's line. *He distinctly saw the enemy had gained Col. Davis's right flank before the Kentucky Militia commenced the retreat.* He thinks they fired from three to seven rounds. Their arms were in wretched order, and a considerable number would not fire at all. He thinks the

* This was Col. Ford, formerly a Representative from Shelby county, Kentucky, and a very correct and intelligent farmer

Frenchmen on his left nearest the breast work, commenced retreating about the same time with Col. Davis's left. The fire of the enemy was warm. He neither saw Gen. Morgan, nor any other field officer, riding along Col. Davis's line after he had formed on the right."

From the testimony of Cols. Dejan and Cavallier of the Louisiana militia:

"The Kentuckians were almost exhausted with fatigue and hunger, having taken no refreshments for FOURTEEN HOURS. They were also badly armed and uncovered. They believe that after the retreat of the Kentuckians, *they could have formed* their respective regiments, to support Gen. Patterson's artillery. Gen. Morgan, gave no orders to that effect, nor any order to change their position or to form on any other ground."

Commodore Patterson, in his testimony, expresses his belief that, Morgan after the retreat of the right, might have changed his front and supported the artillery. He says: "*I placed great confidence in the Kentuckians, and relied much upon their support.*" Again, he says: "*The Kentucky troops were* VERY BADLY ARMED; *and* HE WOULD RELUCTANTLY HAVE RISKED HIS LIFE *with a great portion of the arms used by them.*"!

Other evidence was before the court of inquiry, to the same effect as the above. It all tends to the point, and shows conclusively, that the fault of the defeat, was in *Morgan's want of generalship*, and *not in the cowardice of the Kentuckians*. No men could behave with more decision and gallantry in their exposed and defenceless condition. They were acquitted by the court, and you barely gave a cold assent to the decision.

I will now turn sir, to your account of the transaction. On the 9th of January, and of course, before the truth of the matter could be fairly known, you wrote to the Secretary of War, as follows: "Although my forces, as to *number*, had been increased by the arrival of the Kentucky division, my *strength* had received very little addition; *a small portion only* of that detachment, being provided with arms."

"General Morgan with the New-Orleans contingent, the Louisiana militia, and a STRONG DETACHMENT of the *Kentucky troops*, occupied an intrenched camp, on the opposite side of the river, protected by strong batteries on the bank, erected and superintended by Com. Patterson." In this, your carelessness in the statement of facts, and tendency to prevarication, are both conspicuous. You say, your *strength* was very little increased, because a "*small portion only* of the detachment could be armed! In the next breath, you declare, that a "*strong detachment*" of the same troops, occupied the entrenched camp with General Morgan! Your *strength* not increased, a *small portion only* armed: and yet you sent a "*strong detachment*" of this *small portion*," to reinforce Morgan!! I confess my inability to understand any manœuvre of this kind.—In truth, it is gross and palpable contradiction. It nevertheless, shows your illiberality to the Kentucky troops, and a disposition to magnify the mischief occasioned by their retreat. In your report to the Secretary of War, you proceed:

"The entire destruction of the enemies' army was now inevitable, had it not been for an unfortunate occurrence, which at this moment took place on the other side of the river. Simultaneously with his advance on my lines, he had thrown over in his boats, a considerable force to the other side of the river. These having landed, were hardy enough to advance against the works of General Morgan; and what is *strange and difficult to account for*, at the very moment when their entire discomfiture was looked for, with a confidence approaching to certainty, THE KENTUCKY REINFORCEMENTS INGLORIOUSLY FLED, *drawing after them by their example the* REMAINDER *of the forces.*"!!!

I have already stated, that at the time you made this report, you could not be accurately informed of the facts. The court of enquiry had not then been held. But subsequently, the testimony as above quoted, was laid before you. Yet you have never withdrawn the charge, but have repeated it in the most aggravated terms. The Kentuckians were dissatisfied with the treatment they had received, and requested General Adair, to make application to you, for that reparation and justice, to which the evidence before the court of enquiry so clearly entitled them. On the 20th of March, he addressed you a letter, repeating the facts, and requesting from you, a more explicit approval of the conduct of his troops. But you were deaf to the application; and regardless of the

evidence which was then before you, you replied:

"It is true, that in writing to the Secretary of War, the day after the action of the 8th of January, giving an account of the affair, &c. I did state, that I had ordered a *strong detachment* of the Kentucky militia to the right bank of the river, and *that they ingloriously fled before the enemy.*"

By this, you evinced a determination to adhere to the charge. In the same reply, as if willing to excuse yourself at the time, by shifting the responsibility upon others, you add:

"As to the statement respecting the conduct of these troops, IT WAS FOUNDED ON THAT MADE TO ME BY COMMODORE PATTERSON AND GENERAL MORGAN, who were present and commanding. Their statements I not only did believe, but was bound to believe."

You then express your satisfaction that Col. Davis was acquitted, because of his *good private reputation*, though at the same time, you more than insinuated he was a poor officer. Thus it appears, instead of reparation, the Kentuckians received only a repetition of the charge, and your authority for making it. The testimony of many respectable men was entirely overlooked. The statement of Patterson and Morgan, was paramount to every thing else. They informed you—on them you relied—and because *they said so*, you declared that the "*Kentuckians ingloriously fled!* Two hundred men, who had been under arms all night, who had been fourteen hours without refreshment, who were badly armed, who had advanced and met the enemy leaving Morgan's fresh troops, safely behind their breastworks, were branded with cowardice, because they gave way in an exposed situation, before a much superior force. Pray sir, did it never occur to you, that Morgan (your great witness,) with his ten or twelve hundred fresh troops, might have afforded these Kentuckians some little support! Did you suppose a few raw militia, with bad arms, posted thinly along an open ditch, would stand the approach of six or eight hundred British regulars? Where was Morgan all this time? Did he not know, that an enemy of common sense, would attempt in the first place, the weakest part of his lines? Did he visit the position? Did he encourage Davis, or offer him any support? It is not pretended, either by yourself or any body else, that he did. And yet this very man, who ordered exhausted troops to meet the enemy, then posted them where only peril could be expected, is the chief witness, on whom you have said you relied, to charge those troops with cowardice! As for Patterson, he was a half mile further up the river, at his battery. He could know nothing of the retreat, nor of the certain position of the British at the time:—for according to his own admission, the testimony of Col. Caldwell, and Morgan himself, whose words I quote, "*the fog was so thick, that they could not see one hundred and fifty yards.*" I repeat, Morgan was the man chiefly to blame. He lost the day, and was *interested* in shifting the cause of the defeat, from his own, to the shoulders of others.

I have already presented sufficient evidence, to convince the world of your great injustice, and wilful blindness to the truth. Had the matter stopped here, time and the indulgence of your countrymen, might perhaps have buried the whole transaction in oblivion. But there are greater inconsistencies behind. You seem to have been chosen, but for what purpose I know not, to concentrate and exhibit within yourself, all those contradictions and moral deformities, which in most ages, have been diversified and dispersed among many individuals. I would not have noticed this affair, if you had not added to your injustice, the most palpable falsehoods. Such falsehoods sir, as you can never explain away, and as will follow you to the end of life, and mark you as a perverse and deliberate liar. I use harsh terms, but I appeal to the following facts to sustain me.

Recollect the position you first assumed. You say as to the flight of the Kentucky troops, your statement was founded on that made to you by Com. Patterson, and General Morgan, which you not only did believe, but was bound to believe!! You did not for a moment, pretend to know any thing of

the fact yourself, that is at the time when you made the charge in your report to the Secretary of War. That Patterson and Morgan misrepresented the matter was amply proved before the court of enquiry by at least half a dozen most respectable witnesses.—Still you was deaf to the cry of justice, and when pinned down by Adair, and forced to abandon your reliance on Patterson and Morgan, instead of declaring like an honest man, that you had been deceived, you state: "THE FULL VIEW WHICH I HAD FROM THE PARAPET OF MY LINE OF DEFENCE, GAVE ME FULL EVIDENCE OF THE ☞INGLORIOUS FLIGHT *of the troops, on the right bank before the enemy.*" This assertion was made in 1817. How does it compare sir, with your previous declarations? Did you not say, that you relied upon Patterson and Morgan? Did you pretend at the time to know any thing of the matter *personally?* Surely you did not, and for the best reason imaginable; every body knew, that situated as you were, you could have no personal information on the subject. You were a mile and a half distant, and the fog, says Patterson, and several other witnesses, was so thick, that objects could not be seen at the distance of fifty yards! This you knew at the time, and therefore never once intimated, that you saw the flight. But in 1817, three years afterwards, you saw through the ☞fog and mist on a level line of a mile and a half in extent, when every body else could *not* discover objects, at the distance of a few hundred yards! But I will refresh your memory by giving the testimony.

Gen. ADAIR, who was standing by you at the time you pretended to have seen the flight, says:

"The distance from us to the troops, was more than *a mile and a half*—☞THERE WAS A THICK FOG, AND I CONFESS I COULD NOT SEE THE TROOPS OF EITHER ARMY.—☜"

Col. Caldwell, of the Louisiana militia, testified, that,

Such was the *fog and mist* towards the river ☞THAT HE COULD NOT SEE Col. Davis's line but he heard the fire."

It seems, however, that you saw clearly, at the distance of a mile and a half, what Caldwell could not see, on account of the FOG, *two hundred yards!* But further, Gen. MORGAN, your own witness, disclosed in terms not to be mistaken, that "*the weather was so thick, he could not see one hundred and fifty yards!!*" Other witnesses testified to the same fact. Now, sir, did all these men lie? Did they perjure themselves? If they did, why was you so long silent on the subject? Why did you not expose them at the time? and above all, why did you rely on Patterson and Morgan, when you had the evidence of your own eyes, of the alleged "*inglorious flight!*" The truth is, sir, you have not only prevaricated, but have been guilty of the most gross and deliberate falsehood. You *never saw* the Kentucky troops ingloriously fly! You could not see it. At the time, you did not pretend to see it.—Driven to extremities you assumed the character of the braggart, and swore to that in the *end*, which had never entered your mind in the *beginning*.—There is a perverseness of disposition about the whole of this transaction, which marks you the stubborn, unyielding, and uncompromising bully.

There is one other point, upon which, as an officer and a gentleman, you was bound not to be mistaken. You have referred to it several times, in your letters and reports, and in every instance have misrepresented the truth. I speak of the *efficiency* of Com. Patterson's battery in the affair of the 8th, on the right bank of the river. It is in connection with your *pretended* personal knowledge of the inglorious flight. It wears the same reckless and stubborn aspect, and shows with what impudent effrontery you misstate important facts, in order to make out your case. In a letter to Governor Adair, of April 11th, 1817, after declaring that you saw from your parapet, the flight of the troops, you add: "*No where did I behold that manly defence, which I expected, except from Patterson's batteries*, WHICH WERE WELL SERVED!!" Now, sir, this can be no other than a malicious and deliberate falsehood.—Patterson never fired a gun. His battery was not *served* at all, unless the *spiking* of his guns was the kind of ser-

vice of which he spoke. In proof of what I say, I submit Patterson's own words, delivered in testimony before the court of enquiry. "*The right of Morgan's line in their retreat, pressed on the eight pieces of artillery, under my command, and I was* PREVENTED FROM FIRING, *after turning them for that purpose, for fear of injuring the men who fled*," &c. Again he says: "Finding myself abandoned by the force I relied upon to support my battery, I was, *after destroying my powder, and spiking my guns, compelled to abandon them.*" This is precisely the account which Patterson himself gives of his share in the action. I repeat, he did not fire a gun—he gives the reasons *why* he did not. Yet you say, that "you no where witnessed that manly defence, which you expected, except from *Patterson's batteries* WHICH WERE WELL SERVED!!!!" You said this, in order to magnify the disgrace of Kentuckians. You meant to insinuate that they were well supported; and in fact, were the only cowards on the field. Now, sir, did you *see* from your wrapet, "PATTERSON'S BATTERY WELL SERVED," or did you not? Was it not the same kind of a vision, you had through a dense fog, of the inglorious flight—I mean an *after* vision, generated by stubbornness, malignity, and a determination, at all hazards to support your previous charges? To me, sir, and to the world, it presents this hateful aspect. You have no room to escape this conclusion. It is forced upon you by all the circumstances, and by indubitable testimony; and you must rest under the imputation of having basely slandered your fellow citizens, and afterwards of having *more* basely falsified the truth,to sustain yourself. Such a man I can never support for office; and if the KENTUCKIANS say, they are not that HIGH SPIRITED, CHIVALROUS PEOPLE, THEY HAVE BEEN MISREPRESENTED.

TENNESSEE.

Administration of the Executive Department of Tennessee has been committed to three Districts [illegible]

Nashville District—Dr. [illegible] M'NAIRY

Knoxville District—T. H. NELSON, Esq.

Bedford District—Dr. JAMES G. M'MURRAY.

Further extracts from the Drama of the

HERO OF TWO WARS.

ACT IV.—SCENE I.

[MISSISSIPPI BOROUGH.—*Street before the State House. An extraordinary meeting.*]

1 CIT. The ides of March are come: 'twas on this day,
Cæsar atoned in blood his usurpation.
'Tis late our wise ones have discovery made,
The ides of March are Hero's natal day.

2 CIT. Do any say, that at our Hero's birth,
"The frame and huge foundation of the earth
Shaked like a coward," as at that of Glendower?
Do any say, that when the chief was born,
"The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes,
The goats ran from the mountains, and the herds
Were strangely clamorous to the frighted fields."

1 CIT. His flatterers do say much absurd as that,
And he can vaunt as loudly as Glendower,
"Call spirits from the vasty deep."
And other actions suggesting mortal man:
Chiding the hours, to check increase of knowledge;
And loving off'ring hand as punishment,
For over inquisitive curiosity:
Of wishing earth to gape and swallow him,
Rather than do a deed dishonorable.

2 CIT. This birth day now is made a festival,
Celebrated for the whole of Tennessee.
The superstitious tenets of an Hermit sage.

1 CIT. Full thirty years this hermit I have known,
And many days by him made memorable
Myself hath witnessed, and hath heard discourse of.
Three wedding days and a three wedded bride,
Were once the comment, gossip of the land.
The sixth of June can never be forgotten,
When Dickerson was slain by Hero's hand,
And while the victim of his vengeance lay
Surrounded in the habiliments of death:
Whilst yet the life blood issued from the wound,
And whilst the frantic widow and her babes,
Wept o'er the husband and the father lost;
While the whole people were in sadness wrapt
For the untimely fate of one beloved,
And sought to make some public demonstration,
Of public sorrow, sooth[illegible] private grief:
'Twas then, even then, this daring homicide,
Untouched by that remorse, which others feel,
Who, in a moment of excited passion,
Have shed their brother's life; unmoved by pity
Regardless too of public sentiment,
Rudely assailed the freedom of the press,
With bullying Arrogance, sought to intimidate
Surveying friends, and check the swelling stream
Of generous sympathy, in others' woe.
And deeds like this have chequered all His life,
Deep seeing grief and sorrow round his path.

2 CIT. He's not the less a saint, for what you say,
Granting it true, even to the very letter
'Tis the deed of blood that gain renown for many
Who lives to time, but in the voice of others.
Here it now made grief, (as like a mirror,
(Not that of boots and stimulating fame)
He may reflect the greatness of his maker.

They bring him forth to show, like dancing bears,
And learned pigs, and lions safe caged.
He eats, he bears, he speaks, as others bid him,
This is his birth day, and this day he feasts,
But as a spectacle to be gaped upon.
First, he must hear a speech of fulsome praises,
And then re-echo all the nonsense back,
With such additions, as is deemed most fitting,
To suit the ears on which it is without reflection.
Some [illegible] in base instances—
[illegible] and circumstance" to stir one's
[illegible]
[illegible] slighter! Far other feeling should
[illegible]
For [illegible] and humiliation,
[illegible] freedom's happy land,
[illegible] their high destiny.
[illegible] we should mourn and
[illegible]
[illegible] solemn fast,
[illegible] day to make atonement,
[illegible] that reckless man
[illegible] should haunt him, driven to spend it
[illegible] his crimes. The land should wail,
[illegible] the wives and children of his victims,
[illegible] the deep pollutions from our shores.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.—*The State House.*

[*Orator, Pupil, Citizens, All seated. Orator and Hero rise.*]

ORATOR. This interview has not been sought, great sir,
For purpose of political; far otherwise,
We utterly disclaim the unworthy motive.

[CITIZEN, *heated, and aside.*] If that were sworn, it would not be believed.

ORATOR. Our single purpose is to testify,
The kind and grateful feelings of our hearts,
For evidences of disinterested love
For "*moral value*" and for *private virtue*.

CITIZEN, *aside. Private virtue!* 'tis indeed a pity,
Twere not *made public*, that we'd known he had it.

ORATOR. We have known you from the greatest to the least,
The grey headed veteran of the revolution,
And the [illegible] juvenile spectator present.

CITIZEN, *aside.* They have seen him at the cock pit many a time.

ORATOR. To all this day, and this occasion bring,
The reminiscences of other years,
The aged remember—

CITIZEN, *aside.* How Dickinson was shot—the treble weddings.

ORATOR. The aged remember you the advocate
Of Client's rights.

CITIZEN, *aside.* Land clients, I suppose.

ORATOR. The prosecutor against public crimes.

CITIZEN, *aside.* Unless when perpetrated by himself or friends.

ORATOR. The stern, impartial, even handed judge.

CITIZEN, *aside.* When White, his brother homicide was tried.

ORATOR. We have seen the benefactor of the nation
Assailed by most unsparing persecution;
His private actions, his most hidden deeds,
Dragged into light in all their odious features;
Without regard to his domestic peace,
We have seen his bosom friend, his lovely wife,
A rare example of most rigid virtue,
Thro' her whole life, chaste as Lucretia's self,
Kind, pious, charitable, all that man
Could wish in woman, husband in a wife,
Free from reproach, as even might content
Cæsar himself, in most fastidious mood.

CITIZEN, *aside.* Records were nothing in the days of Cæsar.

ORATOR. This fair example of unblemished virtue,
The venal libeller has dared assail
With blackest defamation

HERO. Yes, yes, my friends, malignant saints have spat,
Against my peace. But truth omnipotent
O'er falsehood and o'er error must prevail.

CITIZEN. Then Hero sinks forever, for with truth,
He and his friends have slight association.

HERO. Perdition! what damned voice dare utter
Such mutiny in this assembled house?
Let him be found, let the infernal villain
Be seized; or if he run, then shoot him down,
Put ten balls through him, make destruction sure:
Insult on insult! Furies! Plagues, and Hell!!

[*Hero raves, stamps, clenches his fists, and the assembly dissolve in confusion.*]

CONGRESSMAN DANIEL.

There resides, somewhere in the state of Kentucky, an obscure ignoramus, who writes his name "*H. Daniel.*" The same extravagant absurdity which has made Andrew Jackson a candidate for the Presidency, has made this "H. DANIEL" a member of the Congress of the United States. Who he is, what his profession, what his character, where he resides, I know not. I know nothing about him, but what I collect from a twenty-four page pamphlet, addressed "*to the People of the first Congressional District, in the state of Kentucky,*" dated "Washington City, April 21, 1828, and subscribed "H. DANIEL." This pamphlet is now before me, and for downright impudent falsehood, low, dirty invisination, coarse vulgar blackguardism, and ridiculous egotism, it has very few parallels. Of himself, and upon account of himself "H. DANIEL" would be unworthy of notice. But as a heroite libeller, and combination member of Congress, a factitious importance is attached to him. It becomes

proper to expose him as one of the instruments which are made use of, to subserve a purpose, at a time, when the public intelligence and the public morals are out of joint.

The first eight pages of this address are devoted to "H. Daniel" himself. Their contents would be compressed by an Indian chief, into about five words: "*Big man me, Captain John.*" The burthen of the story is, that one Mr. Thomas Curry, "had been brought from Kentucky to this place, (Washington) *and paid out of the contingent or secret service fund*, to watch MY *movements*, and misrepresent MY *votes*," and had accordingly very greviously misrepresented both "H. Daniel" and his votes.

The assertion, that Mr. Curry had *been brought* to Washington, may be true or false. I know nothing about it. The object of his visit may have been to "*watch* H. Daniel's" movements, and misrepresent his votes. I say this may have been his object. But it would require strong proof to establish the fact. This "H. Daniel" is certainly too insignificant a personage to be worth any such trouble, or any kind of expense. Men who had money to expend, must have had more sense than to expend it so foolishly. Judging from this address, it would seem manifest, that "H. Daniel," is too legitimate a *Wronghead*, to be dangerous to any body, but his friends. Impudence avails nothing, unless accompanied with some tact. Falsehood, unless ingeniously contrived, does mischief to those who use it: and even vulgar assurance may be so gross, as to disgust its own partizans, however vulgar or unprincipled. The assertion, that Mr. T. Curry was "*paid out of the contingent, or the secret service fund*," is most manifestly a flat lie,—And a lie without the slightest color of truth.

In the first place, those who control either of these funds, could never think it worth while to "*watch the movements*" of "H. Daniel." They would as soon suppose it necessary to "*watch the movements*" of a pet bear chained to a post. Whether the animal dragged his chain on the ground, moving in a circle at its extent, flat footed, and upon all fours, or propped upon its haunch, affected to stand upright, and look cunningly around, could make no difference. Its range of bodily motion, and of intellectual exertion, would not be more effectually limited, than were the Congressional movements of "*H. Daniel.*" whose forwardness of manner, and confusion of ideas, rendered his efforts impotent in all that could produce political effect. No money price could be paid upon account of such an animal, except by mere ideots. And as Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay are allowed to possess some management, it is ridiculous to suppose that "H. Daniel" ever attracted their consideration.

To treat the subject seriously, nothing can be more absurd, false, and wicked, than the assertion quoted about a spy upon "H. Daniel," being "*paid out of the contingent or secret service fund.*" The writer knew it was false—knew it was destitute of probability, and made the allegation in contempt of all the feelings, which alone distinguish the upright man, from the most degraded of his species.

From himself, "*Big man me, Captain John,*" "H. Daniel" passes to an attack upon the pecuniary transactions of Mr. Adams. And here he shows a slight symptom of common sense.—Conscious of his utter incapacity to form even a plausible lie, upon matters of account, he avails himself of Mr. Thomas P. Moore's labours of lies, and quotes some six pages of garbled accounts, and misstated propositions, which this same Mr. Moore had formerly cast upon the public. In thus licking up the vomit of his colleague, "H. Daniel" acted out his real character.

The contingent expenses of the government, are the next theme of "H. Daniel's" discussion. Here, he reposes himself upon the labours of the Committee of Retrenchment, and adopts all their misrepresentations. It is true, his letter bears date before their report was made: but the likenesses are too strong to proceed from accident.

On page sixteen, besides a goodly portion of slang, about "coalition slander," "Harris' forged letter," &c. "H. DANIEL" asserts, that the supporters of the administration maintain, "*that the end justifies the means:*" and then adds, that it was *by divine right* that "*Mr. Adams, in his message to Congress, claimed the power to involve the nation in a civil war.*" This is that sort of falsehood, which none could utter, but a most abandoned knave. Proceeding in the same strain "H. DANIEL" asks, "*To whom does Mr. Adams look for support?*" and then replies, "*Not to the Republicans of the Jefferson school; but to the old federalists and plotters of the Hartford Convention.*"

Indeed. Were not the Bells and Plummers of New-Hampshire, the Lincolns and Silsbees of Massachusetts, the Spencers, Youngs, and Porters of New-York, the Southards and Condicts of New-Jersey, the Gallatins, Careys and Lacocks of Pennsylvania, the Madisons, Munroes, and Stuarts of Virginia, the Clays and Slaughters of Kentucky, the Morrows, Gen. Van Hornes, and Sloane's of Ohio, Republicans of the Jefferson school? Nothing but a compound of ignorance, folly, depravity, and impudence, would assert the contrary.

And let me ask, who were more inveterate opposers of the Jefferson Republicans, than Timothy Pickering, Thomas J. Oakley, Louis McLane, James Ross, Joseph Hemphill, John Pope and John Rowan? Who was a more principal plotter of the Hartford Convention, than Harrison Gray Otis? Who were its stronger apologists, than Timothy Pickering and William Coleman. Yet are all these vehement in their opposition to Mr. Adams, and ardent in support of the Hero. Verily, "H. DANIEL" is a suitable instrument for the combination to employ. He pays as little regard to truth, as the Hero himself.

Mr. Clay is next denounced, as making bosom friends of men whom he formerly abused as federalists: "*The old and firm Republicans of the Jefferson school, are cast off and slandered by the hirelings of Government.*" Who, in the name of common sense, are these old and firm republicans? Are Amos Kendall, Shadrach Penn, and John Pope, Moses Dawson, Elijah Hayward, James B. Gardiner, Cadwallader Wallace, John M. Goodenow, John Mathews and William Stanbery, of the number. Or are we to look eastward for them, and find them in such men as Stephen Simpson, and Dabney Car, Duff Green and Russel Jarvis? or rising a grade higher, is it to Wm. B. Giles and Edward Livingston, or to John Randolph, that the allusion is made, as "*old and firm Republicans of the Jefferson school,*" who "*are cast off?*" The charge is a false one, apply it in whatever way it can be applied.

In one part of this address "H. DANIEL" has placed himself in happy and appropriate association. He takes up as his colleague and compeer, our famous Greene county witness, "*Samuel H. Miller.*" This vagabond falsifier's statement, stamped with falsehood by a dozen witnesses, as well as by its own intrinsic absurdity, in relation to John Woods, is published in the address, and vouched to be the "true history of that transaction." Those who know how fully this Miller's statement has been disproved can, at once, understand what sort of a genius this "H. DANIEL" must be. The insertion of Miller's falsehood is followed by a paragraph about "forgeries and falsehoods," which "H. DANIEL" gravely asserts, "are intended to divert the public attention, from the extravagant waste of public money, by Mr. Adams' administration:" a falsehood in excellent keeping with those of his fellow Miller. And as to the waste of public money, "H. DANIEL" declares his determination to carry the war into Africa. In performance of this valorous determination, he again betakes himself to the labours of others. For, however confidently he trusts himself to make unfounded assertions, yet, when investigation or computation is required, he confesses his incompetence, and seeks aid from his associates.

From expenditures of public money, this incomparable master of the "mazy

dance," run back to the alledged "aristocratic predilections" of Mr. Adams, to which he traces the recommendation of a Naval School and a National University. Good squire Wronghead forgot, that the latter was recommended by Washington.

Grievous complaint is made about the exposure of Gen. Jackson's ignorance and violence, in the famous Dinsmore letter; upon the heel of which, we have the six militia men, with a false assertion, that Gov. Blount's order of the 20th of May, 1814, was kept back by the Government. This document it is well known, was published in the administration papers last fall, with comments. Yet "H. DANIEL" ventured to say "it was one which they ARTFULLY endeavoured to conceal." A singular attempt at *art*, to *conceal* what had long been published by the same party thus accused of concealment!

We have next this assertion: "It is now clearly demonstrated, that the leaders of the *coalition* will resort to every falsehood, however base, to promote their ambitious designs." This must be one of squire Wronghead's blunders. He must have been speaking of his own party; and if "*coalition*" be struck out, and "*combination*" inserted, the truth of the paragraph would be indisputable.

There is something in the following that seems to mean more than meets the eye.

"If we surrender our rights, and TAMELY SUBMIT *to the* ELECTION of Mr. Adams, it will be a surrender of the very principles of our government."

"*Submission*" to "*election*," I had thought, constituted the first "*principle of our government.*" If we do not "SUBMIT," we must RESIST, and resistance to an "*election*," would obviously imply subversion of the government.—It is usually by means of silly knaves, that artful ones feel the public pulse, upon such dangerous doctrines. It is not unlikely that the suggestion was made to our squire Wronghead, by one of the master spirits, and from the homage paid to the southern members, a paragraph or two below, we are well warranted in surmising, that it came from that section of the Union.

"The southern members, although opposed to the tariff, voted for the Western interests, and it may be attributed to their generosity, and good feeling for Kentucky, that we have been able to sustain ourselves, and the interests of the Western country."

"*Ars in celandem artem*" is a latin maxim, which literally translated, reads, "*The art is in concealing the art.*" The southern members have played very successfully upon such *caddies* as this "H. DANIEL." We could ask no better proof than the sentiments in the paragraph quoted. The scene reminds me of a couplet which with little variation, may be employed to describe it:

"*The southern members, when this tool they saw,*
Thwarting their requiems o'er our Union's law,
Admired such fawning in a western shape,
And patted DANIEL *as we pat an ape.*"

If it were not for the public mischief which may probably be the consequence, it would be a subject of amusement to contemplate a southern nabob, practising upon the base passions and silly vanity of such a man as "H. DANIEL." There would be nothing new in the scene; because there is nothing new in the depravities that occasion it. The outlines of the dupe are well hit off in Colley Cibber's comedy of the Provoked Husband. The principal difference is, that Sir Francis Wronghead has less malice than this "H. DANIEL;" in the quality of political knave and fool, he is about his equal. And "H. DANIEL" being thoroughly convinced, that the days of the present administration "*are numbered, and rapidly drawing to a close*," may as naturally look to the great men of the south, with "*their generosity and good feeling for Kentucky*," to get a place, as Sir Francis did, to the minister. The scene is worth reading, and I therefore conclude this article with it.

Enter MANLY, *meeting Sir* FRANCIS WRONGHEAD,

Man. Sir Francis, your servant.

Sir F. Cousin Manly!

Man. I am come to see how the family goes on here.

Sir F. Troth, all busy as bees! I have been upon the wing ever since 8 o'clock this morning.

Man. By your early hour, then, I suppose you have been making your court to some of the great men.

Sir F. Why, faith you have hit it, sir!—I was advised to lose no time; so I e'en went straight forward to one great man, I had never seen in my life before.

Man. Right! that was doing business, but who had you got to introduce you?

Sir F. Why, nobody—I remember I had heard a wise man say—my son, be bold—so, troth, I introduced myself.

Man. As how, pray?

Sir F. Why, thus—Lookye—"Please your lordship," says I, "I am Sir Francis Wronghead, of Bumper-hall, and member of Parliament, for the borough of Guzzle-down."—"Sir, your humble servant," says my lord, "tho'f I have not the honor to know your person, I have heard you are a very honest gentleman, and I am glad your borough has made choice of so worthy a representative; and so," says he, "Sir Francis, have you any service to command me?" Naw, cousin, those last words, you may be sure gave me no small encouragement. And tho'f I know, sir, you have no extraordinary opinion of my parts, yet, I believe, you won't say I missed it now.

Man. Well, I hope I shall have no cause.

Sir F. So when I found him so courteous—"My lord," says I, "I did not think to ha' troubled your lordship with business upon my first visit; but, since your lordship is pleased not to stand upon ceremony,—why truly," says I, "I think naw is as good as another time."

Man. Right! there you pushed him home.

Sir F. Ay, ay, I had a mind to let him see that I was none of your mealy-mouthed ones.

Man. Very good.

Sir F. "So, in short my lord," says I, "I have a good estate—but—a—Its a little awt at elbows; and, as I desire to serve my king, as well as my country, I shall be very willing to accept of a place at court.

Man. So, this was making short work on't.

Sir F. Lood, I shot him flying cousin! some of your haw'f-witted ones, naw, would ha'hummed and hawed, and dangled a month or two after him, before they durst open their mouths about a place, and may hap not ha'got it at last neither.

Man. Oh, I'm glad you're so sure on't—

Sir F. You shall hear, cousin—"Sir Francis," says my lord, "pray what sort of a place may you ha' turned your thoughts upon?"—"My lord," says I, "beggars must not be choosers; but only a place," says I, "about a thousand a year, will be well enough to be doing with till something better falls in"—for I thought it would not look well to stond haggling with him at first.

Man. No, no, your business was to get footing any way.

Sir F. Right! there's it! ay, cousin, I see you know the world.

Man. Yes, yes, one sees more of it every day—Well, but what said my lord to all this?

Sir F. "Sir Francis," says he, "I shall be glad to serve you, any way that lies in my power;" so he gave me a squeeze by the hand, as much as to say, give yourself no trouble—I'll do your business; with that he turned him abawt to somebody, with a coloured ribbon across here, that looked in my thoughts, as if he came for a place too.

Man. Ha! so upon these hopes, you are to make your fortune?

Sir F. Why, do you think there's any doubt, sir?

Man. Oh, no, I have not the least doubt about it—for, just as you have done, I made my fortune ten years ago.

Sir F. Why, I never knew you had a place, cousin."

Man. Nor I neither, upon my faith, cousin. But you perhaps, may have better fortune; for I suppose my lord has heard of what importance you were in the debate to day—You have been since down at the house I presume?

Sir F. Oh, yes; I would not neglect the house for ever so much.

Man. Well; and pray what have they done there?

Sir F. Why, troth, I can't well tell you what they have done; but I can

tell you what I did: and I think pretty well in the main; only I happened to make a little mistake at last, indeed.

Man. How was that?

Sir F. Why, they were all got there into a sort of puzzling debate, about the good of the nation—and I were always for that you know—but in short, the arguments were so long winded on both sides, that, waunds! I did not well understand 'um; hawsomever, I was convinced, and so resolved to vote right, according to my conscience—so, when they come to put the question as they call it—I don't know how it 'twas—but I doubt I cried, ay! when I should ha' cried no!

Man. How came that about?

Sir F. Why, by a mistake, as I tell you, for there was a good-humored sort of a gentleman, one Mr. Totherside, I think they call'm, that sat next me, as soon as I had cried, ay! give me a hearty shake by the hand.—"Sir," says he, "you are a man of honor, and a true Englishman! and I should be glad to be better acquainted with you." And so with that takes me by the sleeve, and away with the crowd, into the lobby—so I knew nought—but odds flesh! I got o' the wrong side the post—for I were told, afterwards I should have staid where I was.

Man. And so if you had not quite made your fortune before, you have clinched it now!—Ah, thou head of the Wrong Heads! (*Aside.*)

GEN. JACKSON'S VERACITY.

That the monstrous charge against Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay, of a corrupt bargain, originated with Gen. Jackson, himself, admits of no longer admits of a doubt. It is nevertheless important, that the documents upon this subject, should be placed before the public in a condensed form, and in their proper order, that the reader may be able, with little labor, to comprehend the whole case. This is here done, and every honest man is requested to read them carefully and then form his own opinion.

First, we give an extract from the famous letter to Carter Beverly, specifying the charge as made at Gen. Jackson's own house, before all his company. It is as follows:

"Early in January, 1824, a member of Congress of high respectability, visited me one morning, and observed that he had a communication he was desirous to make to me; that he was informed there was a great intrigue going on, and thought it was right I should be informed of it; that he came as a friend, and, let me receive the communication as I might, the friendly motives through which it was made, he hoped, would prevent any change of friendship or feeling with regard to him. To which I replied, from his high standing as a gentleman and a member of Congress, and from his uniform friendly and gentlemanly conduct towards myself, I could not suppose he would make any communication to me, which he supposed was improper, therefore, his motives being pure, let me think as I might of the communication, my feelings towards him would remain unaltered. The gentleman proceeded: He said he had been informed by the friends of Mr. Clay, that the friends of Mr. Adams had made overtures to them, saying, if Mr. Clay and his friends, would unite in aid of the election of Mr. Adams, Mr. Clay should be Secretary of State: that the friends of Mr. Adams were urging as a reason to induce the friends of Mr. Clay to accede to their proposition, that if I was elected President, Mr. Adams would be continued Secretary of State, (inuendo, there would be no room for Kentucky.) That the friends of Mr. Clay stated, the West did not wish to separate from the West, and if I would say, or permit any of my confidential friends to say, that in case I was elected President, Mr. Adams should not be continued Secretary of State, by a complete union of Mr. Clay and his friends, they would put an end to the Presidential contest in one hour: and he was of opinion it was right to fight such intriguers with their own weapons. To which, in substance I replied, that in politics, as in every thing else, my guide was principle, and contrary to

the expressed and unbiassed will of the people, or their constituted agents, I never would step into the presidential chair, and requested him to say to Mr. Clay and his friends. (for I did suppose he came from Mr. Clay, although he used the terms Mr. Clay's friends.) that before I would reach the Presidential chair by such means of bargain and corruption, I would see the earth open and swallow both Mr. Clay and his friends, and myself with him. If they had not confidence in me to believe if I was elected, that I would call to my aid in the cabinet, men of the first virtue, talents, and integrity, not to vote for me. The second day after this communication and reply, it was announced in the newspapers that Mr. Clay had come out openly and avowedly in favor of Mr. Adams. It may be proper to observe, that in the supposition that Mr. Clay was privy to the proposition stated, I may have done injustice to him; if so, the gentleman informing me can explain."

Mr. Clay, having in a public address, denied that this allegation was founded in truth. Gen. Jackson, on the 18th of July, also published an address, in which he named Mr. JAMES BUCHANAN, as the member of Congress, who made to him the proposition of bargain. That address contains this paragraph:

"One further remark and I am done, with a hope that, on this subject, I may not be under the necessity of again appearing in the newspapers. In saying what I have, all the circumstances considered, I have felt it was due to myself and to the public. My wish would have been to avoid having any thing to say or to do in this matter, from an apprehension well conceived, that persons will not be wanting who may charge whatever is done to a desire to affect others and benefit myself. My own feelings, though, are of higher importance and value to me, than the opinion of those who impose censure where it is believed not to be deserved. I have been actuated by no such design, nor governed by any such considerations. *The origin, the beginning of this matter was at my own house and fireside, where surely a freeman may be permitted to speak on public topics without having ascribed to him improper designs. I have not gone into the highways and the market places to proclaim my opinions, and in this I feel that I have differed from some, who, even at public dinner tables, have not scrupled to consider me as a legitimate subject of a speech, and the entertainment of the company.* And yet for this, who has heard me complain. No one. Trusting to the justice of an intelligent people, I have been content to rely for security on their decision, against the countless assaults and slanders which are sought so repeatedly to be palmed upon them, without seeking to present myself in my own defence; and still less, to become the "responsible accuser" of Mr. Clay or any other person."

Gen. Jackson having made Mr. Buchanan the author of his charge, that gentleman appeared before the public. His version of the conversation DID NOT correspond with that given by the General. The reader shall judge for himself. Mr. Buchanan says:

"A short time after this conversation, on the 30th December, 1824, (I am enabled to fix the time not only from my own recollection, but from letters which I wrote on that day, on the day following, and on the 2d January, 1825) I called upon General Jackson. After the company had left him by which I found him surrounded, he asked me to take a walk with him; and whilst we were walking together upon the street, I introduced the subject. I told him I wished to ask him a question in relation to the Presidential election: that I knew he was unwilling to converse upon the subject: that therefore, if he deemed the question improper, he might refuse to give it an answer.—That my only motive in asking it, was friendship for him, and I trusted he would excuse me for thus introducing a subject about which I knew he wished to be silent.

"His reply was complimentary to myself, and accompanied with a request that I should proceed. I then

stated to him that there was a report in circulation that he had determined he would appoint Mr. Adams Secretary of state, in case he were elected President; and that I wished to ascertain from him, whether he had ever intimated such an intention. That he must at once perceive how injurious to his election such a report might be; that no doubt there were several able and ambitious men in the country, among whom I thought Mr. Clay might be included, who were aspiring to that office; and if it were believed he had already determined to appoint his *chief competitor*, it might have a most unhappy effect upon their exertions, and those of their friends. That unless he had so determined, I thought this report should be promptly contradicted under his own authority.

"I mentioned, that it had already probably done him some injury, and proceeded to relate to him the substance of the conversation which I had held with Mr. Markley. I do not remember whether I mentioned his name, or merely described him as a friend of Mr. Clay.

"After I had finished, the General declared he had not the least objection to answer my question; that he thought well of Mr. Adams, but had never said or intimated that he would, or would not appoint him Secretary of State. That those things were secrets he would keep to himself—he would conceal them from the very hairs of his head. That if he believed his right hand then knew what his left would do on the subject of appointments to office, he would cut it off and cast it into the fire. That if he should ever be elected President, it would be without solicitation and without intrigue on his part—that he would then go into office perfectly free and unfettered, and would be left at perfect liberty to fill the offices of Government with the men whom at the time he believed to be the ablest and best in the country."

Here is no account of the pompous message to be borne to Mr. Clay, to beg "*bargain and corruption*," and "*what was going to suit both Mr. Clay and himself*." And Mr. Buchanan expressly denies acting in the character of a friend of Mr. Clay, or approaching Gen. Jackson as coming from Mr. Clay's friends. This is his language:

"I called upon General Jackson on the occasion which I have mentioned, solely as his friend upon my individual responsibility, and not as the agent of Mr. Clay or any other person. I never have been a political friend of Mr. Clay since he became a candidate for the office of President, as you very well know. Until I saw General Jackson's letter to Mr. Beverley of the 5th ult. and at the same time was informed by a letter from the editor of the United States Telegraph, that I was the person to whom he alluded, the conception never once entered my mind, that he deemed me to have been the agent of Mr. Clay, or of his friends, or that I had intended to propose to him terms of any kind from them, or that I could have supposed me to be capable of expressing the opinion that it was right to fight such intriguers with their own weapons."

Thus it appears, that Gen. Jackson had no authority for making the assertion which he did make, against the character of Mr. Clay. In his public address he attempted to palliate that slander, by alleging, that "THE ORIGIN, THE BEGINNING" *was at his own house and fireside*, and by asserting that he had not gone "INTO THE HIGHWAYS AND MARKET PLACES TO PROCLAIM HIS OPINIONS." That these vaunting declarations were untrue is now rendered positively certain, by the testimony of numerous individuals. This testimony has been recently made public, by Mr. Clay, and we give the material parts of it, as stated by each witness.

Mr. William Semple, a respectable citizen of Washington county, Pennsylvania, states as follows:

"On Tuesday, the 2d day of March, 1825, when Gen. Jackson was on his way from Washington city, to his residence in Tennessee, he, with a number of the citizens of Washington, Pennsylvania, and of the county, were in the

public house of Mr. Chambers, in the town of West Alexandria. Mr. Edward McGlaughlin, a citizen of Donegal township, Washington county, Pennsylvania, called at the public house for the special purpose of seeing Gen. Jackson. Mr. E. McLaughlin was introduced to the General; and after the common salutation of shaking hands, Mr. McLaughlin said, "Well General, we did all we could for you here, but the rascals at Washington cheated you out of it." To this expression, Gen. Jackson made the following reply:—"Indeed my old friend, there was *cheating*, and *corruption*, and *bribery* too.—The Editors of the National Intelligencer were *bribed* to suppress the publication of honest George Kremer's letter."

The Rev. Andrew Wylie, President of Jefferson College, and a highly respectable clergyman of the Presbyterian church, states a conversation with Gen. Jackson, on his return from Congress, in March, 1825, of which the subjoined is a part, himself described as A., and Gen. Jackson as B.

"A. It is more honorable, however, General, to lose than to win in such a contest, as that lately concluded at the Federal City, if, indeed, things were managed as has been reported.

B. And who can doubt it?

A. Why, Gen. one would hardly suppose, that such men as J. Q. Adams and H. Clay, would in the face of the nation, engage in such a transaction.

B. But let any man in his senses, take a view of the circumstances—let him compare, for instance, the prediction of honest George Kremer with its accomplishment.

A. But, were not the talents and local situation of Mr. Clay sufficient to justify the confident expectation of his appointment? There is, however, another circumstance, which, if true, will settle the point.

B. What is that?

A. The proposition that is said to have been made to *you*—was that a fact?

B. Yes, sir, such a proposition was made. I said to the bearer—Go, tell Mr. Clay, tell Mr. Adams, that if I go into that chair, I go with clean hands and a pure heart, and that I'd rather see *them*, together with myself, engulphed to the earth's centre, than to compass it by such means. The very next day, (or shortly after, which of the expressions it is not now recollected,) Mr. Clay and his friends declared for Mr. Adams."

John Keel, of Bowling Green Kentucky, states as follows:

"I was present at the Washington Hall, on the evening after Gen. Jackson's arrival there, when on his way from Washington, in 1825; and heard him conversing freely respecting Mr. Adams, Mr. Clay, and the Presidential election, in which conversation I heard Gen. Jackson say, that he would not have the office of President of the U. States, if he had to obtain it by bargain, corruption, and intrigue, as Mr. Adams had done. This was the first time I had ever heard the celebrated bargain and intrigue mentioned, which has since made so much noise throughout the United States."

Mr. Cuthbert T. Jones of the same place, confirms this statement:

"I think it was some time in the month of April, 1825, that Gen. Jackson on his return from the city with his family, put up at the Washington Hall Tavern, in this place, and remained until the next day after breakfast. In the course of the afternoon of the day of his arrival, many citizens of this place called to see him; I then lived at the Washington Hall Tavern. He appeared to converse freely with the company who were there, on the subject of the Presidential election. I heard him repeatedly speaking of Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay; and in speaking of the Presidential election, I understood him to say, that propositions had been made to him (Gen. Jackson) either by or through the friends of Mr. Clay—I do not now distinctly recollect whether it was by Mr. Clay's friends, or through Mr. Clay's friends—that if he, Gen. Jackson, would say he would

make Mr. Clay Secretary of State, that Mr. Clay and his friends would vote for him, and that they would settle the Presidential election in one hour, and I further understood Gen. Jackson, that he told the messenger, that he might go back and tell Mr. Clay, that he would rather see the earth open and swallow both himself, Mr. Clay, and their friends, up together, than it should be said he got into the Presidential chair by bargain or intrigue, on his part. This is substantially what I heard the General say, though it may not be the precise words he used, it substantially conveys what he said to the company on that point."

J. U. Warring, of Frankfort, Kentucky, speaking of the conversations at Bowling Green, in April, 1825, says in a letter to Mr. Clay:

"I was present at one of those conversations, when the General observed, in speaking of the late election, that "*The people had been cheated.*" "*That the corruptions and intrigues at Washington, had defeated the will of the people, in the election of their President.*" I waited until this branch of the conversation was closed, and finding no palliative, left the company, which was large, and composed of gentlemen and ladies of the first respectability, and at a public tavern; several followed, and his remarks were the subject of street conversation, in which I remarked that, as highly as I was disposed to think of the General, particularly for his military success, I could not approve of such a course—that if corruption existed, and that known to him, he surely should not have been the first to greet Mr. Adams upon his elevation; and that if you had participated, it was his duty to have exposed it, when your nomination was before the Senate."

In addition to these statements, we give that of Mr. Joseph T. Noble, a supporter of Gen. Jackson, and a citizen of Guernsey county, Ohio.

"Mr. Joseph T. Noble, a warm friend of the General, residing in this place, has frequently stated, that when Gen. Jackson was returning home in the spring after the Presidential election took place in the House of Representatives, he saw him at a tavern in the mountains, and heard him say, that Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay had obtained their offices by *bargain and corruption.*"

Last summer when Mr. Clay's publication, denying the allegations of Gen. Jackson's letter to Carter Beverly, first appeared, the Jacksonians of Cincinnati expressed the greatest confidence, that the General would make good his charge. Thomas Henderson, esq., one of the Jackson committee of correspondence, declared, that Gen. Jackson had made the same statement, in his hearing, at that place, in March, 1825, when on his return from Washington.

From the facts here stated, it appears that Gen. Jackson, on his road from Washington to Nashville, in March, 1825, was in the habit of promulgating this slander, in almost every place where he drew a company of those he considered his friends, around him.

1. In the mountains, at a tavern, in the presence of Mr. Noble, he asserted that, "*Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay had obtained their office by bargain and corruption.*"

2. At Washington Pennsylvania, he declared to Mr. Wylie, that "*such a proposition was made,*" and repeated his vaunting reply.

3. At West Alexandria, in a tavern, he proclaimed, "*there was cheating, corruption, and bribery too.*"

4. At Cincinnati, he made declarations to the same effect.

5. At Washington Hall Tavern in Bowling Green, he reiterated the charge at different times, and in the hearing of different persons, as is proved by the declaration of three different individuals.

In March, 1827, he repeated the accusation, at his own table, in the presence of a large company.

By thus commencing and continuing the charge, Gen. Jackson gave it so much credence, that Mr. Clay, at length found it necessary to repel it, and call for proof. Then Gen. Jack-

son, as if for the first time conscious of the temerity and injustice of his conduct, began to equivocate, and attempted to palliate his conduct. And like all weak, malicious, and tattling slanderers, his first resort was a departure from the truth. He says, by way of apology, "THE ORIGIN, THE BEGINNING OF THIS MATTER, WAS AT MY OWN FIRE-SIDE." "I HAVE NOT GONE INTO THE HIGHWAYS AND MARKET PLACES TO PROCLAIM MY OPINIONS." He had "PROCLAIMED" his OPINIONS," he had reiterated the accusation from the mountains in Pennsylvania, at divers places, to the Green river in Kentucky, and yet he made the apologetical declaration here cited. Was ever a slanderer detected in a more contemptible falsehood?

A man may disseminate a slander in the belief it is true. The strongly excited feelings, and irritating disappointment of Gen. Jackson, may have discolored every thing in his judgment. He might believe there was a bargain, and therefore, asserted it. So far, some apology might be made for his sense of veracity. His own account of the reply made to the alleged proposition, charity might attribute to the hyperbole of an heated and exasperated imagination, always accustomed to minister something to feed the cravings of an inordinate vanity. But none of these excuses can be made for the declaration that he had only spoke his opinions in this matter, at his own fireside, emphatically enforced by the assertion "*I have not gone into the highways and market places to proclaim my opinions.*"

It is impossible that Gen. Jackson could have forgotten how often, to how many persons, in how many public places, he had "*proclaimed his opinions.*" So that in making this declaration no escape is left him from the imputation of intentional departure from the truth.

I take no pleasure in speaking thus of Gen. Jackson. The more he is sunk in degradation, the deeper is the stain inflicted on our country: the greater her humiliation. Were he indeed, a "*military chieftain*" of splendid talents, and chivalrous magnanimity, though ignorant of the affairs of government, and but a novice in literary attainments, there would be some apology for the man worship bestowed upon him. But when we find him beset by most of the unholy passions, and indulging many of the most odious vices that deform humanity, it is an occasion for dressing ourselves in sackcloth and ashes, to see our countrymen run after him, and insist to confer upon him the highest possible distinction. His warmest eulogists are defied to make a plausible excuse, for his departure from veracity, as established by the documents submitted in this article.

ATTACK ON SAMUEL JACKSON.

There are none, amongst the supporters of General Jackson for the Presidency, who have done him more mischief, than certain busy spirits here in Cincinnati. Through their officious agency investigations have been coerced which have resulted equally unfortunately for the General himself, and for those who have been made witnesses and apologists for him. It was through the interference of these men, that the white-washing committee, at Nashville, attempted to white-wash his matrimonial adventures, in doing which they made manifest the whole case in its most deformed features. And, at the same time, by their suppressions of some facts, and discolorations of others, brought their own integrity of assertion into strong discredit. From recent publications, it appears that some of the same officious gentlemen, have taken upon themselves to make enquiries with respect to the attack on Samuel Jackson, and have elicited answers, from two separate individuals, written at different times and without concert, and published also without concert, in different papers in this city. The facts stated by these two white-washing witnesses, are in singular discordance with each other.

The statement first published is that of "J. W. OVERTON." His letter is dated Nashville, June 7, 1828, and addressed to "*W. Dawson, Esqr.*" It transmits a copy of the record of the trial, which appears to have been held before *David Campbell*, JOHN OVERTON, & *Samuel Powell, Esqrs.*, Judges of the superior court, &c. In the letter, the writer says: "From the record it might be inferred that I possessed minute information of the circumstances of the case, this is not the fact, for my recollection only ena-

ble me to say that the defendant made out a complete justification." It would seem, from this, that the writer, notwithstanding the interpolated W, is the same Hunted John Overton, alias "*Judge Overton*," who figures at the head of the white-washing committee, & who stands conspicuous as the principal *certificate man* in the affair of Robards and his wife. Mr. Overton thus narrates the transaction:

"Samuel Jackson then lived in Nashville, on a street now called Market-street. General Jackson, in the ordinary pursuit of his business, was passing Samuel Jackson's door, walking with a cane which had a sword in it, not unusual even in these days, but much more so then, without having any cause to suspect that Sam. Jackson had any intention of making an attack on him. *So it was, that as the General passed the door, Sam. Jackson, who was within, and without any* PREVIOUS INTIMATION, *threw a large rock at the head of the General, which, if it had struck him as intended, from its size and form, must have put an end to his existence.* Upon this large stone or rock being discharged without effect, Sam. Jackson instantly stooped down to pick up another, always at hand in this city of rocks, and in the attitude of throwing this second stone, the General made a thrust at or towards him, with his drawn sword, which he had scarcely time to extract from his cane. *The cane pierced a loose coat that Sam. Jackson had on,* BUT NOT HIS FLESH, which caused him to drop his rock and close in with the General, who threw away the sword and cane, and a violent scuffle ensued, which, however, was soon put an end to by the by-standers; all that was done, was in an instant, except the prosecutor, from which Sam. Jackson, the prosecutor, derived no credit. Felix Grundy, Esq. of Nashville, was one of the counsel, and no doubt recollects all the circumstances particularly."

Felix Grundy, who is here referred to, is the same Felix Grundy, who has also made some figure as a *certificate man* for Gen. Jackson, in respect to the General's accusation of perjury against the Legislature of Tennessee. Mr. Grundy, as early as 23d of May, 1828, had made his statement, addressed in the form of a letter to Mr. Daniel Graham, Secretary of State.

JOHN R. LYELL, Esq. of this city, upon a recent visit to Nashville, obtained a copy of Mr. *Grundy's* statement, and forwarded it to the National Republican for publication. Mr. Grundy states the matter thus:

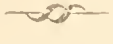
"It was proved by some of them, who were understood to be respectable and impartial, that *the parties commenced an animated and warm conversation in the street, in Nashville*—that the first personal violence offered by either was that of Samuel Jackson throwing a stone, with great violence at General Jackson; that while he was in the act of throwing another, *General Jackson drew a spear from his cane, and* WOUNDED HIM IN THE SIDE. The weight of the impartial testimony made the above state of the case; and I well remember the counsel for General Jackson put his defence entirely upon the ground of the justifiable necessary course of his conduct, growing out of the violent and dangerous attack made on him by a man of spirit and superior bodily powers.—On that ground he was acquitted by a very intelligent jury."

The reader must observe that these two stories do not at all correspond in their principal facts. According to Overton's story, there was no previous altercation, and Gen. Jackson had no "*cause to suspect that Samuel Jackson had any intention of making an attack upon him.*"—But when the General passed the door, S. Jackson, who was UNSEEN, *and without any previous intimation, threw a large rock,*" &c. This statement is contradicted by Felix Grundy, who says, "*the parties commenced an animated and warm conversation in the street.*" If this be so, Andrew Jackson must have "SEEN" Samuel Jackson, and must have "SEEN" enough to give "*cause to suspect*" the attack. Both the witnesses cannot speak the truth.

Again. Overton says "*the cane pierced a loose coat that Samuel Jackson had on, BUT NOT HIS FLESH.*" Felix Grundy says, "*General Jackson drew a SPEAR from his cane, and* WOUNDED HIM IN THE SIDE." Here is another flat contradiction. Overton says "the CANE pierced a loose coat, BUT NOT HIS FLESH." Grundy says General Jackson "*drew a* SPEAR and WOUNDED HIM IN THE SIDE." According to one, a CANE only was used, no FLESH *wound* ed: according to the other, a SPEAR was used and a WOUND *inflicted*. Now what is the testimony of these two contradictory witnesses worth? If Overton speak the truth, Grundy does not. If Grundy speak the truth, Overton does not. One thing is certain, Gen. Jackson was indicted for an assault, with intent to kill. If Overton tells the truth, there never was a more unwarranted prosecution: If Grundy tells the truth, there was good ground for investigation, and the question of justification involved much nicety of both fact and law. Overton's statement is as incredible as many of his relations about the Robards affair; and, if he be not now in his dotage, he must be one of the most reckless contemners of truth that has ever sustained a decent character. Grundy's statement is a consistent and probable one. But it is the statement of one side only, and of the lawyer, the friend, and the partizan of that side.

These pair of statements are brought out by our Cincinnati Hermites, to settle for ever the Samuel Jackson case in favor of the Chief.—They are in flat contradiction to each other, with respect to the very same transaction. We ask again, what is such testimony worth? The following extract, from a work of established credit, may enable honest people to answer the question.

"Then said Daniel unto them, Put these two aside one far from another, and I will examine them. So when they were put asunder one from another, he called one of them, and said unto him, O thou art waxen old in wickedness, now thy sins which thou hast committed aforetime are come *to light*. For thou hast pronounced false judgement, and hast condemned the innocent, and hast let the guilty go free; albeit the Lord saith, The innocent and righteous shalt thou not slay. Now then, if thou hast seen her, tell me, Under what tree thou sawest them accompanying together? Who answered, Under the mastick tree. And Daniel said, Very well; thou hast lied against thine own head; for even now the angel of God hath received the sentence of God to cut thee in two. So he put him aside, and commanded them to bring the other, and said unto him, O thou seed of Chanaan, and not of Juda, beauty hath deceived thee, and lust hath perverted thy heart. Thus have ye dealt with the daughters of Israel, and they for fear accompanied with you: but the daughter of Juda would not abide your wickedness. Now therefore tell me, Under what tree didst thou take them accompanying together? Who answered, Under a holm tree. Then said Daniel unto him, Well; thou hast also lied against thine own head: for the angel of God watteth with the sword to cut thee in two, that he may destroy you. With that all the assembly cried out with a loud voice, and praised God, who saveth them that trust in him. And they arose against the two elders, for Daniel had convicted them of false witness by their own mouth."



SATAN QUOTING SCRIPTURE.

It will be recollected, that General Jackson charged the KENTUCKY troops with *ingloriously flying* before the enemy on the eighth of January. Afterwards, a court of enquiry was held, and the troops *acquitted* of cowardice. The General acquiesced in the acquittal, but still adhered to the charge, and gave the following as a reason why the court was disposed to be lenient:

"The danger had passed, and the joy attendant on success, had induced a feeling in EVERY BREAST, (from the influence of which *the court could not have been exempt*) to bury and excuse every thing that might tend to lessen the general joy, or tarnish the American character!!"

On the 21st of January, 1815, the very day of his return to New-Orleans, in the midst of joy and festivity, ☞JACKSON *signed the order* which CONSIGNED SIX OF HIS FELLOW CITIZENS TO AN INGLORIOUS AND IGNOMINIOUS DEATH!!☜ Seven days afterwards, he signed a similar order for the EXECUTION OF ☞TWELVE REGULAR SOLDIERS CONDEMNED AT NASHVILLE. Thus we see he could *talk* of general joy, while he *felt* like a fiend. He knew what was right, and what had softened the hearts of others, but it had no influence upon himself.

I think it was Marat, who for some slight offience, dropped a small spaniel from his chamber window on to the iron pickets below. While the animal was writhing upon the points in the greatest agony, the monster looked out and called to it in the most soothing terms. The poor thing even manifested its attachment, and a willingness to forgive the injury. But its brutal master was calling to it, in *mere mockery*, and suffered it to expire without the least feeling of inquietude. This is recorded as an instance of most exquisite cruelty; but how much short does it fall of Jackson's conduct towards the six militia men? The great battle of the eighth had been fought—the war was ended.—nought but the sound of joy and thanksgiving was to be heard, and yet the General, with these words of peace in his mouth, could find it in his heart to sign the warrant which sent SIX OF HIS FELLOW SOLDIERS UNTIMELY GRAVES!! God knows whether he ever read the proceedings of the court: if he did, he is still the greater monster; for in them, he could not but have seen, that the men, however guilty they might be in point of marshal law, were nevertheless deluded by a mistaken notion of their rights. They had returned voluntarily to duty, and had a right to expect forgiveness, and pardon. The General, I say, would *talk* of burying and excusing all acts calculated to lessen the general joy, but at the same time he could prepare the way for mourning and lamentation. There was no joy at Mobile; there was no revelry nor mirth there. A settled gloom pervaded the soldiery, while the convicts exchanged wild salutations, and put up fervent prayers to heaven, for fathers, mothers, and orphan children. Let it be remembered, ☞"*the danger had passed—the joy attendant on success, had induced a feeling in* EVERY BREAST *to bury and excuse every thing that might tend to lessen the general joy, &c.*

TARNISH THE AMERICAN CHARACTER." ☞ Let it be remembered that these were the words of Gen. Jackson, and while professing to be under their influence, he sent to their *final account*, ☞ SIX MEN, *for no other crime, than* MISTAKING THEIR RIGHTS!!

The fact in relation to the twelve regulars noticed in the above article, is fully established by the subjoined extract from the General Order. What a thirst for blood must have been felt by General Jackson, who thus, in the short space of seven DAYS, could order the execution of EIGHTEEN of his fellow citizens, without enquiry into any of their cases.

["Extract from the General Order, dated, 'Adjutant General's Office, New Orleans, January 28th, 1814. Head Quarters, 7th Military District,' on the proceedings of the 'General Court Martial, held at Nashville, on the 19th October, 1814, and continued by adjournment till the 29th of November, 1814.']

"Was also tried the following named men, soldiers of the army of the United States, severally charged with [illegible]sertion," viz: Richard Wall, of [illegible] Regiment; Jacob Perregin, of [illegible] Regiment; both of Captain Will[illegible], Martin's company; John Jones, of the 25th Regiment of Infantry; William Myers, of Captain Humphreys' company of Artillery; Jacob King, of Captain Reed's company, said corps; Benjamin Harris, of the 44th Infantry; John Young, of the 39th Infantry; Nathaniel Chester, of the corps of Artillery; Drury Packett, of the 24th Infantry; Wyat Graaff, of the 39th Infantry; Joseph Muckelroy, of the 24th Infantry; and James McBride, of the 21 Rifle Regiment; they severally pleaded Not Guilty, except Jacob King, who pleaded Guilty. The Court, after the examination of testimony on each of the cases, and deliberation had thereon, pronounce, on each and every one of them, the sentence of "Death by shooting." The Major General approves the sentence passed on the above named soldiers of the Army of the United States, and orders the same to be carried into full effect, four days after the promulgation of this order, at the place or post, where they may be, under the direction of the senior officer present."

☞ Many and very great vexations have been encountered in the circulation of this work, especially toward the south west. The numbers have been forwarded a first, second, and third time, and we still receive advices that they are not received. We have made no complaints, because we know that these disappointments are necessarily incident to every work of the kind.

We make no general complaint against the Post Office, although we know that many of the Post Masters are not very friendly to the diffusion of the doctrines which the work contains. Yet we do not suspect them of attempting to restrict its circulation by unfair means. It is of considerable bulk, and is distributed in great numbers. It must, we know, frequently encumber the mail, and, occasionally, the weight of the packages have a tendency to rub them to pieces. So long as we had on hand, a supply of copies, we have continued to send them again, where there was complaint of failure. But our supply is nearly exhausted, and however much we regret it, our friends must bear the loss with us.—We request all Post Masters, where they find the work loose in the mail, to return it to us. We may thus be enabled to furnish numbers where they fail.

SUBSCRIBERS.—Those subscribers who have not paid their subscription, are respectfully requested to remit it. The work is put at a price that barely covers the expenses of paper and printing; and we cannot therefore, afford to lose any part of the subscription. The arrearages are not numerous, but their discharge is indispensible to a final settlement with the printers.

TRUTH'S ADVOCATE

AND

MONTHLY ANTI-JACKSON EXPOSITOR.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, AUGUST, 1828.

[The subjoined article is copied from the Ohio State Journal, of December, 1825. The reader is requested to give it an attentive perusal, and a serious consideration. When published in 1825, it was considered by many, to be written in a tone entirely too strong. Subsequent events have proved its justice. The exposures it makes, ought now to be generally circulated. They serve to show the real character of Gen. Jackson.]

THE PRESIDENCY IN 1828.

The Legislature of Tennessee have again proclaimed General Jackson a candidate for the Presidency. The time and the manner, are most extraordinary, and lead necessarily, to the conclusion, that both were matter of concert between the General and his Prætorian cohorts. The objects are not to be mistaken; to get up an exhibition in which the Gen. should figure as the principal character; to announce officially, that the re-election of Mr. Adams is to be opposed; and to close the door against all discussion, as to who shall be the opposing candidate, are plainly the three great purposes of the recent farce at Murfreesboro'. In this farce, the General has come out a voluntary actor. He has himself cast the torch of political discord publicly and without reserve. His conduct and his pretensions, are thus, by his own act, made proper subjects of animadversion. He has exposed himself to the most rigid scrutiny, and has no right to complain of any severity of remark to which he may be subjected.

There is not now, there never was, in this nation, any man who arrogated to himself so much as General Jackson; I do not recollect an instance in history, of the same kind of pretension being treated with equal forbearance. He claims to be a patriot of the sternest character, of the purest principle, disdaining, above all things, the arts of the demagogue, never courting public office, and resolute never to accept of any "situation or place, where," in his own language, "to compromit any of the essentials recognized by the *spirit* and *design* of the constitution, or by the principles of our free government, it shall constitute a condition." Yet with all these pretensions, it is certain, that no man ever aspired to the office of President, who has practised so much popular trick, who has so boldly assailed not only the *spirit* and *design*, but the very letter of the constitution, as General Jackson.

It was his good fortune to command an army in the late war, that rendered a signal service to the nation. Success gave him reputation, and although he greatly tarnished his laurels upon the spot, his countrymen willingly forgave him, and sought to identify his character with their own glory. They were indisposed to scrutinize too closely his real pretensions, lest they should be compelled to abandon the high estimate they wished to make of him.—Hence, animadversion was discountenanced, and all that contributed to the fame of General Jackson, was taken upon trust. When, in 1822, he was announced by the Legislature of Tennessee, a candidate for the Presidency, no sensible man in the nation, regarded it as any thing but a passing compliment:—And when the nomination assumed a serious character, and was seriously pressed, good men were still willing to endure much, rather than disturb the visions of a vain old man, or expose to the world, as weak and unworthy, him whom they had in a spirit of national vanity, exalted as a patriot and a hero. Thus he passed through the election canvass in a great measure untouched. The pamphlet of Jesse Benton, fell dead-born from the press, and none found any encouragement to expose him. His advocates scrupled not to drag before the public the individual and domestic concerns of his competitors, even the private charities of Mr. Adams, administered through

the interference of his amiable lady, were converted into crimes, and blazoned to the nation, in the Jackson prints, without delicacy or feeling.—The domestic concerns of General Jackson were respected, although they involved a circumstance to which no patriot, no man of honest pride, no man of correct and just conceptions, could be indifferent. In this forbearance, General Jackson seems to have found nothing but aliment for his own vanity.

He received the greatest number of electoral votes, and therefore, he conceives, that in the "*spirit* and *design* of the constitution, and by the *principle of our free government*," he ought to have been President. His failure is a matter of grievous complaint. And he does not hesitate to hold out to the world, that we have a President constitutionally elected, contrary to the spirit and design of the constitution, and against the principles of our free government. A high and lofty spirit, a pure and liberal one, would look something at the means by which his votes were obtained. He would ask, if they were the free will offering of the understanding, preferring him for his superior qualifications.—Does he not know that he is indebted for the vote of Pennsylvania, to the federalists, who supported him, because they thought it even an instrument wherewithal they could do something for themselves? Did not the friends of Mr. Crawford unite with his own, to give him New Jersey, to weaken Mr. Adams? Did he not obtain the vote of North Carolina by the aid of those who preferred Mr. Adams, to prejudice Mr. Crawford? Was not his union with Mr. Calhoun, the price paid for the vote of South Carolina? It is worse than childish, to consider a vote thus obtained, as the unbiassed voice of the people, or the candidate supported by such a variety of intriguing manœuvres, their favorite.

Immediately upon the election of Mr. Adams, a virulent spirit of discontent was exhibited. Swartwout and O'Hanlon, *par nobile fratum*, proposed to commence operations by giving the General a dinner. He declined it in all the mild dignity of the philosopher and patriot. He appeared in the same character at the inauguration of Mr. Adams, and a strong impression was made in his favor. Happily for the nation, it was soon removed. He had disclosed to a faithless correspondent, the true state of his feelings. The publication of the Swartwout letter, furnished full proof that his apparent resignation, philosophy and patriotism, was hollow hearted cant, and deep hypocrisy. Upon its appearance he threw off the mask he had assumed, and united with his cohorts in their cry of corruption, and their attack upon the constitution. His recent movements deserve particular animadversion.

The Legislature of Tennessee, by joint resolution of both houses, entered on their Journals, in all the formality of a legislative act, nominate him a candidate for the Presidency, information is given to him, and he is invited to repair to the seat of government, that the important public measure may be officially communicated to him personally, in the personal presence of both houses, and his acceptance received. He attends accordingly, with Mrs. Jackson in his train. He is introduced in all the pomp of ridiculous parade. He is addressed by the Speaker of both houses, in a strain of fulsome eulogy, without parallel in the annals of sycophancy, and replies with a self complaisant egotism that Buonaparte never assumed. There is nothing in history to equal it, except making a Consul, by the Roman Senate, of the Empero Caligula's horse. A scene somewhat similar, is thus represented by the inimitable Shakespeare.

> CASCA. You pulled me by the cloak: Would you speak with me?
>
> BRU. Ay, Casca tell us what has chanced to-day, that Cæsar looks so sad?
>
> CASCA. Why, you were with him, were you not?
>
> BRU. I should not then ask Casca what had chanced.
>
> CASCA. Why there was a crown offered him: and being offered him, he put it by with the back of his hand, thus; and then the people fell a shouting.
>
> BRU. What was the second noise for?
>
> CASCA. Why, for that too.
>
> BRU. They shouted thrice—what was the last cry for?

CAS. Why, for that too.

BRU. Was the crown offered him thrice?

CAS. Ay, marry, was it, and he put it by thrice, every time gentler than the other; and at every putting by, mine honest neighbours shouted.

CASSIUS. Who offered him the crown?

CAS. Why, Antony.

BRU. Tell us the manner of it gentle Casca.

CAS. I can as well be hanged as tell the manner of it; it was mere foolery I did not mark it. I saw Mark Antony offer him a crown; yet 'twas not a crown neither, 'twas one of these coronets;—and as I told you he put it by once; but for all that, to my thinking, he would fain have had it. Then he offered it to him again: then he put it by again; but to my thinking, was very loath to lay his fingers off it. And then he offered it a third time; he put it the third time by: and still, as he refused it, the rabblement hooted, and clapped their chopped hands, and threw up their sweaty night caps, and uttered such a deal of stinking breath, because Cæsar refused the crown, that it had almost choked Cæsar; for he swooned and fell down. And for mine own part, I durst not laugh, for fear of opening my lips and receiving the bad air.

CASSIUS. But soft, I pray you; What! did Cæsar swoon?

CAS. He fell down in the market place, and foamed at the mouth and was speechless.

BRU. 'Tis very like, he hath the falling sickness.

CASSIUS. No Cæsar hath it not; but you and I, and honest Casca, we've the falling sickness.

CAS. I know not what you mean by that; but I am sure Cæsar fell down. If the rag-tag people did not clap him and hiss him, according as he pleased and displeased them, as they used to do the players in the theatre, I'm no true man.

BRU. What said he, when he came to himself?

CAS. Marry, before he fell down, when he perceived the common herd was glad he refused the crown, he plucked me ope his doublet, and offered them his throat to cut—and so he fell. When he came to himself again, he said if he had done or said any thing amiss, he desired their worships to think it was his infirmity.—Three or four wenches where I stood, cried, Alas! good soul! and forgave him with all their hearts; but there's no heed to be taken of them, if Cæsar had stabbed their mothers they would have done no less.

BRU. And after that came he thus sad away?

CAS. Ay.

CASSIUS. Did Cicero say any thing?

CAS. Ay, he spoke Greek.

CASSIUS. To what effect?

CAS. Nay, an I tell you that, I'll ne'er look you i'the face again. But those that understood him, smiled at one another, and shook their heads; but for mine own part, it was Greek to me. I could tell you more news too: Marcellus and Flavius, for pulling scarfs off Cæsar's images, are put to silence. Fare you well.—There was more foolery yet, if I could remember it.

In the Murfreesborough farce, there is "more foolery" than I have yet described. After responding and echoing back the coarse flattery with which the speakers had bedaubed him, the General, as a final denouement to the exhibition, handed in his resignation of his seat in the Senate of the United States. And this document, as pregnant with folly as the Swartwout letter, is, like that letter, trumpeted forth as further evidence "of the virtue, the intelligence, and the patriotism of that valuable citizen!" A little dissection will show how well it deserves that character.

The General commences by the complimentary assertion to himself, that when he was appointed two years ago, it was "*unsolicited*," and takes occasion to grasp another compliment, by adding, that it was "*accepted*" in conformity with his principle, neither to seek or decline office. There are few men, who, in the same short space, and with the same easy confidence, could claim for themselves so much commendation. Goldsmith says of Garrick—

"Of praise a mere glutton, he swallowed what came,
And the puff of a dunce, he mistook it for fame,
Till his relish grown callous, almost to disease,
Who peppered the highest, was surest to please."

In this particular, the General seems to have been peppered by others, and to have peppered himself until he has lost every feeling of modesty. I have heard of a Senator in Congress, who when a brother Senator on the floor, commenced an eulogium upon him, at first looked up, then around him, then blushed, and finally sunk his face upon his desk in deep confusion. When afterwards asked what he thought of the compliments paid to him he replied with characteristic bluntness, "*they were rather thick.*" But nothing is too thick for Gen. Jackson.

The General proceeds—"Aware of the practice which had long prevailed, of selecting from each extreme of the State a person for the high and respectable station of Senator, *I felt regret* at being brought forward to disturb a system which had so long prevailed; yet, inasmuch as *the legislature, without any knowledge or understanding on my part, had called me to the situation*, it was impossible to withhold my assent; and accordingly, the appointment, was, tho' reluctantly accepted; not, however,

without it being *professed by my friends* that a longer term of service than one Congress would neither be required nor expected."

The General's memory was certainly at fault when he wrote this paragraph. It asserts his regret at disturbing the system of electing one Senator in East and one in West Tennessee; it asserts the fact, that the legislature, *without any knowledge or understanding on his part, had called him to the station*;" and it asserts the profession of his friends that he would neither be expected nor required to serve more than one Congress. There is incontestible testimony that the second of these assertions is not true; and there is strong reason to question the literal correctness of the other two. The following correspondence took place *before the election of General Jackson in* 1823.

MURFREESBOROUGH, Sept. 20, 1823.

Dear General—I am particularly requested, by many friends of yours, to enquire if you are willing to serve in the Senate of the U. States. The general wish here, is that you may assent to what your friends earnestly desire, and enter upon a service which, though at war with your individual interest, is yet one which it is hoped you will not decline. Indeed, looking to the declaration made by you to the committee of the state of Pennsylvania, that office should be neither sought for nor declined, a strong disposition was entertained to venture your name for the proposed appointment without inquiring of you aught about it; but considering that you are at a convenient distance, I have thought proper, at the desire of several of the members, to *propose it in confidence to you*. If you shall consent to let your name be used, it is probable that the three gentlemen who are at present before the legislature, for the appointment, will decline; if this however, should not be the case, even then, although some of the members have become pledged, *and although the sectional division of East Tennessee rights, may somewhat operate*, still I feel authorized to say, and entertain no doubt of the fact, that you will be supported by a large majority of the legislature. *All we want, is a belief that you will permit your name to be used.*

I am, with great respect,
Your most obedient,
ABRAM MAURY.

Gen. ANDREW JACKSON.

ANSWER.

HERMITAGE, Sept. 21, 1823.

Dear Sir:—Your letter of yesterday has reached me, stating it to be the desire of many members of the legislature, that my name may be proposed for the appointment of Senator to Congress. It is very true, as you remark, that I have not only said, but have, I believe, through life acted upon the principle, that office, in a republican government like ours, should not be solicited, nor yet when conferred, declined; still, I would suggest to my friends, whether they ought not to excuse me from accepting the appointment they have proposed. There are many better qualified to meet the fatigues of the journey than myself, *and on whose services, a reliance for a time to come, with a prospect of becoming better as they advance, might be safely reposed; whereas, from health impaired and advancing age, neither one nor the other could be expected from me.* And besides, it might be thought, nay, would be said, that my state had conferred it upon me, and that it had been sought for too, by me, with a view to other objects, and for other purposes which are at present pending before the nation; I have, therefore, earnestly to request my friends, and beg of you, not to press me to an acceptance of the appointment. *If appointed I could not decline*, and yet, in accepting it, I should do great violence to my wishes and to my feelings. The length of time I have passed in public service, authorizes me to make this request, which, with my friends, I trust, will be considered reasonable and proper.

With great regard, I am,
Very respectfully yours,
ANDREW JACKSON.

Major ABRAM MAURY,
Member of the House of Representatives.

These letters place it beyond all doubt, that the General was not called to the situation *without any knowledge or understanding on his part*, as he broadly asserts in his letter of resignation. In this particular he has asserted an untruth.

Major Maury, in his letter, mentions "*the sectional divisions of East Tennessee rights.*" The General says nothing about them in reply. His reasons against acceptance apply to his own gracious self; the rights of East Tennessee form no part of them. To have urged them then, might have given them some weight; they might have presented a more serious objection to his election than any relating to himself. These, his friends could not fail to see, were like Cæsar putting by the crown. He would fain have had it: he was loath to lay his finger off it. If *then*, he felt regret at disturbing the *right* of East Tennessee, it is strange it was not expressed among his other regrets.—His failure to make this expression, connected with the manifest untruth already detected, casts suspicion upon the assertion.

These letters tend to render questionable the assertion that his "friends *professed* that a longer term of service

than one Congress, would neither be required or expected." Nothing of this kind is here *professed*; and it must be remembered, that the letters were published, to prove to the world the manner in which General Jackson was brought forward, and the grounds upon which he was elected. If this *profession* of his friends was really made, and the fact suppressed, it reflects no credit upon them nor upon him. Besides this, the General in his letter, speaks of a reliance upon *services for a time to come, with a prospect of growing better as they advance*, and alleges, that, owing to *ill health* and *advanced age*, this cannot be expected of him. All this was superfluous and idle, had his friends "*professed*," and he understood, he was to serve for one Congress only.

But further; the General says, the service for one congress had been performed, and he was "*still pondering and in doubt whether exceptions to his resignation might not be taken.*" Exceptions by whom? His *friends* had "*professed*" that a longer term would not be "*required or expected.*" *They* surely could not *except*; and to whom else did the stern, the inflexible, the prompt, and fearless General Jackson feel himself accountable for holding or resigning his seat? Did he *fear* that his enemies might *except*? Or, was the alleged *professions* of his *friends* got up for the occasion? a mere invention to grace the Murfreesborough farce and give himself eclat before the nation? This, in my opinion, is the fact, and upon the evidence before me, I express it without reserve.

The General's "*pondering*" and "*doubts*" were suddenly terminated by the resolution of the Legislature nominating him a candidate for the Presidency. He knew of but one matter of *great national importance* likely to come before Congress; an amendment of the Constitution, in relation to the choice of a Chief Magistrate; a subject upon which he says, "*great interest with the people of the United States exists; and on which the security of our republican system may depend.*" He greatly doubted whether it might not be his duty to appear in the Senate and extend his "*feeble aid*" toward effecting this object: but, the nomination made, "doubt yielded to certainty," and he forthwith asked leave to resign.

"My name, he says, presented to the freemen of the United States, for the first office known to the Constitution, I could not, with any thing of approbation on my part, *consent either to urge, or to encourage a change*, which might wear the appearance of being induced from selfish considerations, from a desire to advance my own views." And again—"As from late events it might be inferred, that the prospects of your recommendation could be rendered probable, only by the people having the choice given to them direct, abundant room would be afforded to ascribe any exertions I might make to causes appertaining exclusively to myself." This mawkish affectation of delicacy, is just in character with Cæsar, when "*he plucked me ope his doublet, and offered them his throat to cut*," and it is calculated only to deceive such, as upon that occasion, cried, "*alas, good soul!*"

The General *professes* to shrink with intuitive sensitiveness from a possible imputation of *urging or encouraging* or making any *exertions* which might "*advance* his own views." And at the same time all men, with their eyes open, must perceive that the very matter in action, all that he is saying and all that he is doing are but *exertions* to *urge*, to *encourage*, to "*advance his own views.*" His parade of delicacy, in the situation where it is made, is even more ridiculous than the moral cant of Philosopher Square, when most ludicrously detected behind the arras in Molly Seagrim's apartment. The whole farce was got up to *advance* the General's views upon the Presidency, and to effect that object he engaged to play his part.—That the performance was a wretched one, affects his *capacity* not his *principle*.

Having declared that he could not consent to *urge* or to *encourage* the change in question lest it might wear the appearance of acting from selfish considerations, he proceeds, in the very next paragraph of his lettter to recommend and *urge* that very change.—"Permit me," he says, "to suggest to you some remarks upon the *proposed amendment of the Constitution of the Un.*

ted States." After making these suggestions, he adds, "upon this principle I venture freely to accord with you in the contemplated change proposed to the constitution: and indeed would go farther." How is this palpable violation of professions just uttered to be accounted for? Does General Jackson mean to advance the doctrine that a candidate for the Presidency, occupying no public station, may, without indelicacy, pursue any measures to advance his own views, and that a public officer should shrink with abhorrence from the same course? That Andrew Jackson, a private citizen in the midst of the Tennessee Legislature, may honorably do that, which Andrew Jackson a Senator in Congress, could not honorably do in the Senate chamber of the United States. Certainly no sane man can attempt such a distinction: and yet unless some such distinction can be made, General Jackson, in the same moment of time, proclaims a principle in theory and violates it in practice.

There is no possible method by which General Jackson could so effectually promote the proposed amendment as that which he has taken. His aid in the Senate would, indeed, be "*feeble.*" But by publicly recommending the amendment and casting out the suggestion that his election depends upon its being made, he rallies in its support all his adherents, and puts in early requisition all their means. His professions of disinterestedness and delicacy, in contrast with his conduct, deserve no other character than that of rank hypocrisy, the most common and meanest art of the demagogue. The disguise is but a thin one. Yet one equally gossamary has often served his turn. He who can cheat himself and others with the miserable sophism that a good citizen ought not to *decline*, but may at any time *resign* an office, may well be satisfied with very flimsy pretexts, for any conduct whatever.

The proposition to carry the election of President direct to the people, coming as it does from the Legislature of Tennessee, with the sanction of Gen. Jackson, must certainly startle such *real* politicians and statesmen of the country, as might feel disposed to countenance the General's pretensions. It subverts in repect to the office of President, the fundamental pillars of the constitution. It is the boldest step toward consolidation that has yet been taken; because it is utterly impracticable upon the present organization of the Government. And yet so great is the infatuation with which General Jackson pursues the office of President, he would attempt this measure, because it may be "*inferred*" that without it, his "*prospects*" of success cannot be "*rendered probable*;" for this, at last, is the only intelligible reading that can be given to the jargon he has suggested about it.

Indeed, the General seems to conceive that the Presidency was his birthright, of which, like Esau he has been deprived, and that every thing should yield before his efforts to regain it. Why is a candidate to be got up in 1828 to the exclusion of the present incumbent? Not because there is evidence that the public good will require it, but that General Jackson may be elected. Why should the Constitution be amended? That General Jackson may be President. Why does a fair constitutional election constitute "a dangerous precedent?" Because General Jackson was excluded. Why is the President reproached and the Secretary of State denounced? To aid the views of General Jackson. Why does General Jackson talk about "*corruption*," and sneer at "*conscientious sacrifices*," and "*precedents for the public good?*" Because he would make the impression that no man can act "*conscientiously*," and no "*precedent for the public good*," can be set, unless both one and the other contribute to further his views. Why does General Jackson so often repeat that he did not descend from independent ground and degrade the trust reposed in him by intriguing for the presidential chair? For the purpose of casting suspicion upon others and thus promoting his own prospects of obtaining that very chair. The presidential chair is at present the alpha and omega of General Jackson's whole life and conduct, and yet the weak old man would persuade the people that he never *seeks office!!*

This article is already to long: but

there is one other view of the proceedings at Murfreesborough which I cannot omit. Let it be conceded that upon account of the "dangerous precedent," or for other just cause, a respectable portion of the American people entertained the opinion that Mr. Adams ought not to be re-elected; that the public good required his exclusion, ought there not to be some consultation between the different sections of the country as to the person who should be named as a candidate in opposition? Can there be any reasonable hope of preventing the re-election of Mr. Adams if different candidates are brought out in different states? There is a distinguished citizen, who, together with his friends, at the recent election, gave to General Jackson a most hearty and efficient support. This gentleman's qualifications for the office of President, are admitted by all. His talents and his public usefulness are of the first order. If public principles called for an effort to exclude Mr. Adams, surely men of disinterested feelings and public spirit could not reject the claims of Dewitt Clinton. The Murfreesboro' nomination rejects them. I have no doubt one of its objects was to cast them into the shade to postpone them absolutely to those of General Jackson.—This alone gives character to the whole transaction and to the parties concerned in it. The public good was not considered. To gratify the personal ambition of General Jackson was the sole and single purpose.

WARREN.

JACKSON AND SWARTWOUT.

The following letter from General Jackson to Samuel Swartwout of New York, with the comments, is taken from the Cincinnati Gazette, of March, 1825. The letter was written soon after the election of Mr. Adams, and is a document which ought, for many reasons, to be preserved. Nor should the commentaries be lost; they are so appropriate, and so completely illustrate the spirit and meaning of the text, that both ought to go together.

The allegation from Jackson, that he never charged Mr. Clay with corruption, and that he had only spoken of the matter at his "*own fireside*," cannot be forgotten. We contend, that this declaration is hypocritical and false. We maintain, that the General has both directly and indirectly charged Mr. Clay with all that has been alleged against him, and that he was one of the FIRST to set the foul slander in motion. He hawked it about in steam boats and in taverns, in the country, by the way side, and in the cities; at home and abroad, both in speech and by letters. Unfortunately for the General, he has furnished the evidence of his own guilt. Out of his own mouth we convict him:—For, before he denied being Mr. Clay's accuser, he had written the letter to Swartwout, which for egotism, insinuation and unfounded charges, has scarcely been surpassed by the most profligate of the party, from that day to this.

General Jackson's Letter.

Washington City, Feb. 22, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR Yesterday I received your communication, adverting to the reasons and defence presented by Mr. Clay to Judge Brooke, why duty and reflection imposed upon him the necessity of standing in opposition to me, because of my being, as he is pleased to style me, "a military chieftain." I had seen the letter before, and when it first appeared, I did entertain the opinion that some notice of it might perhaps, be necessary—for the reason, that the expression seemed to convey with it, the appearance of personality, more than any thing else; and could the opinion be at all entertained, that it could meet the object, which was doubtless intended, to prejudice me in the estimation of my countrymen, I might yet consider some notice of it necessary—such a belief, however, I cannot entertain, without insulting the generous testimonial with which I have been honoured by ninety-nine electors of the people.

I am well aware, that this term "military chieftain," has, for some time past, been a cant phrase with Mr. Clay and certain of his friends: but the vote with which I have been honored by the people, is enough to satisfy me, that the prejudice which was thereby sought to be produced, has availed but little. This is sufficient for me—I entertain a deep and heartfelt gratitude to my country, for the confidence which she has manifested towards me

leaving to prejudiced minds, whatever they can make of the epithet "military chieftain."

It is for ingenuity greater than mine to conceive what idea was intended to be conveyed by the term. It is very true, that early in life even in the days of my boyhood, I contributed my mite to shake off the yoke of tyranny, and to build up the fabric of free Government. And when lately, our country was involved in war, bearing then the commission of Major General of militia in Tennessee, I made an appeal to the patriotic citizens of the west, when 3000 went with me into the field to support her Eagles. If this constitute me a "military chieftain," I am one. Aided by the patriotism of the western people, and an indulgent Providence, it was my good fortune to protect our frontier border from the savages, and successfully to defend an important and vulnerable point of our Union.—Our lives were risked, privations endured, and sacrifices made—and if Mr. Clay pleases, martial law declared—not with any view of personal aggrandizement, but for the preservation of all and every thing that was dear and valuable—the honor, the safety and glory of our country! Does this constitute the character of a "military chieftain?" And are all our brave men in war, who go forth to defend their rights and the rights of the country, to be termed "military chieftains," and denounced therefor? If so, the tendency of such a doctrine may be, to arrest the ardour of useful and brave men, in future times of need and peril; with me, it will make no difference, for my country at war, I would aid, assist, and defend her, let the consequences to myself, be what they might.

I have, as you very well know, been charged, by some of the designing politicians of this country, with taking bold and high-minded measures: but as they were not designed for any benefit to myself I should not, under similar circumstances, refrain from a course equally bold. That man, who, in times of difficulty and danger, shall halt at any course, necessary to maintain the rights, privileges, and independence of his country, is unsuited to authority. And if these opinions and sentiments shall entitle me to the name and character of a "military chieftain," I am content so to be considered—satisfied too, that Mr. Clay, if he pleases, shall give that as a reason, to the citizens of the west, why, in his opinion, I merited neither his own, nor their confidence.

Mr. Clay has never yet risked himself for his country. He has never sacrificed his repose, nor made an effort to repel an invading foe: of course, "his conscience" assured him, it was altogether wrong in any other man, to lead his countrymen to battle and victory. He who fights, and fights successfully, must, according to his standard, be held up as a "military chieftain." Even Washington, could he again appear among us, might be so considered, because he dared to be a virtuous and successful soldier—a correct man, and an honest statesman. It is only when overtaken by disaster and defeat, that any man is to be considered a safe politician and a correct statesman.

Defeat, might, to be sure, have brought with it one benefit, it might have enabled me to escape the notice and animadversions of Mr. Clay; but considering, that by an opposite result, my country has been somewhat benefited, I rather prefer it, even with the opprobium and censure which he seems disposed to extend towards me. To him thank God, I am in no wise responsible. There is a purer tribunal to which I would in preference refer myself. To the judgment of an enlightened, patriotic, and uncorrupted people. To that tribunal I would rather appeal, whence is derived whatever of reputation either he or I may possess. By a reference there, it will be ascertained that I did not solicit the office of President: it was the frank and flattering call of the freemen of this country, not mine, which placed my name before the nation. When they failed in their colleges to make a choice, no one beheld me seeking through art or management, to entice any representative in Congress, from a conscientious responsibility to his own, or the wishes of his constituents. No midnight taper burnt by me; no secret

conclaves were held, nor cabals entered into, to persuade any one to a violation of pledges given or of instructions received. By me no plans were concerted to impair the pure principles of our republican institutions, nor to prostrate that fundamental maxim, which maintains the supremacy of the people's will. On the contrary, having never in any manner, either before the people or Congress, interfered in the slightest degree, with the question, MY conscience stands void of offence, and will go quietly with me, regardless of the insinuations of those, who through management, may seek an influence not sanctioned by integrity and merit.

Demagogues, I am persuaded, have done more injury to the cause of freedom, and the rights of man, than ever did a military chieftain, and in our country, at least in times of peace, should be much more feared. I have seen something of this in my march through life; and have seen some men, too, making the boldest professions, who were more influenced by selfish views and considerations, than ever they were by the workings of an honest conscience.

I became a soldier for the good of my country: difficulties met me at every step, but I thank God, it was my good fortune to surmount them.

The war over, and peace restored, I retired to my farm to private life, where, but for the call I received to the Senate of the Union, I should have contentedly remained. I have never sought office or power, nor have I ever been willing to hold any post longer than I could be useful to my country, not myself, and I trust I never shall. If these things make me one, I am a "military chieftain."

I am, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant.
(Signed) ANDREW JACKSON.

To Samuel Swartwout, New York.

REMARKS.

The supporters of General Jackson regard the foregoing letter, as a superior production, breathing the purest patriotism, the most perfect devotion to the rights and interests of the country; as a *manly*, *temperate*, and convincing vindication of his own character. To this, I object nothing. It is perfectly consistent with their admiration of Mr. Kremer, and of the productions of Caleb Atwater. Every class of men have their peculiar tastes, and I have not now to learn, that the same matter is viewed in very different lights, as personal predilection or political association, may happen to affect us.

In my opinion, the letter is one which exhibits the true character of the writer. It evidences an unbounded egotism, a peevish and fretful impatience, which betrays a large share of vexation and disappointment; and it indulges in a strain of insinuation, which is unworthy of a cultivated and liberal mind.

It is no recommendation to the letter, that it is addressed to Samuel Swartwout. There is great truth in the maxim, that you may know a man by the company he keeps. And I cannot think that Samuel Swartwout is a man with whom an American patriot and statesman should be found in habits of close intimacy.

He is the same personage who, in the year 1806, carried the famous cypher letter from Burr to Wilkinson, and who, according to Wilkinson's affidavit, informed him that the New-Orleans territory would be revolutionized, that there would be some seizing at New Orleans; that they merely meant to borrow, and would return it; but that Burr and his 7000 men must equip themselves there. I repeat, it is no recommendation of the letter, that it is addressed to a person who once acted as an agent in plans like these—and who since has rendered no service to his country, by which the *indiscretion* can be obliterated.

The letter is meant as a comment upon one addressed by Mr. Clay to Judge Brooke. How different the association! Mr. Clay's correspondent, a finished scholar and accomplished gentlemen, an able Judge, universally respected and beloved, for a life of private and public usefulness—General Jackson's correspondent, a subordinate

agent in the conspiracy of Aaron Burr!

Mr. Clay objected to giving Jackson his vote for President, because his only pretensions were those of a *military chieftain*. By this suggestion, the great man is galled to the quick. He writhes in agony, and having no power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus, or send a military guard to seize Mr. Clay, he writes a peevish letter to Mr. Swartwout, vaunting himself as standing on the same ground with Washington, and casting on Mr. Clay, a tissue of insinuation in a kind of spirit which it is not necessary to define.

The term *military chieftain*, General Jackson says, has been for some time a "*cant phrase with Mr. Clay and certain of his friends*," and the General adds, it requires greater ingenuity than "*he possesses to discover what idea was intended to be conveyed by the term.*"

Is this assertion true? If the General does not know what idea was intended to be conveyed, why take offence? why carp at, or object to the term? It is my opinion, that the General clearly conceives, and well knows what idea was intended to be conveyed. He has never been distinguished as a jurist, a statesman, or a politician. He knows it. He knows, that in these particulars he is inferior to a thousand men in the United States, who have never been thought of for President.—He has been distinguished as the successful commander of an army. This success has given him a character in the country. It is upon account of this success, that he has been brought forward as a candidate—not by the intelligent and reflecting portion of the community, who select a man for office on account of his superior talents: but by that class who act upon impulses of feeling and passion; who, in all republican governments that have heretofore existed, have contributed to make a *military chieftain* an emperor or a king. This is the true point of the sarcasm. The General knows it, and feels it; and his affectation of ignorance, is alike discreditable to his judgment and his veracity.

The General affects to suppose, that he is denominated a "*military chieftain*," because, in the days of his boyhood, he "*contributed his mite to shake off the yoke of tyranny, and build up the fabric of free government.*"

It is obvious, that the occasion is sought to make a boast of this *mite* of service—as well as of the exploits of the last war. And in making this vaunt, the General adopts the wretched slang, which characterized his supporters during the recent canvass. I had hoped, that he would never be thus identified with them.

The General roundly asserts, that those who have charged him with taking *high handed measures* are "*designing politicians.*" Why are they so? The General does not pretend that the allegation against him, of taking "*bold and high-handed measures*, is unfounded in fact; on the contrary, he admits that he did take such measures. Does it comport with the feelings of a magnanimous, lofty, and liberal spirit, to assert that those who do not comprehend these "*high-handed measures*," are "*designing politicians.*" In the mouth of George Kremer, a suggestion of that nature is in perfect character.. And when the General himself makes it, it furnishes a strong proof, that he is of George Kremer the worthy compeer.

The apology made by the General for his "*bold and high-handed measures*," is of itself a BOLD one. Such measures were not taken "*with a view of personal aggrandizement;*" "*they were not designed for any benefit to himself.*" If a sordid ambition, or mean avarice, does not actuate a man's conduct, he may take "*bold and high-handed measures*," and deserve no censure. Such is the General's doctrine. The gratification of revenge, the indulgence of anger may be allowed. An abuse of power is quite harmless, if "personal aggrandizement," or *benefit of oneself*, do not occasion it. The true tyrant's code of ethics. But can any just and dispassionate man say that it is adapted to the freedom of the American citizen?

The General goes the whole length. "*That man who in times of difficulty and danger shall halt* AT ANY COURSE *necessary* to maintain the rights, principles, and independence of his country, is unsuited to authority." "*Halt* AT ANY

COURSE!" This is, I believe, the true *legitimate* doctrine of the *Holy Alliance*. They *halt at no course*, they conceive *necessary* to maintain their own authority.

When the Cossac Suwarrow, determined to storm the garrison of Ismael, he disarmed a body of his own soldiers and drove them into the ditch, to make a bridge over which to march the besieging forces to the attack. This was not halting at ANY COURSE *necessary* to ensure success. And the General's principle can lead to no other result. The man in authority, is to judge of the *necessity* and the *means*. He is to *halt at nothing*, provided he has no view of "*personal aggrandizement, or of private benefit.*" How admirably these sentiments do accord with those of Aaron Burr, and how appropriate are they when addressed to one of Burr's principal agents!!!

"Mr. Clay," the General asserts, "never yet *risked himself* for his country. He has *never sacrificed his repose* nor made an effort to repel an invading foe!" Upon this theory, no man does any thing for his country, who does not *risk* his miserable *carcase*, by exposing it to the shot of an enemy. *Repose* only can be sacrificed upon the tented field. What a gross conception is this, founded entirely upon the animal preponderance in man!

Did he risk nothing in advocating the declaration of war, that furnished the occasion in which the General distinguished himself? Did Mr. Clay make no sacrifice of repose when he stood forward in Congress, exposed to the attacks of Quincy, and Webster, and Grosvenor, and Hanson, of John Randolph and Daniel Sheffey? Was there no *risk* in maintaining a course of measures, condemned, nay reprobated by men like these! Could his pillow be that of undisturbed *repose*, who had daily to combat the intelligence, the argument, the sarcasm, of men whose powers, zeal and firmness, were almost unequalled? Did Mr. Clay not risk himself for his country, when he became one of her negotiators for peace, when it was made his duty to abandon the question of impressment, the main ground upon which the war was declared? Surely Gen. Jackson can know nothing of the anxiety felt by an honorable mind, in the success of measures upon which his own credit, and his country's honor and prosperity must depend? The coward fear of death, in a base and grovelling mind, is no doubt most excrutiating; but among men of higher cast, bodily pain is much less afflicting than mental anguish. A brave soldier can sleep in the presence of an enemy; but for care and anxiety of mind there is no refreshing repose. Shame on the man who, assuming a station among the statesmen and patriots of a country, can deliberately assert that one of the most distinguished, most laborious, most zealous of her legislators and negotiators, has never risked himself, nor sacrificed his repose for his country!

"Even Gen. Washington, could he appear again among us, might be considered [a military chieftain] because he DARED to be a virtuous and successful soldier, a correct man and honest statesman." So says Gen. Jackson: and his saying so, admits of no other reading than this:—"I like Washington, am called a *military chieftain*, because, I like Washington, DARED to be a *virtuous* and *successful soldier*, a *correct man*, and an *honest statesman*."

A poet of some fame has said:

"*Of boasting more than of a bomb afraid,*
A soldier should be modest as a maid."

The General's notions of propriety seem to be formed upon a very different model.

In the same strain of boasting, but in much more reprehensible spirit, the General thus vaunts himself:

"No one beheld me seeking, through art or management, to entice any representative in Congress from a conscientious responsibility to his own, or the wishes of his constituents. No midnight taper burnt by me; no secret conclaves were held, nor cabals entered into, to persuade any one to a violation of pledges given or instructions received. By me no plans were concerted to impair the pure principles of our republican institutions, nor to prostrate that fundamental maxim which maintains the supremacy of the people's will."

This tissue of self-panegyric, is equally offensive for its inflated egotism and unfounded insinuation. In declaring himself free from the practices here stated, he indirectly asserts that they were resorted to by others.—Does Gen. Jackson believe that Mr. Clay pursued the course here described? He ought to say so without periphrasis. Does he believe that the election of Mr. Adams was effected by the practices he here intimates? Does he believe that secret conclaves were held? that cabals were entered into? that plans were concerted to impair the pure principles of our republican institutions? Does he believe this, and yet be among the first to press forward and take Mr. Adams by the hand in the face of his assembled country? He cannot be less base than those whom he accuses.

It cannot be said that these practices were the work of Mr. Clay and not of Mr. Adams. Mr. Adams takes the benefit of these cabals; of this conspiracy. Nay he constitutes the chief perpetrator his most confidential adviser. In morals, as well as in law, he who receives the goods and rewards the thief, is a principal culprit.

Gen. Jackson penned this accusation on the 23d of February. Nine days afterwards, on the 4th of March, in the capitol of the nation, upon the consummation of these nefarious practices, the General was present, and his conduct is thus described: "Gen. Jackson we were pleased to observe, *was among the earliest of those who took the hand of the President*, and their *looks and deportment* towards each other, were a rebuke to that bitterness of party spirit which can see no merit in a rival, and feel no joy in the honor of a competitor."

If such were his conduct, the General must be a consummate hypocrite. Take by the hand, with a look of gratulation, the man who had gained the high office of President, by *art, management, enticement, secret conclaves, cabals, violated pledges, and plans concerted to impair the pure principles of our republican institutions!* Take such a character joyfully by the hand! As soon would an honest man take by the hand the incendiary who had wrapt a city in flames—the parricide reeking with the blood of his father.

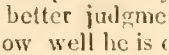
This demonstration of respect for Mr. Adams places General Jackson in a dilemma, neither horn of which can do him much credit. If he believes that Mr. Adams was made President by the means he has intimated, and has rewarded the principal contriver with his confidence and respect, his display of regard was any thing but correct. If he does not believe this, what shall we say of his veracity?

When the Gen. recapitulates his *mite* of service in the revolutionary war, when he sets out his exploits in the late—his leading 3000 citizens to the field to support the eagles of his country—his success in protecting the frontier border from savages, and in defending an important and valuable point of the Union—when he adds to these the *the risk of life*, the privation endured, the sacrifice made; and closes with declaring martial law, and asks, "*does this constitute a military chieftain?*" it is proper to reply, that if it does not, it constitutes nothing: Is not a citizen soldier, if he be a commander, a *military chief*? At all events the services here enumerated do not constitute a statesman or a politician. And if for these services the presidency is to be conferred, it is conferred only upon the military chief. It would have been some thing to the purpose had the General enumerated his services in the legislature, or in the cabinet—in statistics, in commerce, in foreign negociations—in preparing systems of revenue, or jurisprudence. It is in these matters a President should be eminent, not in leading armies, or in raising volunteers—in organizing courts martial, or in declaring martial law. In this attempt to repel the suggestion that his only claims are those of a *military chieftain*, the general actually confesses that it is just.

If I am not much mistaken, this letter of the General will so operate very soon to place him where he ought to be. It seems to develope his real character—his moral feelings, his principles, and his political intelligence, and it discloses the society which he

prefers. As yet he has given no evidence of talent, except as a military chieftain. He is now in a station where talent of a different order, if he possess it, must be displayed. He says he has never been willing to hold any post longer than he could be useful to his country, not to himself. Two sessions he has held the post of Senator in Congress, to what useful purpose for the country I know not. If he continues to hold this post for the remaining four years, the public may be enabled to form a better judgment than they now can, how well he is qualified for a politician and a statesman, and whether he has any other claim to distinction than that of a "*military chieftain.*"

This character he now flings from him as a reproach; and when it is taken away, what fame has he left? None certainly that ever would have brought him before the nation a candidate for the Presidency. L.



GEN. JACKSON & GOV. SHELBY.

The following letters from CHARLES SCOTT TODD, and THOMAS H. SHELBY, are respectfully submitted to the consideration of all those who are anxious to UNDERSTAND the true character of the man who is a candidate for the highest office in the gift of the American People. No man will have the hardihood to deny the truth of the statement made in these letters. The writers are men of high character and standing, and NEARLY RELATED TO THE VENERABLE SHELBY. Col. Todd gallantly distinguished himself during the last war; he was the Aid-de-camp of Gen. HARRISON, during the whole of the campaign in the north-west, and possessed in an eminent degree, the confidence and affection of his General. Coming as these letters do, from the *son* and *son-in-law* of Gov. SHELBY, who feel deeply interested in whatever concerns his memory and his fame, who will deny their truth? But the question is, in what a light and attitude do they place Gen. Jackson? A negotiator ☞on the part of the United States USING EVERY MEANS TO EFFECT AN INTRIGUE WITH THE INDIANS to ensure *himself* and friends a large grant of land; stealing away from his venerable colleague, and passing the night in the *miserable huts of the* SAVAGES, for the purpose of getting them to REFUSE TO NEGOTIATE, unless a *donation* was made to *James Jackson*; bullying the venerable SHELBY in the language of a blackguard—a man almost old enough to be his father, whose hair was white with the frosts of nearly eighty winters:—a *Hero of more than two wars*, and whose memory will only die, if ever, with the liberties of our country. Upon this man, so venerable and venerated, whose name, whose age, whose worth, whose services, would have insured him filial respect from any but a savage, Gen. JACKSON would have ☞MADE A VIOLENT PERSONAL ATTACK, but for the interposition of friends. Who then can vote for Gen. Jackson without showing disrespect to the memory of the HERO OF KING'S MOUNTAIN?

FOR THE FOCUS.

Messrs. Editors—I have read in the supplement to Mr. Clay's address, lately published, a statement by Colonel Todd, as to Governor Shelby's opinion, in relation of General Jackson's conduct at the Chickasaw treaty.—This developement of the "Hero's" character is very well—but the people have a right to know the whole history. Would it not be well to call upon Colonel Todd, to give us a full account of it. I presume he has it in his power to do so; and as some of the friends of the Hero in my neighbourhood, affect to entertain doubts, whether Governor Shelby held the opinions attributed to him; and if he did, whether Jackson really acted as it is represented he did on that occasion; I am anxious to see the whole truth spread before the people.

A SUBSCRIBER.

We unite with the writer of the above, that the whole truth should appear, in relation to the Chickasaw treaty; and we call upon Col. Todd, to communicate all the information he has in his possession, to the public. It is due not only to the public, but to

Col. Todd himself, and to the memory of Governor Shelby, that the people should be enabled to understand the subject, and judge for themselves.

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To the Editor of the Kentucky Advocate.

SIR:—A correspondent in the "Focus,' presuming that I may be possessed of more particular information, in relation to General Jackson's conduct at the Chickasaw treaty, in October, 1818, than is contained in the statement forwarded to Mr. Clay, of a conversation on that subject, between him and Governor Shelby, has requested the editors of that paper, in the last number, to make a call upon me for a further developement, suggesting, at the same time, that some of the friends of General Jackson in his neighbourhood, had affected to entertain doubts, whether these opinions were held by Governor Shelby, and whether the conduct of General Jackson, was such as it is represented to have been on that occasion. The Editors have proceeded accordingly, to make the call, which, looking to the suggestions of their correspondent, they considered to be due not only to the public but to myself, and the memory of Governor Shelby. In this state of the case, I do not feel myself at liberty to resist the application.

Under any ordinary circumstances, I could not have expected to encounter the insinuation contained in the suggestions of this correspondent of the Focus, but the present is a period of extraordinary excitement in the public mind, and exhibits numerous instances of illiberal treatment extended to those who may have contributed, by the display of facts and arguments, to dispel the prejudice existing in relation to Gen. Jackson's qualifications for civil office. Anticipating, then, from the vindictive course heretofore pursued by some of the friends of the General towards those who have made any developements prejudicial to his character, that they might attempt to question, the authenticity of the opinions of Governor Shelby, in relation to him, or the facts on which those opinions were founded, I deemed it an act of prudent caution, to request a statement in detail, on the subject, from his son T. H. Shelby, who was present at the treaty. An extract of his answer is hereto annexed, which not only confirms the authenticity of the opinions entertained and expressed by Governor Shelby, of General Jackson, contained in my statement to Mr. Clay, but establishes abundantly, and beyond the reach of contradiction, the circumstances on which the opinions were predicated; circumstances which ☞EXHIBIT GEN. JACKSON, ON THAT OCCASION, IN THE TWOFOLD ATTITUDE, OF ENDEAVOURING TO EFFECT AN INTRIGUE WITH THE MISERABLE REMNANT of the Chickasaw tribe of Indians, FOR THE BENEFIT OF HIS PERSONAL FRIENDS; and attempting also, to play the part for which General Adair, said in 1817, "NATURE HAD DESIGNED HIM, THAT OF THE TOWN OR TAVERN BULLY," towards the venerable SHELBY, whose name is the rich inheritance of the state, and whose judgment was as ouracular, as his integrity and patriotism were unquestioned, with all parties throughout the republic, to which he devoted a long life of usefulness and glory!

By the terms of the treaty negotiated in October, 1818, with the Chickasaws, a reservation of some valuable land, including the Big Spring, near to Colbert's Ferry, on the Tennessee river, was made in favor of George and Levi Colbert, two of the principal chiefs, and on the very day of signing the treaty, those chiefs conveyed the reservation to JAMES JACKSON, for twenty thousand dollars. But Governor Shelby having REFUSED to concur in any arrangement, which permitted the Indians to sell to private individuals, unless upon the condition, and with the understanding, had with the individuals who had made a contract with the Indians for the proposed reservation, that the Government should have the preemptive right, at the price stipulated, and the Government having accepted this condition, James Jackson was required to assign over to the U. States, the benefit of the arrangement which it was the purpose of the in

trigue at the treaty ground to effect. The reservation to certain Indian chiefs, who, as General Jackson, had previously mentioned to Governor Shelby, "☞WOULD HAVE TO BE BOUGHT OVER;"☜ the understanding, that the Government should have the pre-emptive right on a compliance with the terms of their contract, which stipulation, the firmness and disinterested patriotism of Governor Shelby, required the friends of of the General who were on the ground, and had negociated a private contract with the chiefs, predicated on the proposed reservation; together, with the description of the reservation itself, and its value, were all communicated by Governor Shelby to the President, through a gentleman of Washington City, who was in the confidence of the Government, and was present at the treaty. In conformity with this understanding, James Jackson of Davidson county, Tennessee, on the 15th day of May, 1819, conveyed these reservations to the United States, for the sum of twenty thousand dollars, the *precise consideration* which he had given to the Colberts!

I have before me, certified copies of the deeds from the Colberts to Jackson, of 19th October, 1818, and from him to the United States, of May 15th, 1819, both of them proven on the 24th July, 1819, and of record in Lauderdale county, Alabama. They show, that the Government did accept the stipulation in their behalf, and that, but for their acceptance the reservation would have enured to the benefit of a *friend* of General Jackson, this same *James Jackson*, who was interested in the Land Speculations of the General, in Tennessee, lately developed by Mr. Darby and Dr. Armstrong, and who was associated with *Mr. Senator Eaton* and others, in certain large speculations in Florida, not long before the General invaded and conquered that province of a foreign power, contrary both to the constitution of the United States, and the express orders of the President.

Governor Shelby often mentioned to me his belief that the ☞CONDUCT AND VIEWS OF GENERAL JACKSON AT THE TREATY, HAD CAUSED THEM TO GIVE DOUBLE THE SUM THAT A MORE PRUDENT COURSE WOULD HAVE RENDERED NECESSARY IN PROCURING A RELINQUISHMENT OF THE INDIAN TITLE, and he considered him to be so resolutely determined to effect the purchase that he would not have halted short of FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS TO ATTAIN THAT OBJECT. He said one day, very emphatically, that very few men knew General Jackson's *real* character; that in his opinion, he might make a *very good President for the state of Tennessee* as he had not mind or temper to look beyond the wishes of her personal friends to the promotion of the GREAT INTERESTS OF THE NATION.

To this exposition I have only to add my own conviction, as well as my belief that such is the conviction of the confidential friends of Governor Shelby, and of every member of his family to whom he communicated these circumstances, that, if he were now living, he would not hesitate to make a public declaration of his feelings, should such a measure be regarded as tending in any degree to avert from his beloved country so great a calamity as the elevation of General Jackson to the Presidency.

The transaction which this publication will have the effect to make known to the considerate portion of the people of the United States, occurred in the discharge of General Jackson's official duties, and is, therefore, a fit subject of investigation by the freemen whose suffrages he is now soliciting for the highest office in their gift. He has been formally nominated by the Legislature of Tennessee, and the nomination has been as formally accepted even before the policy or measures of the present administration could be fully developed. The people, then, have a right and it is their duty, to inquire into his public conduct; especially on the occasion of a *solemn treaty*, the negotiation of which his UNWARRANTABLE DEPORTMENT HAD NEARLY DEFEATED AND THE OBJECT OF WHICH WAS QUITE

AS INTERESTING TO THE CITIZENS OF TENNESSEE AND KENTUCKY as were the provisions of that of which he so often refers in his letter to G. W. Campbell as having been violated by Silas Dinsmore the Indian Agent whom he threatened to "BURN IN THE FLAMES OF HIS OWN HOUSE."

I present this view to the public, as well in vindication of the statement made to Mr. Clay as in the exercise of my right, and in discharge of my duty, as a citizen of the Republic, to contribute by all honorable means to whatever may have a tendency to enlighten the the public judgment in the impending crisis.

C. S. TODD.

Extract of a letter from Thomas H. Shelby, dated,

Grassland, April 28, 1828.

"My father set out on the 10th September, 1818, and arrived at General Jackson's on the 15th, where he remained a few days, and in company with his colleague proceeded to Nashville. In a day or two we set out for the treaty ground, accompanied by eight or ten gentlemen friends of General Jackson, with all of whom, (excepting Colonel Butler) my father was unacquainted. During the journey little was said on the subject of the treaty. I heard the General, on one occasion, ask my father how high he was willing to go for the Indian boundary. My father replied that he was prepared to go as high as $300,000 rather than not effect the purchase—but said he, "General Jackson, I have not the least idea that we shall find it necessary to give half that sum." After this conversation a profound silence was observed by General Jackson and the friends, accompanied him, on the subject of the treaty in my father's presence. At length we arrived at the Treaty ground,—the Indians assembled. My father soon observed great intercourse between the Gen'l's. friends and the Indians, of which he spoke frequently to me. On one occasion, the General and a part of his suite were absent from camp all night—the General withheld the motive of his nocturnal visit from his colleague by studied silence on the subject. I did understand by some means, that the General passed the night with Colbert, one of the principal Chiefs. My father expressed to me his suspicions that "there was something not right going on." Before any council had convened, the General informed his colleague "that some of the principal Chiefs were violently opposed to selling land, and that those fellows would have to be bought over." At length a council was called. Among other objections made by the Indians to the selling of their land, it was urged by them "that the United States were largely in arrears to them and until old debts were paid, they would not contract new ones." The Commissioners found it necessary to send to Nashville for money to pay those claims, and thus remove the main difficulty. In about a week the messenger to Nashville arrives—the money is distributed agreeably to the census of the nation taken during his absence. A second council is convened—Gen. Jackson inquires of the chiefs.

"What do you ask for this land?"

Interpreter—"We don't know—what will you give?

Gen. Jackson—"We will give you $150,000.

Interpreter—"We can't take it."

General Jackson—"We will give you $200,000.

Interpeter—No, we cannot take it."

Gen. Jackson—"We will give you $250,000.

Interpreter—"No, no." "$300,000," says the General.—My father left the table and the Council broke up.—The General observed to my father in conversation that the Chiefs contended for the privilege of selling a large reservation of land to whom they might think proper. My father objected to this proposition, he said "they might sell it to the king of England." The Gen. observed, "that there was then a company of gentlemen on the ground that would pay them down their price $20,000." My father refused positively to permit the Indians to sell land to private individuals. He contended that the Government should have the option of taking the reservation at the

price stipulated and the General and the Chiefs were in the end obliged to to consent to it.

My father told the General that he had made the Indians offers that he could not sanction. "WHY GOVERNOR, GOD DAMN *it*, DID NOT YOU SAY THAT YOU WOULD GIVE $300,000?" NO sir, I gave you *no authority* to speak for me, I am here to speak for *myself*." WHY GOVERNOR, GOD DAMN MY SOUL IF YOU DID NOT SAY SO." I *did not* authorize you to make *any such* proposition." The parties seemed on the very point of coming to blows, when I stepped between them, laying a hand on each, and entreated them to talk the matter over more dispassionately. My father told me afterwards, that it was well for the old rascal that I interfered, that he should have knocked him twenty feet. Not a word passed between the commissioners until the next day, when the General broke out upon his colleague in a strain, if possible, more rough and boisterous than before. I again stept between them and called on the friends of the General to interfere. Old Maj. Smith stepped up and observed, "Gentlemen I am no dictator, but I will be moderator." and we kept them apart. My father told the General "he should leave him and go home." Go Governor," replied the General, "By GOD, I will make the treaty without you." While our horses were saddling, the friends of the General urged me to use my influence with my father not to go. He at length agreed to remain. Another council was called. The Indians demanded the $300,000, and would treat for nothing less—finally the treaty was made. MY FATHER THOUGHT THAT GEN. JACKSON'S *CORRUPTION* AND FOLLY, HAD COST THE GOVERNMENT *from* **$100,000** to **$200,000**. HIS MIND UNDERWENT *no* CHANGE UPON THIS SUBJECT TO THE DAY OF HIS DEATH.

I have thus given you a detail of facts, *which came under my own observation*, you are at liberty to make what use of it you may think proper. Your friend. THO. H. SHELBY.

The more we investigate the character of Gen. Jackson, the more we find it stained with inconsistencies and crimes. He has been all his life time a turbulent, overbearing, selfish and cruel man. In the instance recorded above, he is exhibited by honest men, as a sordid grovelling speculator, regardless both of the interests of his government, and the rights of his colleague. Gov. SHELBY was treated with rudeness, insulted and abused, and for what purpose? Was it to advance the interests of the nation? Was it because the Governor had proposed any thing derogatory to the mission? far from it:—The venerable SHELBY saw that a plan was on foot to MAKE MONEY out of the treaty and that *Jackson* was ☞ PREPARED TO SACRIFICE THE INERESTS OF THE NATION, IN ORDER TO ACCOMPLISH HIS OBJECT. He set his face against it and determined, that the *twenty thousand dollar speculation should not be carried into execution*. Jackson thus foiled in his enterprise, became as usual, outrageous and abusive. He cursed, and swore, and raved, in a manner that would have disgraced the most profligate and abandoned boatman.

It is in vain for the friends of Jackson to smooth over and hide from the people, his innumerable acts of sordid avarice and violence. This is not the first, nor the only instance where he has attempted to aggrandize himself and friends, at the expense of honor, honesty, and good faith. He is more certainly and shrewdly caught in this than in some others; but his life is a chain of profligacy. He has *always* lived, and moved, and had his being in scenes of mischief, turmoil, bloodshed, and cruelty, and in all these his cupidity has been conspicuous.

It is not a little singular, that *James Jackson*, the General's associate in the Duck river speculation, should have been the *grantee* of the reservation, to the two Colberts. He seems to have been a convenient person for all the General's side-way manœuvres. Why was he at the treaty? How happened *he* to be the grantee? Where did *he* get twenty thousand dollars to pay for the land? and above all, what was

General Jackson doing night after night with the two chiefs, for whom the reservation was made? There is a connection in this business, which speaks in the voice of thunder—it cannot be mistaken—it comes FROM THE GRAVE OF THE IMMORTAL AND VENERABLE SHELBY, and discloses Gen. Jackson a base and infamous intriguer, for the aggrandizement of himself and his minions of corruption.

[The following well written essay on the subject of the Presidency is from "*We the People*," a paper published in Washington city. It is worthy of a candid and patient perusal.]

To the cool and dispassionate consideration of the People of the United States.

The time is fast approaching when you will be called upon to exercise the right of suffrage in the election of a chief magistrate of the nation, to fill the most exalted office in the gift of a free and enlightened people. That you should give the subject mature consideration, both in regard to *men* and *measures*, is a matter which your own prudence will admit to be of the first importance. For to act precipitately, and without regard to the qualifications of the respective candidates, would exhibit a want of intelligence, and would perhaps, sooner or later, prove fatal to the liberties of our common country.

It is my principal aim, fellow-citizens, to put you on your guard, against the attempts of designing politicians, who resort to every stratagem to influence your decision, in a matter of the utmost importance to your welfare, by impressions other than those which result from the evidence of truth. Beware of those partizans who flatter themselves with prospects of elevation to office from the ascendancy of Gen. Jackson; for it cannot be doubted that much of the opposition which has already shown itself, has sprung from the exertions of discontented individuals, who are vain enough to fancy themselves successful in operating upon a portion of the American people. But the time has not yet arrived, we trust, when their exertions can be crowned with success. You never can wish to see these United States bear a resemblance to one of those bodies bloated with disease, whose bulk is only a symptom of its wretchedness.

To witness the punctual and vigorous administration of the government cannot fail to inspire us with confidence in ourselves; for vigor of government is essential to the security of liberty; the opposite of which will create a spirit of distrust. That the course pursued by Mr. Adams has been marked by a strict regard to the supremacy of the laws, is a fact which cannot be denied by any unprejudiced mind. He possesses extensive and varied information, sound judgment, immovable firmness, enlightened wisdom, great experience and skill, joined to liberal and comprehensive views of the policy best adapted to the promotion of the general welfare of the country. He is not one of those who would choose rather to be feared than to be loved; he has never declared that "*laws were silent amid arms!*" and that "*might gives right!*" Why, then, would you withhold from him your support without some substantial cause? You have been told, by aspiring demagogues, that he came into office by *bargain and intrigue*, but the falsity of this assertion has been clearly established. You have been told that he is not the people's choice. But you know full well that a dangerous ambition more frequently lurks behind a specious mask of zeal for the rights of the people, than under the forbidding appearances of zeal for the firmness of government. History teaches us that the former has found a much more certain road to the introduction of despotism than the latter, and that of those men who have overthrown the liberties of republics, the greatest number have began their career by paying an obsequious court to the people—"commencing demagogues and ending tyrants."

Having shown the meritorious course of conduct, together with the qualifications of Mr. Adams, the questions which naturally present themselves are these: "What are the 'superior claims of his adversary? Does he possess a sufficient knowledge of the policy of the different nations of the world to enable him to form a just and wise conclusion in the

administration of the affairs of our own government, which will harmonize with the prosperity of this country generally? To judge of the future by the past conduct, I am inclined to think he would act with too much impetuosity, and too little prudence!

The supporters of Gen. Jackson, in their persevering silence as to his civil qualifications, or rather his *want* of them, furnish a striking, and in themselves, most rare illustration of the omnipotence of truth. Although the god of their idolatry, it is only as the god of war that they adore him. And even on this point, they find themselves restricted to limits altogether too narrow for the range of their inventive imaginations. They call him the "*Hero of two wars.*" But when asked to turn to the page of revolutionary history, on which his battles and victories are described, they are silent. His revolutionary services when investigated, are reduced to two exploits, viz: in being once gallantly taken prisoner by the enemy and suffering unkind treatment, and afterwards spiritedly running away when they attempted to capture him a second time. These important facts are not related, to be sure, by Marshall or Ramsay, but are yet matters of grave tradition. At the commencement of the late war, it would seem that Gen. Jackson was not known to Mr. Madison, for had he been the distinguished military chieftain he is now represented, he would have unquestionably been appointed commander-in-chief. He received his commission only six or seven months before the peace. He never but *once* met a disciplined force, and such were the advantages of his situation, in the *never to be forgotten* battle of the 8th of January, that only thirteen of his men were killed and thirty-four wounded. Yet Gen. Jackson is represented as the greatest military captain of this or any other age, as having higher claims, "in the proportion of ten to one," than Washington, "upon the gratitude of his country!" But if we enquire what evidence he has exhibited of talents as a statesman? What is his knowledge of our political institutions and laws, and the administration of Government? his supporters observe a most commendable silence. We cannot learn that he ever was thought qualified for the office of Governor, even of Tennessee; that he ever received the votes of his own state, for an office in their immediate gift, except an election to their Legislature. He has, to be sure, been twice, for a short time, a Senator of the United States—once during the administration of Washington, and again in that of Monroe. His first Senatorship was distinguished by his opposition to a vote of thanks and an address from that body to General Washington, on retiring from the government. His second term in the Senate was distinguished by "his mock-modest" resignation, that he might retire to the Hermitage, to engender and concert slanders by his "own fireside." While in the Senate, what important measure did he ever bring forward? On what committee was he ever appointed? What knowledge did he discover of our commercial interests; our naval or military affairs; our finances; our judiciary system; of our foreign relations; of constitutional or national law? The hardy assertion has once been made, that "he had been *eminent* as a lawyer and judge!" But where is the evidence of the fact? On what occasion has he distinguished himself as an advocate? Who ever heard of his eloquent or profound arguments? In what volume of reports are his learned decisions to be found? When and by whom were they ever cited as authority? Did Judge Marshall, or Kent, or Parsons, ever refer to the opinions of Judge Jackson? Indeed, I am forced to confess my entire ignorance of his learned expositions of any part of the law, except his favourite Second Section. This he most forcibly expounded at New-Orleans, and gave a further commentary upon it to President Monroe. By it, in time of war, all persons, not *citizens* of, or owing *allegiance* to the United States, who shall be found lurking as spies, in or about the fortifications or encampments of the armies of the United States, are to suffer death, &c. by a general Court Martial.' Judge Jackson, by his general order of the 16th of December, 1814, decided that the in

habitants of New-Orleans, citizens of the United States, came within this section, and if found in the Streets, or not at home, after nine o'clock in the evening, that they should be liable to be tried and executed. In his letter to Mr. Monroe, the Judge also decided that the members of the Hartford Convention, *citizens* of the United States, and not found as spies lurking in or about any fortifications, &c. had incurred the penalty of this section, and that "had the good city of Hartford been within his (Judge Jackson's) military district, he would have felt himself bound to have HUNG the members of said Convention." In the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, as *outlaws* and *pirates*, though they were never citizens of the United States, and were not found upon the high seas, but upon the *land*, we have a decision of Judge Jackson's upon the law of nations. But that these decisions have become authorities, we are not aware. That they never will, ☞UNTIL OUR LIBERTIES ARE CRUSHED UNDER A *MILITARY DESPOTISM*, we are fully confident. Oppressed with a conviction of his utter disqualification to administer the government himself, his friends assure us that "*he will select an able cabinet.*" Here then, is a distinct admission of his incapacity. Instead of concentrating in himself, the superior talents and information, which form the essential difference between the election and hereditary chief magistrate, Gen. Jackson's only qualification is, that he has tact enough to select a prime minister!! But what assurance have you, that he will be able or disposed to do even this? Who are they [illegible] hold this language? The very [illegible], and they alone, who hope to get [illegible]selves into power under him; the [illegible] who hope while Jackson is nom[illegible], to be themselves President in [illegible] The most able and patriotic [illegible], must present a wide diversity of [illegible] and views, requiring a master [illegible] reconcile, combine, and direct [illegible] Without an executive fully ca[illegible] [illegible]g his own prime minister, [illegible]ld be our situation with a [illegible]ted and distracted by the [illegible] jealousies of its members? The commander compelled to sit still and see the national ship drift at the mercy of the wind and waves, or if he should seize the helm, exposed by his want of skill, to strand upon the rocks and quicksands?

I would beg leave, in this communication, to introduce an extract from the celebrated speech of Mr. Storrs, in the House of Representatives, when the resolution to disapprove of the conduct of General Jackson, in the Seminole war, was under consideration. "With my consent," said Mr. Storrs, "these transactions shall never be recorded by history as the acts of the nation. Of infinite consequence will be the effect of our vote on the national character. We profess to be the only free government on earth; that our intercourse with foreign nations, is characterized by moderation and justice: that our institutions are pure and unspotted: that our national character is beyond reproach. Above all, we profess to be christians. Go, follow the track of this christian army through the Floridas. It can easily be traced. Every footstep is trodden in blood. The path is strewed with the unbleached bones and livid carcasses of its slaughtered inhabitants. Survey this frightful *waste of human blood*; the awful calamities which have been inflicted on our species, and say if our posterity will not blush for their ancestors. An incident which occurred during this campaign, carries with it the keenest rebuke to our professions of christianity. Duncan McRimmon, one of the Georgia Militia, was captured by the Indians in the early part of the war; he was condemned by HILLIS HADJO to death; the victim was bound in his presence, and the instrument of torture was prepared. The daughter of this chief, an artless and uneducated child of the forest, who had never heard of the precepts of our religion, whose only instruction had been received from her father, at the awful moment when he was about to suffer the excrutiating death to be inflicted by savage ferocity, this Indian girl, rushing between him and his murderers, implored his life. On her intercession, it was granted—the life of our

fellow countrymen was spared. That father, who thus listened and yielded to this supplication of mercy, was the *Prophet Francis, whom Gen. Jackson afterwards executed.*" "Sir," said he, "is this the era of the world, when America shall sanction those acts of inhumanity? If these deeds of cruelty are to receive the sanction of this house, here, before God and man, I wash my hands of their blood."

With such well authenticated facts staring you in the face, is it possible that you can give your support to Gen. Jackson? If so, I tremble for the future destinies of our country. For, aspiring men, intriguing and ambitious, may assail, in its essential part, with impetuosity, the battlements of the constitution! But I indulge the fond hope, fellow-citizens, that that noble chart of our liberty, purchased by the treasure, toil, and blood of the heroes and fathers of the revolution, will be preserved and remain the admiration of future ages, as a scroll of wisdom, independence and fame. How often is the sun, when gallantly marching on in its majestic course, suddenly obscured by clouds and storms! Yet its powerful rays soon break forth in effulgence and glory: so, in some respects, our Constitution, that polar star of our country, is often darkened and obscured by the tempestuous vapours of human intellect and ingenuity; yet, like a strong ship, amidst the storms of the ocean, she resists the tempests, and rides upon the mountain waves, carrying her gallant crew in safety to the destined port.

Having thus touched upon the relative merits and conduct of the two candidates, and the dangers which may possibly result from the elevation of General Jackson to the Presidency, I bid you for the present, a respectful adieu.

COMMON SENSE.

THE CASE OF WOODS.

Many months have elapsed since the trial and execution of the unfortunate Woods was made a subject of investigation before the public and of serious charge against general Jackson. It is probable that this and many other acts of bloodshed and violence on the part of the general would never have been noticed, had it not been for the inconsiderate zeal of his partizans to make him not only a man of courage but one of unexampled mildness and humanity. These are attributes which do not belong to his character,—his whole life shows the fact; and I will not for one, tamely sit by and see him invested with them for purposes so unholy and flagitious. He is emphatically a man of blood and carnage, and has always been violent and reckless in whatever he has had to do, both in public and in private life. I would have no such man a Senator or a judge, much less the President of the United States.

The execution of Woods has been much discussed; but I am confident, after all, that a great majority of the people do not understand the case. There has been great difficulty in getting at the facts. The friends of General Jackson have been uncommonly vigilant to keep them from the public eye. They have resorted to every means to screen their hero from the shame and confusion which the *truth* of this transaction must inevitably fix upon him forever. But they have not succeeded. Neither Eaton nor Parrish nor Miller, nor the committee at Nashville, has been able to stop the spirit of investigation. It has gone on, and we have a perfect developement of the whole affair—such a one as marks the general as a hard-hearted, merciless tyrant, and his volunteer apologists as a craven set of political knaves.—That I do not speak rashly shall be fully evinced as I proceed; for I intend to make, from facts in my possession, a record of this wanton murder that cannot be easily overthrown.

Woods was executed for "disobedience of orders, disrespect to his commanding officer, and for mutiny."—These are the pretended charges, and the friends of Jackson justify the deed mainly on the ground that it was a SECOND OFFENCE. Thus Col. Parrish says: "John Woods having been, *once pardoned* for mutiny and desertion was found guilty on the 11th of March, 1814." &c.

Miller, another witness in Green County of this state, who volunteered his services in white washing the General, also alleged the same justification. He says, "Woods deserted from his post and started for home, he was, however, overtaken and brought back to camp, where he was tried for desertion, found guilty and condemned to be shot. *For this offence he was pardoned by General Jackson!*" This is shown to be a lie from beginning to end by Major Eaton's account, copied into the 5th No. of Truth's Advocate, page 175. General Jackson in his general order which preceded the execution says, "This is the *second time* you have violated the duty of a soldier—the *second time* you have been guilty of offences the punishment of which is death." The whole order is also copied into the Advocate, number and page as above.

Now the truth is, and let it be spoken to the everlasting disgrace of Parrish, Miller and General Jackson himself, *Woods was never guilty of any other offence but the one for which he was inhumanly executed.* He was never *tried*, nor *pardoned* for any former offence, NOR DID HE IN FACT BELONG TO THE ARMY at the time he is alleged to have committed it! He never *deserted* the army. He was not with General Roberts' detachment that turned back from fort Strother; and did not join the service till the troops were re-organized at Fayetteville, and then as a substitute for William Rager. It will be remembered that the desertion so much spoken of which is alleged to have constituted Woods' *first* offence, was the defection of Roberts' command near fort Strother. Woods, I repeat, was not then attached to the service—he was not one of the number who turned back or "*deserted*," and of course committed no crime, if crime it was, and needed no pardon. Yet Parrish as well as the General and the rest of his defenders talk of a "*first offence*"—of a "*pardon*," and thus justify the execution of a raw inexperienced boy, who according to their own account had been enrolled but "*a few weeks*!" I subnait the testimony obtained and furnished by Dr. Armstrong of Tennessee, and extracted from the Kentucky Reporter.

Shelbyville, April 20th, 1828.

Being called upon to state what I know of John Woods, and the manner in which the detachment commanded by Brigadier General Roberts, was ordered into the service, and the time for which they were received—do certify, that I commanded the company of Volunteer Light Infantry, to which John Woods was attached, and had received orders from Giles Barnett, Colonel of the 39th regiment. That the volunteer light infantry rendezvoused at Fayetteville, Lincoln county, on the 17th inst. (December, 1813,) "in order to be mustered into service against the Creek Indians,"—that I accordingly notified the men attached to my command, of this order, and the company did, on the 17th of December, 1813, rendezvous at Fayetteville, 57 strong. At this time, rumor was among the soldiers, that some difficulty or misunderstanding had occurred with those then in service, as to the time for which they could be legally detained. To prevent a like occurrence with the soldiers of my company, I called upon General Roberts, to ascertain of him the time of service to be required of them, and after some conversation upon the subject, to forestal every difficulty, I had drawn up, in the handwriting of the present Colonel William Barnett, of this county, a roll or list of the names of every man then present, superscribed with the following conditions, upon which my company entered the service, to wit: "We, the undersigned volunteers of the light infantry of the 39th regiment, do agree to serve a tour of duty of three months against the Creek Indians, if not sooner discharged,"—and upon which, John Woods's name is not to be found—and that upon said paper or roll, between two columns, in which the names of the men stood, General Roberts wrote with his own hand, as follows: "Received Captain Harris's company, agreeably to the above conditions." ISAAC ROBERTS, B. G."

General Roberts assured the troops, that they should be received by General Jackson for the term of service for which they considered themselves volunteering, to wit: three months

and we in a short time took up the line of march, and the troops manifested great cheerfulness and disposition to enter the service and perform every requisition that could be legally required of a soldier. When we had arrived within a few miles of the Ten Islands, General Roberts halted his troops, and went to General Jackson's camp to acquaint him of the arrival of the troops, and the terms upon which they entered the service. The next morning, Roberts' brigade, or the troops taken out by him, received a communication from General Jackson, through Colonel Sittler, that they could not, nor would not be received by him for a less term than six months. General Roberts then told his troops they were discharged, and at liberty to go home, or join the commanding general, as they pleased, to which, as well as I recollect, Colonel Sittler said to the troops, that if they attempted to go home, they would be stopped. The soldiers, or most of those attached to my company, did go home, myself with the rest, and with them, *William Rager, in whose place, John Woods did afterwards, upon the second return of the Company to Fayetteville*, on their way to the Creek nation, substitute, as I know, of my own knowledge, and which is further shown by the company roll made out at that place, at the second rendezvous, upon which his name appears as a substitute. This roll is now in my possession. Woods was not quite eighteen years old, and not yet subject to militia duty, according to the information I then received; but having a brother, William Woods, going out in the company, he spoke of volunteering, but while at Fayetteville, during the second rendezvous of this company, he substituted, as I have before said, and went out in that character: and until the 20th of February, 1814, when I left Fort Strother for Huntsville, by order of the commanding general, Woods conducted himself as orderly as any other soldier belonging to the company, so far as came to my knowledge, and was not during that period, guilty, or tried, of any offence, so far as I knew. These troops, were afterwards dismissed, and received their discharge for three months.

JAMES HARRIS.

The undersigned certify, that we belonged to the company commanded by Captain James Harris, of a detachment commanded by General Roberts, and were out when the detachment first went and progressed, near the Ten Islands, from which place we returned. William Rager with us, and afterwards re-assembled at Fayetteville, at which place John Woods joined the company, as a substitute, in the place of William Rager, and went on and joined the army at Fort Strother, during which time, we were all in the habit of seeing Woods every day, and during that time, know of no act of disobedience on the part of Woods, or insubordination, until the affair for which he was executed. Woods had deported himself, so far as we know, as well as the soldiers commonly of that company or any other: and we all know and positively certify, that he never before that time, either deserted or had been guilty of mutiny. And I, William Stewart, further certify, that I had known Woods from a small boy, and KNEW he had never served any other tour of duty, than the one in which he was engaged at the time he was shot. We have also heard the statement of Captain Harris, a great part of which we know to be correct, and have entire confidence in the truth of the whole.

WILLIAM STEWART,
JOSEPH ALEXANDER,
ISAAC ANDERSON.

I was also in the company commanded by Captain Harris, and was with his company, when they first went out near to the Ten Islands, and returned with them. John Woods was not then along. When the company re-assembled at Fayetteville, I understood Woods had substituted in the place of William Rager, and from that time, went on with the company to Fort Strother. If he was guilty of disobedience of orders, insubordination, mutiny or desertion, previous to the affair

for which he was executed. I never heard of it.

ABM. WHINERY.

State of Tennessee, Bedford county,
March 3, 1823.

Being requested to state what I remember of the crime and circumstances which led to the execution of John Woods, at Fort Strother, a soldier under the command of General Jackson, —do hereby certify and declare, that I belonged to the same company with Woods, and was leaning on a pole, (having been sick for one or two weeks previous,) within eight or ten steps of Woods, who was seated on the ground, eating his breakfast, having just come from his guard fire, when a man by the name of Camp, who was said to hold some commission in the Staff Department, was passing along, and began to curse and abuse the company for permitting filth and bones to lay scattered about. Some one or two of the men were directed to carry off the bones, and proceeded to do it. Woods still continued to eat, when Camp also called to him, and cursed him to get up and assist in taking off the filth.— Woods observed, that he was on guard, and had obtained leave of his officer for his absence. Camp cursed him for leaving his guard, and ordered an ensign to take a file of men and take him to his guard. Woods stated he was going himself, and rose and started, & threw the priming out of his gun, & primed it afresh, & then went straight on to his guard fire. While he was going, Camp hallooed to the Fort to General Jackson, and told him there was a damned deserter would not be taken. General Jackson came out of the Fort, and hallooed, shoot the damned rascal if he would not be taken. Woods went up to the guard and surrendered himself prisoner. A guard from the regulars, soon came and took him into custody. Woods was ironed in the black-smith shop, (and I saw the irons put on,) and then taken to the camp of the regulars, and kept there until he was shot. I was also a witness before the court martial, and was within the lines of the guard, while the trial was progressing, General Jackson walked backwards and forwards with his hands behind his back, and remarked to the court martial, "to be cautious, and mind what they were about," for he said, "by the Eternal God, the next man that was condemned, he would not pardon him, and this was a hearty, hale young fellow." I think Major William R. Hess, was Judge-Advocate. No person appeared as Woods's friend or counsel to defend him.

WILLIAM STEWART.

I George A. Brock, of Franklin county, and the State of Tennessee, do state that neither Col. A. Erwin, nor any part of his family, ever spoke to, or conversed with me on the case of John Woods, a soldier who was shot at Fort Strother during the Creek war; nor was the certificate given at his request, or at the request of any of his family, nor was his name mentioned (to my knowledge) during that transaction. I gave the certificate published in the "Kentucky Reporter," at the request and to the person of Dr. James L. Armstrong, and hereby reiterate that the same is correct, to the best of my knowledge and belief, with the exception of the name of the Judge-Advocate. In this case I expect I was mistaken, as I was not nearer the court than fifteen or twenty yards, and was but slightly acquainted with either Col. Williams or Maj. Hess. I further declare, that I was one of the original volunteers who turned out under the orders of Gen. Roberts, for three months; that this detachment marched as far as Canoe Creek, in the Creek nation, and then understanding that Gen. Jackson would not receive us unless for six months, most of the detachment returned home; but afterwards hearing otherwise, the men generally returned and met at Fayetteville. In the first march John Woods was not with us; but on again assembling at Fayetteville, he appeared, and took the place of my half brother, William Rager, as I before stated, on the 22nd January, 1814, and went on to Fort Strother, where I do state positively he remained doing duty as other soldiers, until he was arrested for the

crime for which he was shot; and any statement or assertion which goes to show that he had ever previously deserted is not true. John Woods had an older brother with the party, who returned from Canoe creek; but John was not there, and never was in the army before the above named time.

GEORGE A. BROCK.

State of Tennessee, Franklin co.
APRIL, 1828.

The undersigned, citizens of said county, do hereby certify, that they have personally known George A. Brock, of said county, most of them ten or twelve years, and do cheerfully state, that they believe him to be a man of truth, morality and honesty, and that as much faith and credit is due and ought to be given to his statements as to any other citizen of our county.

JOHN O. JOHNSON,
JAMES CUNNYNGHAM,
JOHN CATE.

We have been personally acquainted with George A. Brock for six years, and believe him to be a man of truth and credit, and stands fair with us.

BARRETT FORSYTHE,
G. W. RICHARDSON,
JESSE GOTHER,
BENJAMIN T. HOLLIN,
J. H. CAMDEN,
JOHN HICKERSON.

It has been the fashion of the Jackson party to discredit the witnesses who have been adduced to prove the crimes and enormities of their idol. Men of standing and reputation have lent themselves to this miserable subterfuge. Thus Messrs. Hanna, Couch, Ferguson, and Stewart, who testified that Woods was on guard and had obtained leave of his officer to eat his breakfast have all been branded as liars. On this point, however, the opposition gentlemen are driven to the last extremity. Dr. Armstrong in submitting his testimony, has the following:

"The honorable Mr. Isaacs is acquainted with Mr. Brock, and the gentlemen who have given his character—to him I refer for their standing; and the Hon. Mr. Polk is in some degree acquainted with Messrs. Couch, Ferguson, and Hanna, and those gentlemen who have signed their character—to him I also refer. Mr. Brock did not state with certainty, that Col. Williams was Judge Advocate—and still less so, as to the members of the court. He says, "I think Lieuts. Parrish and Davis, and ensign Holt were the court," —the name of Hall was a misprint.

Will the hon. Messrs. Isaacs and Polk, deny their knowledge of the gentlemen referred to?

The fact is now clearly proved, that Woods was executed for the *first* offence; and that offence was a refusal to do *camp duty* while he was on guard, and a determination not to surrender his gun but to the officer of the day. What then becomes of General Jackson's general order, and all his parade about the "PARDON"! What an insult to the poor wretched prostrate boy, to talk of a pardon for a former offence which he knew nothing of, and to aggravate the injustice and relentless cruelty of his execution, by heaping upon him crimes of which he never had been guilty! But it may be said, that General Jackson was under a mistake, and that Woods did not make a proper defence. And can this be urged in extenuation? Shall precipitancy excuse the shedding of blood, and shall the life of an ignorant youth be taken, because he did not know how to make his defence? Was it not the duty of General Jackson to look into all the facts of the case? Surely it was:—and had he done so, he would have found no apology for his general order, or for the execution. Every thing in relation to the "*pardon*" is a sheer fabrication. Not a word of it, nor of any former offence, was before the Court Martial. It was assumed by Jackson *gratuitously*, and apparently for no other purpose, but to furnish some grounds for the barbarous murder he was about to commit. Shall such a man be President of the United States?

GENERAL JACKSON'S THREATS.

The time has arrived when it is no longer possible to conceal the fact, that General Jackson threatened in the most positive and savage manner to inflict personal violence upon those members of Congress, who in 1818, investigated his official conduct. While they were progressing in their examination the General arrived in the city of Washington, and by his awful imprecations and bold denunciations attracted the attention of President Monroe.—This pacific, humane and intelligent man, believing that General Jackson had done the country some service and knowing that his bullying and swaggering conduct was calculated to bring himself and the nation into contempt, took the occasion to interfere, and to persuade him from his designs. The following is a brief account of the interposition, extracted from a recent number of the National Journal, and is vouched for in the most positive and unequivocal terms.

President Monroe, upon hearing of his (General Jackson's) arrival and the threats, was so apprehensive, from his knowledge of the uncontrolable passions of the General, that he would at least *attempt* some outrage, that he deputed his brother, since deceased, to call upon him and request him to respect himself and the constituted authorities of his country, by abstaining from all violence. This, for a time, had its effect; and the General left Washington on the 12th February, 1819, on a visit to New York. On the 24th of the same month, Mr. Lacock made his report to the Senate on the Seminole campaign. On the 2d of March Gen. Jackson was honored with a public dinner at Baltimore. Many of the Gentlemen who were at that dinner will recollect how abruptly he left the table, assigning as a reason that he wished to be in Washington before the Senate adjourned, where it was his purpose to chastise the members who had dared to call his conduct in question, particularly the chairman of the Committee, and Mr. Eppes, by whose casting vote he understood the character of the report had been decided. A few minutes after leaving the company, he was on the road to Washington, where he arrived *at day light* on the 3d March, the last day of the session. During the evening of that day he was seen at the Brick Capitol, as it was called, where congress then held its sessions, accompanied by his friends Dr. Bronaugh and Col. Kemper.—Commodore Decatur visited the Capitol on the same evening, accompanied by his lady. After escorting the latter to the lobby of the Senate, he returned to the outer passage, where seeing General Jackson greatly agitated and having heard of his threat to enter the Senate chamber, and there offer violence to some of its members, he accosted Mr. Kemper, and entreated him to dissuade the General from his purpose. This gentleman, however, instead of complying with Decatur's wishes, expressed his own concurrence in the design, and his hope that Jackson would carry it into effect. Meeting with this rebuff from Kemper, Commodore Decatur next addressed himself directly to the General, and asked if the threats which he heard ascribed to him had been really uttered. Gen. Jackson answered affirmatively, and added, with an oath, that he was determined to punish the d——d rascals in their very places in the Senate. Decatur earnestly conjured him to reflect "that it was a step which could not fail to ruin him in the estimation of every good citizen—that it was probable he was not without enemies in the Senate—and that nothing could be more gratifying to them, than any attempt to execute his threat." The mild and friendly manner of Decatur's remonstrance at length had its effect: and General Jackson was thus saved from the commission of a crime which would have blasted all his laurels in the bud.

In addition to the above, we have the testimony of the Hon. Abner Lacock, then a member of the Senate, and as worthy a man as can be found in the state, where he resides. He was chairman of the committee in the Senate, that reported against the conduct of Jackson and of course was one of the number designated for vengeance. He wrote a bold and fearless account of the transaction at the time which

Jackson, then in the city of Washington, did not, and dared not, deny. Recently Mr. Lacock has appeared again.—We extract from his address the following portion which is all that relates to the subject in question.

"While the examination of General Jackson's conduct was in progress, he with a pretty numerous suite, arrived in the city of Washington. He soon manifested his displeasure at the freedom with which some members of the legislature had thought proper to animadvert upon his conduct. He, however, staid some weeks in the city, and during this time the members of his staff were called before, and examined by, the committee of the Senate. He then took a tour to the east, and received, every where, the kind attentions and grateful thanks of his countrymen. This should have humbled and softened the temper of a truly good and great man: but it had a different effect upon General Jackson. When at the convivial board, in Baltimore, on his return, he first saw the report of the committee of the Senate, pointing out and mildly censuring his errors, his rage was ungovernable, and the invectives and imprecations on the committee awfully fiery and profane.

He, however, lost no time until he arrived in the city of Washington—where his threats and menaces were repeated with increased violence; and Gen. Jackson's threats of vengeance, and of cutting off the ears of members of congress, became a topic of pretty general conversation. I am very confident, that there was not a man belonging to the government, holding any thing like a conspicuous station, from the president down, and few members of congress, but what heard and believed these things—nor did I ever hear of its being denied, until the present canvass. With others, I heard of, and believed such threats had been made—but I did not believe he had any serious intention of carrying his threats into execution until a day or two after the adjournment of congress, when I heard of commodore Decatur having prevented him from entering the senate chamber to attack Mr. Eppes. Not having a personal knowledge of the transaction, I cannot speak of the fact, further, than that I heard it from several respectable persons in Washington, *at the time*—and I know, with perfect certainty, that the whole scene was thus related as it should have happened: that General Jackson went to the capitol in a carriage—that as he passed from the carriage, and near the door of the senate, he was met by Commodore Decatur, who knowing of, or being then informed of Gen. Jackson's intention to fall upon Mr. Eppes, the Commodore by entreaties and expostulations, induced the General to return to his carriage. This was told publicly, as coming from the Commodore personally, and from this authority it obtained credence as far as it was heard. I believed it and still believe it—nor will I deny that I felt some apprehensions for my own personal safety. I could see no reason why Gen. Jackson should have selected Mr. Eppes as his victim, who was at that time, sorely afflicted with disease rather than the chairman of the committee. Impressed with this belief, I mentioned this circumstance to *Mr. Crawford*, (then Secretary of the treasury, a name I never mention but with feelings of the strongest respect,) Mr. *Crawford* told me that he had heard and believed in the truth, of General Jackson's contemplated attack upon Mr. Eppes, and advised me to be on my guard. The same advice I received from several gentlemen; and took it so far as to apply to Walter Jones, Esq. U. States attorney for the district of Columbia, who kindly furnished me with the means of defence. And as this was the *first* time in my life, when among civilized men, that I had to resort to such means for personal safety, I sincerely hope it may be the *last*, in which a representative of the people, for the honest discharge of his duty, will be subjected to a like necessity.

I am well aware that General Jackson, in a letter to Mr. Grundy, has, by an *equivoque*, disengenuous and uncandid, attempted a denial of the outrage designed to have been committed upon Mr. Eppes. But this denial relates merely to the precise *spot*, and the *manner* in which he was interrupted and

prevented by Commodore Decatur.—His previous threats of cutting off the ears, and mutilating the members of congress, he has not denied, although the charge was made by me, in the National Intelligencer, in my own name, *when we were both in the city of Washington*, and when the facts were fresh in the memory of all, and when many were on the spot by whom these facts could, and if denied, would have been proved. Nor has General Jackson ever denied, even in his letter to Mr. Grundy, his going in his carriage with a settled design of putting his threats into execution, and that between the carriage and the senate chamber he was turned from his purpose by the strong and decisive expostulations of commodore Decatur.

That the account of a transaction so extraordinary in its character, as this, should have been related as coming from Commodore Decatur—and this, not only in his life time but immediately after it should have taken place—and for this story to have no foundation in fact, and to remain uncontradicted by that gentleman, cannot be credited. Those members of congress who remained in the city a few days after the adjournment, carried the story home with them, and told it as a fact—and all agreed in every material fact, and that it came from the lips of commodore Decatur. Such was the statement made by Mr. Baldwin, of Pittsburgh. He stated the facts to gentlemen of the first respectability in the city, nor did he to those gentlemen suggest a doubt of the truth of those facts. It has, moreover, been recently stated in a pamphlet published in the city of Philadelphia, that Joseph Hopkinson, Esq. and Mr. Daniel Smith, (the latter a particular and personal friend of Commodore Decatur's) had received from the Commodore an account of the disgraceful scene, with all its circumstances.

Now if General Jackson never did, in the Bonapartean style, design or attempt to violate the sanctity of the senate house, as he and his friends would wish us to believe, and if it was never stated by Commodore Decatur, who were the authors of this vile slander upon the General? That Messrs. Baldwin, Hopkinson, Smith, and many others, gave currency to this story, long before either Mr. Adams or General Jackson were spoken of for the presidency, is a fact that they will be incapable of denying, as they would be of fabricating a false report against their neighbors. In short, if the outrageous conduct charged upon Gen. Jackson be not true, and these gentlemen having been given as the authors of the report in question: and if they never did receive the fact, as stated, from Commodore Decatur, is it not a duty they owe to themselves, to General Jackson, and to the public, *to say so?* Can their silence, on this occasion, be justified or excused, on any principle of truth, justice, or honor?—unless it be coupled with the concession that the facts, as stated, are substantially true—and in such case it could hardly be expected from a thorough going Jacksonite to turn states' evidence, and thus convict his favorite candidate of falsehood and deception. I most conscientiously believe the facts as here stated, and they are candidly submitted to the serious consideration of the intelligent and peace-loving citizens of Pennsylvania, by their friend and fellow citizen.

A. LACOCK.

Spring Dale, June 26, 1828.

Further comment upon this subject is unnecessary. Those who are still incredulous, would not believe, though one were to rise from the dead. Impartial history, however, will do justice to the country, and to the parties concerned. It were well for the fame of the Hero if his evasive and dishonorable letter to Mr. Grundy could be blotted from the annals of the times. But it will live as long as his name is known, as one of the many evidences of his paltry meanness and numerous prevarications.

Further Extracts from the Drama of the

HERO OF TWO WARS.

Act 5th. Scene 3d.

Scene—THE HERMITAGE—HERO'S STUDY

Enter Hero: two Letters in his hand.

HERO. This, this is damnable—why, by the Eternal,

'Twould task the patience even of Job himself!

And fling to madness men of calmer mood—
Not choose my own associates! not retain
Beneath my roof, my best-and dearest friend!
Whose spirit wounded by the barbed shafts
Of truths malicious, in kind sympathy
Mingles assimilated griefs with mine.
'Tis past endurance—and for what offence?
What mighty mischief against nature's law,
Do canting moralists require this sacrifice?
I have it here—a letter postmarked '*Richmond*,'
The writer—foh! his odious name associates
With recollections strong, of insults past.
'Twould choke me to repeat it. Only hear him:

Reads—"The good, the virtuous, feel themselves offended,
That you should take to your domestic circle,
And cherished confidence, a man like Toady.
Of whom 'tis hinted, he has been guilty
Of base seduction, and adulterous incest.
The coalition clamour loud about it,
And wield it greatly to our disadvantage,
And to your own. 'Tis therefore meet and proper
That he should be discharged. The common good,
Requires this of you—and you *must* regard it."

And here's again another precious scrawl,
From Lexington, Kentucky. Goodly monitors,
Amongst *inglorious cowards* may be found.

Reads—"Most honored, most respected, glorious Chief,
With painful diffidence your friends approach you.
The subject is most delicate: we feel it,
As strongly for yourself, as for the cause.
Urgent necessity, and patriot duty,
Compel us to speak plain. We pray your patience,
There goes an ugly and an ancient proverb,
To this effect: '*A great man's character,*
May well be known by his associations.
This silly adage has obtained high credence
With moral mongers and religious whiners,
Whom we must now conciliate, right or wrong.
The hireling writers of the coalition,
Have late discovered the true character
Of your dear friend and worthy privy counsellor,
Some twelve months since placed near your precious person,
To share your burthens in the passing canvass.
With matchless impudence they have proclaimed it,
And none, you know, dare venture contradiction.
The public mind is startled—if allayed not,
It may be roused to fury, and the torrent,
Once set in motion, roll impetuous on,
And with resistless force o'erwhelm us all.
We beg you, gracious Chief, to bear with us;
The signs are ominous. May Heaven avert
The consummation of our dread forebodings.
Could you endure a partial separation
From your dear friend, one cause of great offence,
A stumbling block of mighty magnitude,
Would be removed. We are your humble servants."

Now by the soul of me, but here is modesty!
These Richmond gentry send their orders forth:
Matters stand so and so. This is REQUIRED,
And this MUST be regarded. MUST to me!
From those, too, who out openly proclaim
Their strong contempt and fixed determination,
To raise me for a purpose of their own.
Perdition on them all! May I become
Emasculated, as the squeaking compound,
Of all the vile, base, and malignant passions,
Whom they so meanly worship, when I heed them.
And what are these smooth silvery sycophants,
Whose bowed accents greet me from Kentucky?
Professing so much love, such high respect,
For my own *precious person*, (damn the sneer,)
Calling upon me to detach myself,
For this same cause, from my most useful friend.
To tear the best affections from my heart,
And root up all its warmest sympathies?
'Tis well I know them. When were they my friends?
Mean cowards as they are, they too, would use me.
Their dastard spirits, filled with rankling hate
And spiteful envy, long had cowered with fear,
Beneath the manly front and piercing eye,
Of their own fellow citizen. A man,
Born to command and awe ten thousand slaves
Of such ignoble mould. Were he my friend!
Oh were my destiny but linked with his!
Faith, courage, eloquence, unsullied honor,
Unawed by rabble clamor, undismayed
By fearful combinations of bad men,
He marches onward, in his own good cause,
His foes receding as the craven rook,
Skulks from the Eagle's glance———
Ha! How is this? Where am I? I'm transported.
Involuntary homage I have paid,
To my great rival. And he well deserves it;
Nor will I now retract a single word.
But these my "*humble servants*" of Kentucky,
So full of patriotism, love and duty,
What seek they? The prostration of a rival
One whom they dare not meet in open contest,
And manly controversy, face to face.
Hence, they enlist themselves beneath my banner,
Hoping to have their wishes consummated,
Without incurring danger to themselves.
And shall I yield myself to their direction,
Thinly disguised in form of mere suggestion?
They shall far better know me.

[*Walks in deep meditation.*

Cursed be the ill-omened day I first permitted,
The demon of ambition to possess me.
I am no longer master of myself.
But like a tiger chained and kept by others,
My time, my fortune, every darling passion,
All, all are put in daily requisition.
How many keepers have I? None can tell,
Where they reside, nor what their character.
Bear, and forbear: give, without measure give,
Is the eternal din of all around me.
Are all men beggars? Is the world diseased?
Why has my home become a Lazaretto?
Are all the bazars that the teeming stews
Of politics give birth to, cast upon me?
Who crowds my parlour? who surrounds my board!
Who claims my bounty, as a debt incurred?
By whom am I devoured? Such a crew!
'Twould sink a Bagnio, were they all its inmates!
Amongst them, one, one only have I found,
Of soul and spirit with my own congenial!
Him, I must brand! He forsooth, is infamous
A peccadillo, a mere mole hill crime,
I listened on him. 'Twas a natural impulse.

That prompted the commission. And it damns him,
Whilst I, who act seduction, murder, treason!
A life of boisterous violence! 'Tis well—
None dare accuse me.—But alas! poor Toady,
He must be made a scape goat:—All the sins
Of Kendal, Green and Jarvis, heaped upon him,
And driven to the wilderness. For me,
Prospects of office, patronge, and power,
Present a panoply of safe protection.
What odious hypocrites! Ha! who comes there?

[*Enter gentleman usher.*

USHER. A messenger, great Chief, requests admission.
Alleging matter for your private ear.

HERO. Whence comes he? and what is his port and bearing?

USHER. He brings the appointed passport to your person,
From where he comes, he said not.
His port and bearing are in ordinary.
He seems a neat, spruce, dapper gentleman,
With lady's mien and lip, and roseate cheek,
A chin, on which, if razor ever crossed it,
'Twere but to put away the velvet down,
Which lady's chin might wear with pleasing grace.
His speech is flippant, and he twirls his whip,
And cracks it like a smart automaton,
Remarked nought else about him, worthy notice.

HERO. Let him be introduced.

[*Exit Usher.*

Some begging jackanapes,
Seeking good quarters for a week or two,
And cash to bear him hence. Boasting besides,
His various service, and preferring claims
To future office. Shall this never end?

[*Enter Usher introducing Messenger.*

MESS. General, your most obedient. I am happy,
Thus to renew acquaintance.

HERO. (*coldly*) Who are you?

MESS. Dear me! have forgot? Now that's a good one.

HERO. Nay, my dear youth! no disrespect is meant:
But I cannot remember every face,
Nor every name, with which I make acquaintance.

MESS. But mine!—face!—name! I thought I'd some pretension.
Well let it pass: see—here are my credentials.

[*Giving papers.*

[*Hero opens the packet and starts.*

HERO. Hah! here's a name never to be neglected;
An old firm friend with me to rise or fall.
Usher, I'd be alone. My gentle boy—
Some gingerbread—a glass of Canary:
Your wants shall be healed; pray retire.

MESS. Boy! This is usage I did not expect,
Why, does he take me for a Ganymede!
A lady's page? I, a second Junius—

HERO. (*To Usher, impatiently.*) Take, take the imp away. What mean you?

[*Usher drags the Messenger out.*

(*Hero reads: meditates. After a long pause,*)
"And you too Brutus," I may well exclaim,
As Cæsar did, when stricken down with wounds,
He spied the reeking dagger of his friend.
And Pennsylvania, too, conspires against me.
Poor Toady! the whole pack have opened on him.
The Richmond junta never could have moved me,
Nor could Kentucky sycophants prevail:—
But Pennsylvania—my old Pittsburgh friend:
That is another story—Oh my heart!
Toady! dear Toady! we must separate.
And who shall bear the fatal message to him?—
I'll even send a slave, for such black tidings
Should be borne by slaves. Congo! Ho Congo!

[*Enter Congo.*

Go bear this message to your master Toady.

[*Exit Congo, bearing a letter.*

With all the clogs that weigh me to the earth
Shall I e'er reach the Presidential chair?
That's indeed the question: to try—to run,
And by that race, to win the highest prize
That flesh is heir to:—"'Tis a consummation
Devoutly to be wished," to try—to run,—
To run! perchance to fall;—"Ay, there's the rub,"
For in that fall, how low I may descend,
When twice I'm fairly beaten from the field,
Should bid me pause:—"There's the respect!"
That makes the worthy oft abstain through life,
From struggling after popularity.
For who that would not run where glory points,
But for the dread of scourging in the race,—
The insolence, and spurns and cuffs that pour
Like torrents on our heads,—our early faults,
Our sins of riper years,—our midnight crimes,
That we had vainly thought, were hid from all
But the Omniscient eye, may come to light,
And be like mountains piled upon our backs
"Puzzles the will," and makes the wise decline
To tread the dangerous way. Popularity,
Ever inconstant as the nodding plume,
Shaking capriciously at every step,
May quite desert its votary at last,
And plunge him down to deepest infamy.
While all his crimes are trumpeted abroad,
Which but for his ambition might have slept.
And with him been forgotten in the tomb.
And should I ever reach the chair of state,
I'd only be a more conspicuous mark,
At which the scoffing world would point and say,
There sits a man of blood,—of lechery:
Of outrage unexampled in his day,
Hung'ring for Mammon—thirsting for blood:
Whose whole career is like the whirlwind's rage,
Where tempests flap their angry wings o'er earth;
This could I bear, if I could but succeed.
But opposition still keeps gathering strength,
More than commensurate with all my efforts.
Conciliation has been tried in vain,
And falsehood, fraud, and circumvention fail.
Th' chivalric sons of Boon whom I denounced
As recreants, spurn me from them with contempt,
Not that they love my rival—but they hate
THEIR SLANDERER. The venerable shade
Of SHELBY, too, has risen in my path,
The elements[1] confound me, and impeach
My truth,—legal records rise in judgment
To proclaim my avarice and my lust.
The spirits of the dead wake from their graves,
And stalk at midnight round my restless couch,
Invoking imprecations on my head.

[1] The fog at the battle of New-Orleans, though, which the Hero nearly three years afterwards saw, or pretended he saw so distinctly. (*See his letters to Gen. Adair.*)

E'en death himself has hurl'd his venomed dart,
And called the Master Spirit of the North
From my embraces, to his spacious realm.
And in the South, where shone my brightest hopes,
Where oft I've played the lordling over slaves,
Why, even there my cause is fast declining.
O Impudence! O Falsehood! must I fall
At last, with all your matchless aid, struggling
To save me from irremediable shame?
O! that I were indeed an anchorite,
The tenant of some wild untrodden vale,
Where I might find Lethean springs to drink
Oblivion to the past. Conscience! conscience!
Could I but fly where thou couldst not pursue
I yet might find reposo. Again I say,
Curst be the ill-omened day I first permitted
The demon of ambition to possess me.

[*Hero much agitated, walks the floor, Toady enters, Hero starts.*]

Seek not to know the reason of my message,
'Tis not my will but policy that dictates,
A separation 'tween myself and friend.

TOADY. Wherefore startle at my entrance Hero?

HERO. There's not a knave in all the spacious earth,
But he's a coward.

TOADY. There's not a madman
On this spacious earth, but thinks he's something
Which he is not:—some fancy they are kings,
While others promulgate self degradation,
And think themselves more wretched than they are.
Thou art brave, madly brave, and brawly mad.

HERO. 'Tis true indeed, I am reputed brave,
Nor would I shrink from man, nor would I skulk
In time of battle, from the front of war;
Yet notwithstanding, I'm a recreant,
For never do I turn my thoughts within,
But I recoil and tremble at the past.
And if I turn my glance upon the future,
I see posterity scoffingly point
To the historian's page, and mock my name
With that vain appellation which my friends
Have given, "The Hero of Two Wars."

TOADY. Thou art ever looking on the darkest side
Of all that does concern thee. This clamour
Of thy foes will cease when thou'rt exalted
To the Presidential Chair. Great Chieftain,
Let not thy mind thus brood o'er fancied ills,
Go to your chamber and compose yourself.

[*Exit Hero.*

Alas, the Chieftain hath sufficient cause
For his forebodings,—Every mail arrives
With some disastrous news portending ruin.
The land where once he triumphed o'er his foes,
Where shone the flashes of his conqu'ring sword,
Hath sealed adhesion to his rival's cause.
The land of Penn, where late he was so strong,
From East to West is now denouncing him.
Falsehood, and fraud, and art, have failed to win
The generous sons of Boon to Hero's ranks.
These things so ominous of *his* defeat,
Admonish *me* to look about myself.
I must be banished from the Hermitage,
And wherefore, even Hero will not tell.
To leave my fortunes chained to Hero's car,
Or cut them loose at once, behooves me to
Determine. But how to escape I know not,
Should I go over to the enemy?—
Why they perchance, may spurn me from their ranks,—
This must be maturely weighed. [*Exit Toady.*

BURR'S CONSPIRACY.

Extract of a letter from Judge Nathaniel W. Williams of Tennessee, to Nathaniel W. W. Kerr, Esq. dated the 13th December, 1827.

"My Dear Sir: It is madness to think of Jackson for President of the United States. This Burr matter I cannot be mistaken about; my eyes and ears are my witnesses. He (Jackson) offered me a commission of Captain in Burr's army, or told me I could get one if I would accept. And during this affair he said to me, in the presence of Judge ——, (who though now says he does not remember it,) depend upon it, gentlemen, the division of the U. States has taken deep root; you will find a number of the Senate, and a number of the members of the House of Representatives, deeply involved in this scheme."

General Jackson to Judge Williams.

HERMITAGE, Feb. 23, 1828.

Sir: Having received a letter from a high-minded, honorable gentleman from Virginia, who loves *truth* and *knows how to appreciate character*, I lose no time in laying before you the postscript of his letter, which is in the following words, to wit: "It may be well to say that a letter was handed about at the *Adams Convention*, I hear, accusing you of being concerned in Burr's conspiracy, upon the authority of a Judge Nathaniel Williams, of your State. The report is, that this Judge Williams writes, when a young man he applied to you, then a Judge, to sign his license as a lawyer, that you did so, but recommended to him, as you conceived him to be a man of promise, to push his fortune by joining Burr, *who was then in your house*, promising if he would do so, to procure for him a commission as captain in Burr's army. This story is going the rounds from the Adams Delegates, who have returned home, notwithstanding they ought to know that you was the first person to put Governor Claibourn on his guard against the schemes of Burr. VERBUM SOT."

The records of the country contradict this statement, as it is well known that I resigned my appointment of Judge before Colonel Burr ever came [illegible]

the state of Tennessee. I cannot, then, for a moment, permit myself to believe that you, elevated as you are, to a seat on the judicial bench of Tennessee, could give your authority to such an unfounded falsehood. Duty to myself as well as justice to you, therefore, require that I should without delay, advise you of this libel upon my character, so that you may at once declare whether you are or are not the author of this calumny, before I expose it as such.

I am, and have been, well advised of a secret combination of a *base and wicked faction* in Tennessee, whose object is to slander me, but, until *now*, I have never heard or had the least intimation that you were of that *group*. Nor do I now believe that you, who must be so well satisfied of the falsehood contained in the postcript of the letter referred to above, as well as the rectitude of my conduct since your acquaintance with me, could be so lost to *virtue* and to *truth* as to have originated and put in circulation so base a calumny. With this impression I send J. W. D. S. Donelson to you with this communication, having no doubt as an honorable man, that you will send me a frank and prompt reply.

(A copy signed.)

ANDREW JACKSON.

Hon. NATHANIEL WILLIAMS,
Judge of the Circuit Courts of Tennessee.

Judge Williams' reply to Gen. Jackson.

SPARTA, Feb. 27, 1828.

After copying from Gen. Jackson's letter to me, the report as stated in his letter, I wrote as follows:

I can very frankly deny ever having written the letter spoken of by the gentleman who wrote you from Washington, but I did write a letter to a relation of mine, at that time in Richmond. The letter, if seen would show that it was designed as a confidential one. I do not, at this time, recollect accurately what the letter did contain; I believe though I can remember a part, if not the whole, of what I intended at the time; and I will state it, as it is but just that what has been by any means privately circulated, should be publicly avowed under the necessities of this case.

Some time after Burr had passed Nashville once or twice, to the lower country, before Mr. Jefferson's proclamation, in riding from Gen. Jackson's house to Nashville, General Jackson, in reference to that conspiracy, or what was afterwards called by others a conspiracy, said to me, "that I could if I would accept it, obtain a commission of Captain."

Afterwards, during the setting of the County Court of Sumner, at a time when Patton Anderson told me that either Burr, or Adair, or both of them, were at General Jackson's house, in a room of a tavern then kept by Edmund Cratcher, General Jackson said to me —I think Judge Stuart was then in the room—"Take notice, gentlemen, you will find that a division of the United States has taken deep root; you will find that a number of the members of the House of Representatives are deeply involved in the scheme."

I am not certain that the above was contained in my private letter to Mr. Nathaniel Kerr; but as I have made these statements privately, it is but just that I should now avow them.

I am in hopes, sir, that this letter will be altogether satisfactory to you, for Gen. Jackson may be assured (the presidential question aside) no man can feel more bound to General Jackson than myself, for the great honor conferred by him on my country.

(Copy,) NATH. W. WILLIAMS.

Gen. ANDREW JACKSON.

Under the belief that it is my duty to make the following statement, I make it. I moved to Nashville, Tennessee, from the county of Pittsylvania, Virginia, in the fall of the year 1804, at the age of twenty-five; that is, I moved from Virginia in 1803, to Hawkins' court house, East Tennessee, and from there I removed to Nashville. In 1806 or 7, these Burr matters transpired. I, before protesting against the proceedings of Burr, had been frequently employed in General Jackson's collecting business, and other suits of his. I think in the spring or fall of 1806, in riding from the General's

house to Nashville, near the Clover Bottom, he spoke to me in relation to a commission in Burr's army. And in the same year, at Gallatin, he made the declarations in relation to the division of the Union, as stated in our correspondence. I not only then determined that I would not agree to what I believed to be Burr's schemes, but that I would oppose him as far as I could. Either before or after Mr. Jefferson's proclamation, it was, as I thought, intended to impress the public mind with the belief, that a ball, then on hand in Nashville, was intended as a mark of respect to Col. Burr. A number of gentlemen in Nashville, to destroy this impression, and to show their disapprobation of Burr, determined that Col. Burr should not attend the ball, and so informed Colonel Burr, through Judge John Overton, who returned with the information, as he told me, from Burr, that Burr had declined coming to the ball. With this we were satisfied. About the time the ball was about half over, I was standing against the door of entrance to the room, and saw Jackson lead Burr by the arm into the room, and introduce him, with considerable form, to the ladies and gentlemen then present. I do not recollect at this time, that Mr. Jefferson's proclamation had any effect on the persons then about Nashville, who were from their conduct justly liable to our suspicions, and I think I took some pains to enquire into that circumstance. Sometime afterwards, our party, to show their further indignation, burnt Burr publicly in effigy. I have always believed that, during this Burr matter, that Major Tilman Dixon informed me, by letter, that General Coffee had been engaged in procuring boats and provisions for Burr, on Cumberland river, though the letter, if there was one, I cannot now find, and I have examined for it. It was my understanding at the time, that Colonel Stokely D. Hays, went off as one of Burr's men, in his boats, and I have never heard it disputed since. Colonel Hays is a nephew of Mrs. Jackson. Although I never was at General Jackson's house, with Burr, yet, I am tolerably well satisfied, according to my recollection at this time, of occurrences then, that in the fall of 1806 and the winter of 1807, Burr and Gen. Jackson were very intimate, and that Burr was frequently at the General's house. The above is a statement of the most prominent facts as they are fixed on my recollection. If I am mistaken about any thing it is about dates, and about them I do not pretend to accuracy. NATH. W. WILLIAMS.

A list of the gentlemen in the ball room at the time, and who were present in the public square of Nashville, when Burr was burnt in effigy, as well as now recollected.

G. W. L. Marr, Esq. attorney at law.
Wm. Smith attorney at law, and now clerk of the Circuit Court of Williamson county.
Thos. Swan, of Va. attorney at law, (dead.)
Dr. Watkins, of E. Ten.
John G. Blount, of N. C.
Judge Porter, of Louisiana.
V. Tonsal, of Pittsylvania co. Va.
E. S. Hall.
—— *Curry*, former Postmaster at Nashville.

I am not certain that the gentlemen referred to were present, if not they can say, the greater part I am pretty confident were present. I very well know there were at the burning of the effigy from one to two hundred individuals. N. W. WILLIAMS.

☞FURTHER EVIDENCE!!☜

From the Louisville Focus.

Some facts relative to the connection of these gentlemen came within my knowledge, which I will now state to the public.

I was at Nashville it December, 1806, seeking a passage down the river. I was shown two fine flat boats, belonging to Col. Burr, in which he was about to descend the river, and I was advised to apply for a passage in them. Disliking the association, I declined it, and soon after took a passage in an open keel boat. We overtook Burr with his fleets in the Ohio, consisting probably of 40 or 50 boats—flats, barges, keels, &c. In the boat with Col. Burr, I found Stokley D. Hays, Esq. a young gentleman, who is the nephew of Gen. Jackson, and who was apparently a member of the military family, or an aid of Col. Burr. I was informed by Mr. Hays, that he was

not engaged absolutely and unconditionally in the enterprise, but that he had a letter from his uncle Jackson to Gov. Claiborne, with whom he was to consult at Orleans, and then finally to determine on his course. During our voyage, we were frequently in company with the fleet, occasionally passing and repassing each other. These are the facts, which came within my own knowledge.

I have had information from others, which I believe to be correct—that General Jackson sent another of his nephews with Col. Burr; that he endeavoured to induce other men to go with him; and that he superintended the building of the boats for him, and paid the workmen.

I have heard the late Col. Bruin, then judge in the Mississippi Territory, relate the following anecdote.—He lived in the Mississippi at the mouth of Bayou Pierre, and had been intimate with Burr in the revolution.—Burr landed at his house, and after exchanging salutations, &c. judge Bruin handed him a paper, just received from Natchez, containing an account of Wilkinson's preparations against him. He appeared to be very much surprised and agitated by this news, and declared that Wilkinson had been associated with him in his projects and had betrayed him.

It has been said, that Burr had deceived Jackson, and made him believe, that our government connived at his project; and that when undeceived by the active measures of the President against Burr, he abandoned him; but it was after these measures, that Burr was hospitably entertained at the Hermitage, that the boats were delivered to him, and that the nephew of the General was sent with him on the expedition. All these were done too, after the letter of Gen. Jackson to Gov. Claiborne, in November. Gen. Adair manifestly considered Gen. Jackson as acting the part not of an undeceived man, but of a traitor to the project, to save himself when he feared it would fail.

The most favorable construction, that can be put on the conduct of Gen. Jackson, is, that he was unwilling to go further in Burr's projects, than an expedition against Mexico: that he feared Burr and Wilkinson would take possession of Orleans: and that his letter to Claiborne was intended to prevent them from doing it, by putting the city in a condition for defence.—He was willing at least to join in an unlawful expedition against Mexico.

JOSEPH BUCHANAN.

REMARKS.

The foregoing documents leave no room to doubt the connection between JACKSON and BURR. How far Jackson was really possessed of Burr's projects, may be made a question: but that he was his associate or his dupe, is now most manifest. The veracity of judge Williams is not questioned, and Gen. Jackson, in his letter to him, treats him as a man of good character. Besides this, he refers to circumstances and to persons with so much particularity, as would lead to certain detection, were he fabricating a story.

The reader's attention is requested to the letter of Gen. Jackson, and Judge Williams's reply. They show the true character of the Hero, in a strong point of light. In judge Williams's letter to Kerr, no mention whatever is made of the circumstance, that the offer of a commission in Burr's army, was made, when Williams applied to Jackson, as a judge, for a license to practice law. When Jackson writes to the judge for an explanation, he puts this matter forward as a principal circumstance, hanging the others upon it. He then gives Williams a plain hint, that as he had resigned the judgeship before Burr's expedition, the story could not possibly be true. It is plain to my mind, that this part of the story was thrown in, to invite a general denial from Williams, and either silence the story, or place Williams in an awkward situation.—But Williams seems to have perceived the trick, and taken care to prevent its effect.

He had written no letter, such as the General represented: but he had written a letter conveying the same, and a stronger imputation upon the General. What was the charge a—

stated in the letter of Gen. Jackson? It was this:

"You recommended to him, as you conceived him to be a man of promise, to push his fortune by joining Burr, promising him, if he would do so, to procure for him, a commission of captain in Burr's army."

Williams replies, that he did not make this statement, in time and manner as set out. But he tells General Jackson that he had written to a friend, asserting, that Gen. Jackson said to him, in reference to Burr's plans, *"he could, if he would accept it, obtain a commission of captain:"* That he had also written that Gen. Jackson had said in reference to the same movements:" *"Take notice gentlemen, you will find that a division of the United States has taken deep root: You will find that a number of the members of the House of Representatives are deeply involved in the scheme."*

The charge is, *Jackson recommended him to join, promising if he would, to procure him a commission.* The admission is: *he could if he would accept it, obtain a commission.* In substance, there is little variation between these two allegations. The latter, in fact, implies about all that is expressed in the former. When one man says to another, you can, if you will accept it, obtain this or that, it amounts to a recommendation to take, and an engagement to aid in obtaining.

But the second admission is of a still more aggravated nature. It accuses Gen. Jackson of speaking, at least with complacence, of a division of the Union; and of asserting a knowledge that a number of public men were *"involved in the scheme."* Now if Gen. Jackson possessed this knowledge, it was his duty as a good citizen to have communicated it to the President. If he did not possess it, it was highly criminal to make the assertion. It was criminal because of its injustice; and it was criminal as tending to mislead those to whom it was spoken, and when connected with a declaration that it had taken deep root, as tending also to shake their confidence in, and attachment to the Union. How does Gen. Jackson act in the two cases here presented?

His Virginia letter contains but the least offensive half of the charges against him. He sends a special messenger with a blustering note, requesting an explanation. Denounces the charge as *"an unfounded falsehood,"*—*"a libel upon his character;"* and calls upon Williams to declare whether he is, or is not, the author *of the calumny*, before he exposes it as such. And then in a more soothing tone, asserts his incredulity, that Williams *"could be so lost to virtue and truth, as to have originated so base a calumny."* This call is made on the 23d of February, 1828. On the 27th of February, Williams replies, informing the General the charges he had made. These are in fact more serious than the one complained of.—But does any exposure follow from Jackson? Not a word. Nothing is said of *falsehood*, or of *"libel,"* or of *"calumny."* The General's indignation subsides, and he remains as quiescent as a lamb. How is it to be explained, that in the one case, the General was so rank for an explanation? So apparently prompt to effect an exposure, whilst in the other he takes no steps whatever? It seems to me, that but one explanation can be given. In the first case, the General expected to silence a witness: In the second case, he was afraid to provoke him.

How could any man remain silent, placed in the situation that Gen. Jackson was placed in, by Williams's answer to his note, unless he felt conscious that to stir a step further, was to insure an exposure? A deep indignation had been expressed at the supposed imputation of a concurrence in, or connection with Burr's plans. A reply is given avowing that the imputation had been made. Was not this calculated to further provoke rather than to conciliate? Did not this admission of making the charge render an exposure of its falsehood more necessary? If it were injurious when only whispered about, was it not more injurious when avouched and repeated by its author? It seems to me impossible to read Jackson's note to Williams, and his reply, connected with the fact of Jackson's subsequent silence, without feeling a conviction of

Jackson's guilt. Had not the truth of Williams's statement been felt, and a consciousness prevailed that it could be made out in proof, Gen. Jackson would have hurled back the imputation with contempt and defiance. He seems to have felt for once, that to bluster further would avail nothing, and that in this case, there was reason to apprehend, *"truth was mighty and would prevail."*

We learn that since judge Williams's publication was made, a MOB of Heroites have attempted to commit violence upon his habitation and upon himself. This is all in character. It is in imitation of the Hero's former courses, and a gentle foretaste of what may be expected, should he be made President.

THE REIGN OF TERROR.

The extravagances which hurled the late John Adams, from the government of this nation, if not the result of honest intentions, were at least veiled under legal or constitutional forms.—They were, however, properly denounced by the people, and the brief period of their existence was properly denominated "the reign of terror."

Then we were jealous of our rulers. All that smacked of restraint, whether it regarded person, property, or opinion, was deemed heretical, and freedom of speech and of the press, were the watch-words of Americans. The subjection of the military to the civil power, was a part of our political creed. The appearance of a soldier, was sufficient to waken our sensibilities, and "standing armies," "military oppressions," and the "rights of man," rang through every city, town, and hamlet. These, though the danger might be over-rated, were auspicious omens for our land. They evinced to the world, that we knew and appreciated our rights.

What to an unprejudiced mind is the aspect now presented? The picture is reversed. What was once, only fearfully looked to as the signal, at which every free hand, from Georgia to Maine, would have grasped the sword, is now actually in successful experiment. Force, armed military force, is substituted for argument: the pistol and the bludgeon, are the logic introduced by the candidate for the peaceful honors of a free nation.—Threats of disunion are every where sounded, the great majority of the people are to be bullied into submission by disbanded soldiers, men of broken fortunes and ferocious character, the wrecks of war and parties, trained and disciplined by demagogues, as reckless and desperate as themselves! Nay, TREASON speaks in our legislative halls, and the ermine of the judge is begrimed with its pollution. These are fearful things, but they are true! Let the people look to it. They are eagerly, but thoughtlessly, lending themselves to establish (God grant it may not be perpetual!) "A REIGN OF TERROR," in the progress of which, the most obnoxious measures of the *federal* administration, will be reverted to and regretted, as models of mildness, forbearance, and patriotism.

These remarks have been suggested by one of the most outrageous and savage acts of barbarity, which have disgraced our annals.

General Jackson and his partizans, have frequently been charged with intemperate and oppressive conduct; but the recent attack upon old Dr. Armstrong, for expressing his views, in relation to the Presidential contest, is not exceeded, if it can be parallelled, in the records of cowardice and atrocity.

His letter is here introduced, and speaks volumes in regard to the system which is prepared for us, but under which, it is to be hoped, we are not destined to live.

Copy of a letter from DR. JAMES L. ARMSTRONG, author of "The Tennessean," dated "Dave's Mills, Bedford Co., Tenn., 17th July, 1828.

"In the 3d No. of the Tennessean, I have said that I was afraid of the daggers and pistols of Gen. Jackson's assassins.' This has been verified. On yesterday, about 12 o'clock, four men rode up to my shop, got down and went in. I was sitting in the front piazza of my dwelling house, and saw them. Supposing them to be men who might have business with me, I left the house unarmed and alone, and proceeded to my shop, almost 150 yards distant. The assassins had seated themselves in the back room of

my shop, with their backs towards me, two being on each side of the door. As soon as I had entered and discovered who they were, I was convinced some outrage was intended. The assassins were by name, MALCOM GILCHRIST, from Alabama; JESSE TAYLOR, from the western district of Tennessee; and WILLIAM GILCHRIST and ARCHIBALD YELL, from Shelbyville, Tenn. On casting my eyes around, I discovered that they were armed with large clubs; and also in the breasts of several, I could see the handles of dirks and pistols, especially the assassin Yell. This is the same Yell who is a member of our legislature, and figured as the Jackson bully at the last session. He is the same Yell who certified for Parrish, that I was the author of the 'Tennessean,' and procured certificates against the character of John Woods. These fellows very soon produced a paper, which they said I must sign. Perceiving it was their intention to force me to sign something disgraceful, I told them I was unarmed and alone, and that it was very unfair to be thus set upon *in my own house*. At this time, I was standing near the back door of my shop, and had time to reflect that there was a neighbor who lived about three hundred yards distant, across the creek, where there was probably some company, and also where I might procure arms to defend myself. I determined to risk being shot rather than sign the paper,—which I did not see, not do I now know its contents.—Seeing me disinclined to look at the paper, one of them swore I should sign it, or he would—at this moment, believing from the movements of the party, that they certainly designed to assassinate me, I sprung out of the house, and retreated as fast as I could, to Davis's Store—the assassins followed me rapidly. One of them, (Malcolm Gilchrist,) who lives in Alabama, had been selected to perform the deed. This fellow now pursued me in front of the others, and in endeavouring to draw his pistol from his breast, he dropt and lost it. The pistol has since been found, and was heavily loaded—and it is now in my possession. On the return of the assassins to their horses, a crippled youth who was near my shop, saw them looking for it, and heard the fellow say how he had lost it.

I was pursued across the river and in attempting to climb the bank on the other side, the two *Gilchrists* overtook me and knocked me down with their clubs, and would surely have killed me, if Mr. Davis, and a number of other men had not come to my relief. I am *old*, and have *grand-children*,—the assassins were *all* comparatively *young* men.

I am bruised and mangled all over, and my head is cut to the skull, and am just able to hold my pen, and cannot do this subject justice, as I feel a considerable weight and concussion of the brain.

On last Monday morning I was in Shelbyville, procuring documents to write a No. on General Jackson's intimacy with Burr. This no doubt these fellows had heard, and it was determined to put me out of the way, or disgrace me.—Thank God, they have not, as yet, done either. But I really consider my life in danger, and therefore suppose I shall be compelled to desist from giving information to the people relative to Gen. Jackson. As a parting word, I ask my countrymen to pause, and think before it is too late, what kind of man they desire to make President. JAMES L. ARMSTRONG."

Has it come to this? that an American dare not express his opinion but at the hazard of his life?

That on such exercise of his rights, the myrmidons of a military aspirant, are to beset his house, and pour out his blood upon his own hearthstone.

Shall not age be entitled to its immunities? Are not grey hairs to be a protection against the violence of ruffians? The faultering limbs of a FATHER and GRANDFATHER, a sufficient safeguard?

AMERICANS! will you not pause? Have you no apprehension for yourselves: your families: your children?—If such deeds are perpetrated by your idol and his followers, without right, or the shadow of authority, what are you to expect, when you shall have invested them with power?

REFLECT then, while it is not yet too late: consult your judgments, not your passions. Scan the merits of those who aspire to your confidence: their experience, and their CHARACTER AS PUBLIC SERVANTS AND PRIVATE CITIZENS.

FACTS, can be ascertained by all: they cannot lie: and they are altogether worthy of the calm consideration of the lover of truth, and his country. The measures of the present Administration, are such as have distinguished the best periods of our history, and are those, which a vast majority of the people have repeatedly sanctioned.—One or two, selected as objects of cavil, have been misrepresented by the opposition; but the prominent acts of the government, are such as cannot be assailed with safety, for they are completely fixed in the favour of the people; *and the opposition pledge themselves to their support, as an incentive to public confidence.*

Upon the ground of general policy, then, there can be but little cause of difference. It is therefore, a question in regard to men; and their adaptation to CIVIL GOVERNMENT, and standard of CHARACTER, become questions of great interest.

Upon these two grounds, then, it may be fearlessly asserted, that Mr. Adams is unassailable. Without entering into details, it is sufficient to point to the history of our country, for upwards of thirty years past, where

his name is found identified with every measure, tending to her prosperity and glory. This will not, cannot be controverted.

His personal character, from his cradle upwards; through youth, manhood and age, in the seclusion of study, the calm and unobtrusive scenes of domestic life, or the perplexity and anxieties of public affairs, has been without stain, and unsuspected. It may be doubted, whether any character, in any age, has been subjected to a scrutiny more intense, severe, and relentless, than that of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS; and it will be difficult to point to one, that has come brighter from the trial.

Safe, in the possession of a good conscience, he wields the destinies of the nation, with the wisdom and virtue of the noblest Roman, in the best days of the republic. He has supported the honor and dignity of his country, reverenced the laws, preserved our institutions from the violence of faction and treason: and though the storm still rages, he calmly watches its progress, and parries against its dangers. But who is it, in the day of peril, that we would substitute for this irreproachable man?

The very reverse, certainly. No two individuals were ever more unlike: Mr. Adams' history is known from his infancy, and he has stood before the people, for more than half his life, employed in their service. General Jackson, until his fortunate career as a soldier, was not known beyond the precincts of his adopted state; and there, he was never distinguished for one qualification, fitting him for civil life. One brilliant action, at the age of fifty years, introduced him to the notice and favour of his country. This was natural and proper; but when gratitude was converted into adulation, and the monstrous attempt conceived, of placing him at the head of the government, it became indispensible to scrutinize his qualifications and character: to look into the obscurity in which the first half century of his life had been involved.—and what does the investigation unfold?

A BOYHOOD

Of idleness and ignorance, and of character so equivocal, that his partizans claim for him, as the first step in heroism, the distinguished merit of *refusing the office of boot black to a British subaltern.*

A YOUTH,

Marked by the habits and fate of a spendthrift, improvident, reckless, and unsettled.

A MANHOOD,

Stained by violence, profligacy, seduction, bloodshed, and ALMOST TREASON.

Advancing age, and an extended sphere of action, has not failed to exhibit the maturity of this combination of vice. Public favour, the temporary slave of adventitious victory, incredibly aided, by a resort to a system of *personal intimidation*, have kept the people blind to many enormities. Every day, however, strengthens the evidence against him; and CRUELTY, VIOLATION OF THE LAWS, AVARICE, PROFANITY, HYPOCRISY, TYRANNY and OPPRESSION, are all fastened upon him, by TESTIMONY which falsehood and cunning CANNOT EVADE.

That these various charges may not be attributed to mere declamation let us examine the evidence.

For the history of his youth his biographers may be safely consulted; and they establish the facts, which have been asserted.

MANHOOD:

1. *Violence.*—See the letter of Col. Benton, detailing the attack upon him and his brother, by General Jackson and some of his friends. Also, the intended violation of the Senate Chamber, only prevented by the firmness and patriotism of Decatur.

2. *Profligacy and Seduction.*—The records of a court of Justice, added to a host of witnesses, among whom the VICTIM HERSELF may be now found, at his own fireside, sufficiently attest this enormity and could ROBARDS rise from the dead, his tale of wo, would not render it stronger.

3. *Bloodshed.*—It is not necessary to invoke the ghost of the murdered DICKINSON to appear and substantiate this charge. The testimony of living witnesses and honorable men, is al

ready before the public; and comment is unnecessary.

4. *Almost Treason.*—Read the letter of Judge Nathaniel Williams, detailing the intimacy of General Jackson, and the Arch-traitor Burr. Remember the memorable words of General Jackson: "*Take notice gentlemen, you will find that a division of the United States has taken deep root.*" Mark these words, and the conduct of his most violent advocates now. If further proof be wanting, it is to be found in the absolute tender, to *Judge Williams by General Jackson, the commission of a Captain in Burr's army.* MATURE AGE.

1. *Cruelty.*—Indian captives deluded and hung in cold blood. Defeated, supplicating, and terror stricken foes, put to the sword. His fellow soldiers, Woods, Harris, and others unnecessarily and illegally shot, after peace was declared, and with the shouts of joy and victory, ringing in their ears, mingled in imagination with the cries of the widows and helpless babes!!

2. *Violation of the laws.*—The civil power put down at New Orleans by martial law, under the plea of expediency, a legislative hall, closed by bayonets, and garrisoned by soldiers. The *Habeas Corpus law*, most *shamelessly outraged*, and the JUDGES who dared, to protect the right of the citizens imprisoned, and threatened with death. And lastly an honest and PATRIOTIC FREEMAN almost forced to the HALTER, and only saved by the mercies of a military commission.*

3. *Profanity.*—See the letters of T. H. Shelby to Col. Todd, for a horrible example of this vice. "WHY GOVERNOR, GOD DAMN *it*, DID NOT YOU SAY THAT YOU WOULD GIVE $300,000!" "Why Governor, GOD DAMN MY SOUL, if you did not say so!" "Go Governor, BY GOD I will make the treaty without you."

4. *Avarice.*—See the same letter, containing the strongest circumstantial evidence, that General Jackson, under his situation as a commissioner, was endeavoring to secure a large tract of valuable land for *himself and his friends.* Look into the Creek treaty, where these wretches, grateful for the favor of having their wives and children starved, and half their nation butchered, were anxious to bestow upon General Jackson, a tract of country, nine miles in extent. The baseness of the transaction was too evident, and it was scouted from the Senate house. See also, the history of the land speculation connected with the heirs of Allison.

5. *Hypocrisy.*—Is it necessary to enter into any other evidence than what has been detailed to show that Andrew Jackson, *is not a religious man?* surely not. And yet he suffers the Rev. D. Ely, to trumpet him forth as a professor of religion, and a *pious, peaceful disciple of Jesus Christ.* Beware of wolves in sheep's clothing.

6. *Tyranny and Oppression.*—See the laws enacted by Gen. Jackson, when Governor of Florida. The officer of a foreign, and friendly power violated—torn from his family, in the enjoyment of domestic privileges, and imprisoned in a dungeon; his papers seized, guards placed over his house, and insult heaped upon injury.

This then is the character of the individual, who is sought to be made the guardian of the persons, property and lives of American citizens! May that time be far off! The struggle is between wisdom, virtue, character and patriotism, and presumptuous ignorance, reckless, degrading immorality, and selfish desire of power. Between enlarged, liberal views of government calculated to raise us to honor and importance, and a narrow, wretched policy, looking only to ephemeral popularity, local and personal advantages, the gratification of base passions, or a miserable desire of revenge. In fact, the crisis cannot be misunderstood. The habits acquirements, and materials of the two parties are totally dissimilar, and a few able, and designing, and disappointed men, would exterminate all that we have deemed venerable, dignified and useful, and substitute for that eminence, which a free people, should always accord to worth and talents, a miserable equality, only worthy of the meridian of Paris, in the days of Jacobism, and which draws no distinction between the accidental achievement of *animal savage and brute force*, and the—

* Loudlier's exposition.

order, regularity, and beauty, resulting from the uniform, and auspicious operation of an ENLIGHTENED MIND.

XENO.

MADISON & JACKSON.

All who wish to understand why Gen. Jackson entertained but a poor opinion of President Madison, may find an explanation in the following document, which, in a government where the people rule, ought long since to have been before the public.

Department of War, April 12th, 1815.

SIR—As soon as the first credible account of peace was received at Washington, a letter stating the fact was addressed to you from this Department, dated the 16th of February, and as soon as the treaty of peace was ratified by the President and Senate, the event was communicated to you in another letter, dated 17th February, with instructions for the disposal of the force under your command. It is regretted, that any accident should prevent the delivery of either of those letters in due course, but I presume, that both of them have long since reached your hands, and that the instructions have been carried into effect.

I assure you, sir, that it is a very painful task, to disturb for a moment, the enjoyment of the honorable gratification which you must derive, as well from the consciousness of the great services that you have rendered your country, as from the expressions of approbation and applause, which the nation has bestowed on those services. But representations have been recently made to the President, respecting certain acts of military opposition to the civil magistrate, that require immediate attention; not only in vindication of the just authority of the laws, but to rescue your own conduct from all unmerited reproach.

There has been transmitted to the President, copies of the letter of Mr. Reed, your aid-de-camp, to the editor of the Louisiana Courier, dated the 21st Feb. of your General Order, dated the 28th Feb. —commanding certain French subjects to retire from New-Orleans; of a publication in the Louisiana Courier, of the 3d of March, under the signature of a "Citizen of Louisiana of French origin," animadverting upon the gen. order, the order of the 5th of March, enforcing the order of the 28th of February; of your letter of the 16th of February, announcing the unofficial intelligence of peace, and of a 3d General Order, of the 8th of March, suspending the order of the 28th of Feb except so far as re[illegible] de Tousard.

These documents have been accompanied with a statement, that on the 5th of March, the writer of the publication of the 3d of March, Mr. Louailhier, a member of the Legislature of the state of Louisiana, was arrested by your order, and confined in the barracks; that on the same day, Mr. Hall, the district judge, issued a Habeas Corpus, in the case of Mr. Louailhier, but before the writ was served, the judge himself was arrested by your order, for issuing it, & conducted under a strong guard to the barracks; that on the 8th of March, Mr. Dick, the Attorney of the United States, having obtained from Mr. Lewis, as State judge, a writ of Habeas Corpus, in the case of Judge Hall, which was served upon you, he was arrested by your order, and lodged in the barracks; that Judge Hall was released on the 12th of March, but was escorted to a place out of the city of New Orleans, with orders not to return until information of peace was officially received, and officially announced; and that Mr. Dick was released on the same day, and permitted to remain in town, but with orders to report himself from day to day, until discharged.

From these representations, it would appear that the judicial power of the United States has been resisted, the liberty of the press has been suspended, and the consul and subjects of a friendly government, have been exposed to great inconvenience by the exercise of military force and command. The President views the subject in its present aspect, with surprise and solicitude; but in the absence of all information from yourself, relative to your conduct, & the motives of your conduct, he abstains from any decision, or even expression of an opinion upon the case; in hopes, that such explanations may be afforded, as will reconcile his sense of public duty, with a continuance of confidence which he reposes in your judgment, discretion, and patriotism. He instructs me, therefore, to request, that you will with all possible dispatch, transmit to this department, a full report of the transactions which have been stated.—And in the mean time, it is presumed, that all extraordinary exertion of military authority has ceased, in consequence of the cessation of all danger, open or covert, upon the restoration of peace.

The President instructs me to take this opportunity of requesting that a conciliatory deportment may be observed towards the state authority and citizens of New Orleans. He is persuaded that Louisiana justly estimates the value of the talents and valor which have been displayed for her defence and safety, and that there will be no disposition in any part of the nation to review with severity the efforts of a community acting in a crisis of unparrelleled difficulty, upon the impulse of the purest patriotism.

I am very respectfully, your obed't servant,

A. J. DALLAS, Acting Sec'y. of War

Maj. Gen. A. Jackson

TRUTH'S ADVOCATE

AND

MONTHLY ANTI-JACKSON EXPOSITOR.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, SEPTEMBER, 1828.

VINDICATION

OF THE POLITICAL CONSISTENCY OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

The character of a renegado, religious or political, is so justly and universally despised, that the readiest expedient to destroy our enemy, is to endeavour to fix upon him this stigma. There is nothing, however, more estimable in the character of any individual, than that ingenuousness, which is ever ready to examine the evidence on which his opinions are formed, and to renounce them as soon as they are discovered to be erroneous. The disposition is however, so general, to impute to actions the worst motives, that it requires the highest degree of moral courage, to openly renounce opinions long and publicly maintained.

With these brief preliminary remarks, we will show to every candid mind, that Mr. ADAMS never changed his political opinions, or political course, and that he never entertained any opinions hostile to the Republican party or Republican principles; and that, if he had changed his opinions, at the time, and under the then state of things, the very circumstances of the case would have been sufficient to have satisfied any mind not predisposed to condemn, that his conduct was the result of the highest and most exalted sense of duty. But we need not the aid of this last defence; a consistency unbroken, needs no adventitious support.

Amongst those who charge Mr. Adams with apostacy, there is so much discrepancy, that that alone, in ordinary cases, would be a sufficient refutation of the charge; and some of those who have been loudest in this charge, have found it so difficult to obtain any evidence to support it, that they have altogether quit this ground, and say that Mr. Adams has not changed; that he is now, as he ever was, a Federalist, using this appellation in the party and odious sense. We therefore see, almost weekly, the same papers in one column accusing Mr. Adams of apostacy, and in the next asserting that he never changed his opinions.* It is, however, admitted on all hands, that after the winter session of Congress, 1807—8, Mr. Adams acted with the Republican administration, and one of the strongest proofs of his adhesion to the Federal party at any time, bears date April, 1807. Therefore, if he ever went from one party to another, it was between April, 1807, and January, 1808. Let us look then, to the situation of Mr. Adams at that period, to his prospects and to those of the country, and the great parties into which it was then divided, and see under what circumstances that change was made, if change there was.

Immediately after Mr. A. returned from his mission at Berlin, at the first election, (April, 1802,) he was chosen

*From the *Boston Statesman*, the leading Jackson paper in Massachusetts, the Editor of which, eleven years since, edited a Federal paper:—"Mr. ADAMS's conversion. WHEN and WHERE, did this wonderful event take place? WHEN and WHERE did he become converted to Republicanism? When St Paul was converted, we *know* the *time* and *place*. It was when he was on a journey to Damascus. But on what journey was Mr. Adams when the scales fell from his eyes? It will be *difficult* to *fix* the *time* and *place* and even to establish the FACT of his conversion for the truth is HE NEVER DID RENOUNCE THE POLITICAL PRINCIPLES, in which he had been EDUCATED, and which he cherished with ardour and maintained both by profession and practice, until he reached the meridian of life. J. Q. ADAMS is a *consistent politician*, in respect to his *principles*, whatever he may be in relation to his friendships. He is the *same man in principle* NOW that he WAS in the beginning of his course. Mr. Adams's friends fix the *period of his conversion*, at the time of his vote in favor of the embargo." This, the writer contends was not the case, and says: "There are also *some facts* which SHOW CONCLUSIVELY, that Mr. Adams did not consider that he was *renouncing* Federalism."

by the Federal party, Senator to the State Legislature. At the next winter session, he was elected by that party in the Legislature, a member of the Senate of the United States, and thus the earliest occasions were sought by that party, to bestow on him their highest honors and offices. This party, also had the control of the Harvard University, and by them he was elected professor of Rhetoric, with a liberal salary, and with liberty to retain his seat in the Senate of the United States: a liberty never allowed to any other professor. When Mr. Everett accepted his seat in Congress, the corporation immediately declared his professorship vacant, and elected a successor. At, or about this time also, the Presidency of the University was offered to Mr. Adams. Thus, if it was possible to chain a man to them by favours, and by the assurance of every honor at the disposal of the party, they had taken the readiest mode to attach Mr. Adams to their party. The prospects of this party too, were then very bright. The face of affairs of the country, were then embarrassed: war, and its attendant taxes and destruction, threatened to pursue in the train of the embargo; and the threatening cloud did not dissipate, until it had expended its thunderbolts and deluging torrents over our land. New-England became united against the administration, and the calculating politicians of New-York, were ready to join the northern league. And the downfall of Mr. Madison and his administration, was predicted, with assurances almost amounting to certainty. Was this then the period for an ambitious man to quit a rising party, ready to bestow on him all their honors, and join one who were not willing to judge him by his acts, but who continued for the first two years after his return, to greet him with the coarsest party abuse in advance, because he happened to be son of John Adams, whom the uninitiated partizans of the day, supposed was the leader and a favorite of the Federal party?—Yet such was the time, and under such circumstances, Mr. Adams is alleged to have quitted the Federal, and to have joined the Democratic party. If he had done so—rather than reproach he would deserve from his country all the gratitude due to those, who in desperate extremities hazard their all for their country. For it was amidst the shadows and darkness which then overspread the land, that John Q. Adams and Samuel Dexter, breasted the fury of the tempest, and those who were then in New England, know how much is owing to these two individuals, that our country passed unharmed through those disastrous days. At the very moment too, when Mr. Adams is alleged to have apostatized, that party which he was opposing, he well knew would eject him from office, as they did do at the next session of the Legislature. His defence of the administration of Mr. Jefferson, in his embargo letter, and his attending the caucus which nominated Mr. Madison, evinced his determination to do his duty, fearless of personal consequences.

To prove Mr. Adams' apostacy, no attempt has ever been made to show that he acted with the Republican party; this was too evident to require proof; but the whole attempt has been to show that he was once a Federalist. Now we ask, if such had been the case, would it be possible that those who alleged this fact, would be compelled to search over nearly forty years of his life, and then only find three or four isolated facts, on which to build, and at last to rely more on his descent from John Adams, than on any other fact? But the fact on which more has been said than on any other, is his having signed the proceedings of a Federal meeting, as chairman: good *prima facie* evidence, unquestionably. We not only admit this, but that he also attended another Federal caucus: and we will show that his object on both of these occasions, was any thing rather than party ends, and that no stronger evidence can be adduced of his wish to sustain the Republican system, than these two caucusses offered. The truth is, that Mr. Adams never was a FEDERALIST or a REPUBLICAN, in the party sense, but was always a FEDERAL REPUBLICAN in the constitutional sense: that is, a warm friend of the Republican system of

government, and the federative principle which would preserve the states, or their integrity, and not consolidate them, according to the proposition of Gen. Hamilton and some others.—Though the parties had their birth with the Constitution and the British treaty, yet the difference on these subjects soon subsided and the two great parties did not take their stand and draw their lines, until the administration of John Adams. At that time, the present President was out of the theatre of the parties, in a distant land. He was situated like an individual on the top of a lofty mountain, who loses the minute proportions of a contracted space at the mountain's base, and only sees the grand divisions of a large territory. Thus, Mr. Adams was so situated, that he could witness the beautiful political features of his own clime, contrasted with the ragged features of other countries. In the pure mountain atmosphere, he saw things in their true light, and not thro' the false medium caused by the impure vapours of the lower regions. He saw that the party strife was ephemereal, but that the great principles of our government, rested on the eternal foundation of justice and the rights of man; hence, on his return to America, he did not take part as a PARTIZAN, with any PARTY, but he went about as a PATRIOT *every where* when he could do *good*. If he had ever acted as a partizan, the evidence would be too clear to be debatable.

The range of our defence will be limited, by the range of the attack. And it is no little compliment to Mr. Adams that his opponents have found so little recent matter of accusation that they have gone back thirty-five years, a whole age, to seek evidence to support their charges. The first attack upon him, is grounded on garbled extracts from his Publicola, published in 1793. The proof adduced against him from these papers, is of the same character as would be an attempt to prove from the bible that there was no God. These papers are contained in eleven numbers. Mr. A's. friends in Massachusetts have republished these papers as the best refutation of the false inferences drawn from them, and as the best proof of his republican principles, and the soundness of his early opinions. In concluding those numbers, Mr. Adams says, "I will now conclude these papers, with requesting that those only who READ them, would JUDGE of their PRINCIPLES; and I am persuaded that the candour of the public will not take MISREPRESENTATION for REASON, nor INVECTIVE for ARGUMENT." Mr. Adams' opponents have not deemed it prudent to publish these papers: extracts which pervert the sense, have better suited their righteous purposes. But it so happened that these very papers, and two other series written by him the same year, one in defence of a system of neutrality, before the issue of the proclamation of neutrality, and the other defending the cause of Mr. Jefferson in his dispute with the French Minister, attracted the attention of Washington and Jefferson from their soundness and ability, and induced Jefferson to recommend him to Washington for a foreign mission, to which he was nominated, without the knowledge of his father, then Vice-President, the subsequent year. Mr. Jefferson's acquaintance with Mr. Adams commenced in Europe, immediately after the peace in 1785, where he was the fellow boarder of Jefferson and Franklin, and when Mr. Adams came home, he brought a letter from Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Gerry, in which Mr. Jefferson thus speaks of Mr. Adams: "This will be delivered you by young Mr. Adams; his being the son of your particular friend renders unnecessary from me those commendations of him, which I could with truth enter into. I congratulate your country on their prospects in this young man." This was no open letter of introduction containing the mere cant words of politeness. Mr. Jefferson could not introduce Mr. Adams to Mr. Gerry, for he knew they were already acquainted. It was contained in a long private letter to Mr. Gerry, in which Mr. Jefferson states to Mr. Gerry, that he had obtained contracts, which were advantageous to our oil fisheries and requests Mr. Gerry to have them taken up, &c. Gov. Randolph, son-in-

law of Mr. Jefferson, says. "I never heard Mr. Jefferson speak of Mr. Adams from the year 1792 without acknowledging that he was an able, learned and honest man, to which he OFTEN added, before the period mentioned, (July, 1825,) that Mr. Adams would make a safe chief magistrate of the union, and was the most fit of all the New-England men." This opinion Governor Randolph says, was changed by the "broad construction given by Mr. Adams to the constitution." But notwithstanding Mr. Jefferson's opinion the people of the United States will agree with Mr. Adams, "That independence and union are the ends, internal improvement and domestic industry the means, of the American Patriot; and so inseparably are they connected together, that it is impossible, but by the pursuit and promotion of the one, to secure and perpetuate the other." We have other testimony that Mr. Adams, at the time of the adoption of the constitution, did not concur in the views of those who were afterwards the leaders of the federal party. The late Chief Justice Parsons, who was the head of that party in New England, declared to a friend of his at the time Mr. Adams was a student of law in the office of the Chief Justice, that he could not induce Mr. Adams to adopt his opinions. Afterwards, in 1793, in delivering the fourth of July oration in Boston, he distinctly eulogized HANCOCK and SAMUEL ADAMS, at that period the mark at which the numbers of Leaco (attributed to Judge Parsons) were aimed. Mr. Adams, at a later period in Congress, voted against going into mourning for Mr. Pendleton and Samuel Adams, on general principles, which have since been uniformly acted on by Congress. For this he was attacked by the famous Alex. Smythe. Mr. Adams' answer to Smythe gave the grounds of his vote, and shows the malice of the accusation, which has been since repeated a thousand times. But his oration of July, 1793, furnishes a complete refutation. The man he would eulogize when living, and the mark of political hostility, he would not dishonor when dead, and all hostility had been buried with him in the tomb. Mr. Adams went on his mission to the Hague, in 1794, and returned in September, 1801, from Berlin. No attempt has been made to assail his conduct during that period. But during this absence he wrote his letters from Silesia, replete with republican sentiments, and warmed with the ardour of an American patriot. It was during this absence, that WASHINGTON pronounced him our "*ablest Foreign Minister.*"

Mr. Adams returned in September, 1801, and at the next election, April, 1802, was returned a Senator from Boston. During the spring session, nothing political occurred in the legislature, except an attempt to relieve a republican justice from an incapacity to hold office consequent on an impeachment and removal. It was thought his sentence was too severe, and Mr. Adams, in opposition to the Federal members, voted to relieve him from this disability. But though nothing of political character appeared in the legislature, there was in a caucus of the members, a most unequivocal mark, one that cannot be gainsayed.—The legislature was Federal, by large majorities in all its branches; on this legislature devolved the choice of a Council of nine. They had uniformly been of the prevailing party, unmixed with any of their opponents. A meeting of the Federal members was called —Mr. Adams was invited to attend. He proposed that four of the members should be selected from the REPUBLICAN PARTY. This proposition was scouted, and the Federal leader, then and afterwards the great writer of the party, said: "The man who makes such a proposition, is not our *friend*,—he will prove our DEADLIEST FOE." This was the FIRST *political act* of Mr. A. after his return from Europe; and this was the *judgment* of the intelligent leader of the Federal party in relation to THAT ACT.

At the winter session, a banking project was brought forward by the Federal gentlemen from Boston, who had been most ready to support Mr. Adams. Every means was used to engage his influence in its favor. Stock was offered him, and a large premium

on such stock as he might take, and not choose to hold. He rejected, however, the tempting inducements, and when he found he could not defeat the Bank, he moved a section opening the subscription to all citizens of the state. At this session too, two Republican Judges were removed from office, by address of the two houses, all the Federal members voting for the address.—Mr Adams not only opposed the removal, but entered his protest against it on the journals. He was also on the committee to answer the Governor's speech, this answer contains not an allusion to party politics. These were the only occasions when any thing political occurred, during his term of service in the Senate of Massachusetts. It will be thus perceived, that the first year after his return from Europe, he acted uniformly with the Republican members of the Legislature. But as the journals of this state are not published, and very little of their proceedings ever known beyond the walls of the state house, Mr. Adams was still considered by the community at large, a Federalist, without a scintilla of evidence to support it, except his being elected by Federalists, and having descended from John Adams. At this period, an United States Senator was to be elected. Timothy Pickering was agreed upon in caucus, as the Federal candidate, and Thompson Skinner the Republican. The moderate men would not vote for either. At the first ballot Mr. Adams had six votes, ten at the second, and on the third ballot was elected. Many of the Republican members of the Senate voted for Mr. Adams, and his election was considered by them as a triumph over the high Federalists.

We have now introduced Mr. Adams into the Senate of the United States. For his seat in that body, the highest office then in the gift of the Federal party, he was indebted to Federalists, the friends of his father. Mr. Jefferson, the successful competitor of that father, was at the head of the administration, and the friends of Mr. Jefferson in many places, were denouncing Mr. Adams in advance, for the course they believed he would pursue. Did ever man have stronger inducements to opposition? Mr. Adams has been represented as passionate and headstrong. Let his conduct in that body speak for him. In the Senate of the United States, the committees were chosen by ballot; and by a well known parliamentary rule, measures are committed to those friendly to them. A very large proportion of the Senate were friendly to the administration; there is, therefore, no surer test, that a member is considered friendly to an administration, than that under such circumstances, he should be placed on the committees to which the leading measures of that administration are committed.

FIRST SESSION--1803-4.

At this session, Mr. Adams was placed on all the committees in relation to Louisiana. On that in relation to offences against the United States.—On the committee of enrolment, and many other important committees.—At this session, two very important measures were introduced. The one, an amendment of the Constitution, to prevent a similar occurrence to that which took place in relation to the election between Jefferson and Burr, in Congress. The attitude in which Mr. Jefferson stood in that election, to John Adams, would have excused his son from opposing the amendment, as he certainly would, had he felt a particle of Federal party feeling, as the amendment was an indirect censure of the course pursued by the Federalists in that election. But under these circumstances, he advocated an amendment of the Constitution. It was opposed by all the Federal members.—The other measure, was the purchase of Louisiana, also opposed by the Federal members. This measure, Mr. Adams warmly advocated; his speech on the subject, may be seen in the National Intelligencer, of that period.—Mr. Adams has however, been accused of hostility to the acquisition of Louisiana, and that too, by those who accuse him of latitudinarian doctrines, because he believed an amendment of the Constitution would be required, before that territory could be admitted

into the Union. His answer, however, to Alexander Smythe, which every one should read, furnishes a complete refutation of this and many other attacks on him. By a similar rule of judging, Mr. Jefferson might be accused of hostility to Louisiana, for he says, in a letter to Mr. Dunbar, (July 17, 1803,) "That the treaty may be ratified in time, I have found it necessary to convene Congress." "It is the more necessary, because they will be obliged to ask from the people an amendment of the Constitution, authorizing their receiving the province into the Union, and providing for its government; and the limitations of power which shall be given by that amendment, will be unalterable but by the same authority."—Thus it will be seen, that on this subject there was an entire concurrence in the opinions of Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson. The Republican press, at this period, began to do Mr. Adams justice, and never afterwards assailed him, until he became a candidate for the Presidency.*

*From the *Salem Register*, of 1803, one of the leading Republican papers in Massachusetts, attributed to Dr. Bentley's pen:—"We are informed that Mr. ADAMS has declared in favor of the amendment proposed by the House respecting the electoral ticket of President and Vice-President. Would to God that the talents of this man might be saved for his country."

From the *Worcester Ægis*, of the same period; a leading Republican paper, patronized by the Hon. Levi Lincoln, Attorney General of the United States:—"The Hon. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS (the colleague of Col. Pickering in the Senate of the U. S.) will certainly be denounced and excommunicated by his party. ☞*On all the leading measures of the Senate* HE HAS ACTED WITH THE FRIENDS OF THE ADMINISTRATION. On the resolution for carrying into effect the Convention with France, he delivered a concise, nervous, manly, energetic, and unequivocal eulogy on the measure."

From the *Philadelphia Aurora*, same date: "The speech of Mr. J. Q. ADAMS is peculiarly gratifying. He is an eastern man, yet he tells us that the acquisition of Louisiana is an event of such great importance, that to be able to fulfil the treaty, an amendment to the Constitution ought to be made if necessary, and he declared his belief that every state in the Union would be in favor of it. Such language we repeat is gratifying. Already have such sentiments, expressed by such men, silenced some of the disaffected, and we hope to find, even among Federalists, no opposers to what the well informed of the party have so emphatically expressed."

SECOND SESSION—1804-5.

This session immediately succeeded the nearly unanimous re-election of Mr. Jefferson, and was marked by no acts which could be construed into a party character. At this session, Mr. Adams served on the following committees: On Revisions; on Treaty with Spain; Charter of Georgetown; Trials by Impeachment; prescribing rules for the government of the Army; the Committee of Enrolment, and many other important committees.

THIRD SESSION—1805-6.

This session was two years before Mr. Adams' alleged apostacy. The confidence placed in him at this period, by a Republican Senate, shows the absurdity of calling him at that period, a Federalist, in a party sense. He served on the following committees: On the territory north-west of the Ohio; in relation to Coins; in relation to land titles in Louisiana; in relation to the culture of sugar; on the Treasury Report; on all committees in relation to the violation of our neutral rights by Great Britain; for drafting rules for the government of the Senate; on the Army; on the Yazoo claims; on all to which the messages of the President were committed; on the memorials from Baltimore, Philadelphia, New-York, &c.; on the Hospital; on tonnage duty; on the Library; on the protection of American seamen; on prohibiting importations in foreign vessels, when ours were not admitted on equal terms; on the National Academy; on the District of Columbia; on all bills, resolutions and amendments; on the Mint; on the Judiciary; on grants of land, and on many others; he served on ten committees, where any Federal member did on one; and on about twice as many as any other member of the Republican party, although junior to most of the members. Yet it is now pretended, that at this session, Mr. Adams was the opponent of the Admin-

One uniform error runs through these extracts; that of considering Mr. Adams a Federalist, and a party man. But in the language of that day, there were no neutrals, those who did not declare openly for a party were considered against it.

istration. With as much truth, meridian might be called midnight. At this session, he voted against the Federal, and with the Republican members, in relation to the non-importation act. The Marquis de Casa Yrugo, having disregarded the inhibition by Mr. Jefferson, to the District of Columbia, and derided in a contumelious note, Mr. Jefferson's authority. Mr. Adams introduced a bill to place the authority beyond question, which he supported by a most learned and elaborate speech, which occupies 14 close printed pages of the Anthology, the first literary journal of that period.

The conduct of Mr. Adams had gained him such entire respect from the Republicans of the old school then in Congress, and his talents and assiduous attention to his official duties, had convinced them so fully that he could afford the most eminent service and the most efficient support to the administration, in the troubles then impending, that they sought by extending to him entire confidence, to bind him to them in the trammels of party. For this purpose they obtained an interview: they addressed him in the most delicate, friendly, and confiding manner. His answer should never be forgotten. Gentlemen—I can act no otherwise than I have uniformly done. Any measure which emanates from Mr. Jefferson, which I believe correct, will receive my most cordial support.—Measures, which in my conscience I believe wrong, I shall as warmly oppose, let them come from what source they may.

FOURTH SESSION—1806-7.

At this session Mr. Adams was chairman of the Judiciary committee; also, chairman of the Library committee; also, chairman of the committee on all bills, resolutions, and amendments.—He was also on all committees in relation to the Army; Public Debt; intercourse with St. Domingo; fire at Portsmouth; Weights and Measures. He was also on the following committees, his election to which, shows in the strongest degree, the confidence reposed in him by the Administration, and in these measures he acted in opposition to the Federal members. He was on the committee on Burr's conspiracy; on the committee on the President's message in relation to that conspiracy, which reported on the day of the receipt of the message, a bill to suspend the Habeas Corpus, which also passed the Senate the same day. He was also on the committee in relation to Burr's associates. At this session, he also acted with the Republican, and in opposition to the Federal members, on a call on the President in relation to the non-intercourse. In the face of this evidence, it is contended that up to this period Mr. Adams was a Federalist. Those who would maintain this position should first destroy the journals of Massachusetts and of the United States. At this session, February 23, Mr. Adams introduced the FIRST RESOLUTION EVER introduced into Congress in relation to INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS, which produced at the next session, Mr. Gallatin's famed report, which was then, on motion of Mr. Adams, printed. To rebut this whole mass of testimony, we are met in the press and and in the halls of Congress, with a little satirical song written at this period, (June, 1807.) Too unimportant in itself to notice, and only deriving its importance from the use that has been made of it. This song certainly contains no political heresy, for it contains no political principle. A proposition was made by Mr. Barlow to rob Columbus of a ray of his glory, and confer it on Captain Lewis, by changing the name of Columbia river to Lewis's. This proposition was justly ridiculed in the song attributed to Mr. Adams. The only allusion to Mr. Jefferson in this song, is to a slander on him, which the writer classes with other things, which in his belief had no existence. It was written to a most intimate friend, without a view to publication, and got into print without the knowledge of the writer, or the person to whom it was addressed. Wits, in their satire in private parties and in private correspondence, spare neither friend nor foe, and the most familiar friends are often most severely lashed in this way. In relation to this and other attempts to

slander him in his relations with Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Adams thus wrote in his answer to Alexander Smythe: "I hope and trust this paper will pass under the *eye of Mr. Jefferson himself.* I say, without fear of being disavowed by him, that he will not approve of the *use of his name* by any one, for the purpose of casting *odium upon me.*" He also adds: "I never gave a vote, either in hostility to the Administration of Mr. Jefferson, or in disregard to Republican principles, or in aversion to Republican patriots."

Just after the close of the session, April, 1807, Mr. Adams did attend a Federal caucus for nominating state officers, and his name appears to their proceedings as chairman. This would be a strong fact to shew him a party man, if it could not be explained. But we have a most ample explanation of it. To this period, notwithstanding his independent support of the administration, he yet enjoyed the confidence of most of the federal party in Boston, and the time had arrived when it was important to endeavour to unite that party with those who supported the national administration. The measure of our wrongs was full. In the Senate of the Union, these wrongs were all submitted to committees of which Mr. Adams was a member, and he clearly saw that the only way to obtain redress was to unite the country in support of such measures as the administration might take to obtain redress. That the Republican party would support such measures, was clear, and it was a great object to unite the Federal party also, in the same cause. The plan was neither quixotic nor visionary, for at the previous session in the Senate, the votes on concurring, had been unanimous, even Col. Pickering having voted that Great Britain had violated our rights. Who was Governor of Massachusetts, was of small moment, provided that state and the rest of New England would sustain the administration in a war, if war ensued. An unfortunate occurrence in the Massachusetts legislature, had a tendency to excite a spirit least conformable to a united action of the two parties. Gov. Strong received some three or four hundred more votes than Judge Sullivan, the Republican candidate. Both branches of the legislature were Republican; and in the Senate, by a management disgraceful to the Republican party there, but such as all parties in times of excitement may yield to, so many votes were rejected as to defeat the election of Governor Strong, and thus also defeat the voice of the people at the polls.—This report, which was accepted in the Senate, caused great excitement. It was, however rejected in the House, and the voice of the people in the election of Governor prevailed. At the ensuing election, this violent attempt to defeat the election of Governor Strong, was to have been made the rallying point of the Federal party, and to effect this, some most inflammatory resolutions were prepared to be offered to the meeting. Mr. Adams heard of this, and determined at all hazards to defeat them. With this view, and for the first time, he attended a party caucus of the people. He moved the commitment of these resolutions; he divested them entirely of an inflammatory and party character, and reported merely sound abstract principles, to which any one could readily accede. His report was accepted. The chairman of the meeting, the late John Phillips, afterwards President of the Senate, the intimate friend of Mr. Adams, was named in those resolutions as a Senator; he therefore declined putting his name to them, and requested Mr. Adams to take the chair for that purpose alone. Had Mr. Adams declined, he would have put to hazard the victory he had thus achieved, and would have been incapacitated from further power to aid the administration in uniting all parties for national defence. Under the circumstances of the case, all will approve his course, and every one must admit, that it proves any thing, rather than that at this time he was a Federal partizan. It is highly propable that the election of Gov. Sullivan, the subsequent week, was much aided, if not ensured, by the spirit of union he infused, and by stifling the rising tempest in its birth. A few weeks after this meeting, the

Chesapeake frigate was attacked in leaving our waters by a British squadron. Mr. Adams requested the selectmen of Boston to call a meeting on the subject, but they declined. A meeting of the citizens of the state generally was called at the State House; V. President Gerry presided, and Attorney General Morton acted as secretary. This was exclusively attended by Republicans. Mr. Adams attended, and was of the committee which reported the patriotic resolutions there adopted. Ten days after, the pressure of public opinion induced the call of a town meeting in Boston; at this meeting, Mr. Adams was appointed Chairman of the committee to prepare the resolutions, and the resolutions then passed, were from his pen. After this meeting Doctor Charles Jarvis, the leader of the Republican party, being asked how he got along with his old opponents, naming them. After his reply to the question, he said there was one man on the committee whose conduct had inspired him with the most perfect confidence, and that man was J. Q. ADAMS.

FIFTH SESSION, 1807--8.

As no act of Federalism, after this period, is alleged against Mr. Adams, and he is now admitted to have joined the administration at this period, it is unnecessary to name the committees on which he served. They were more numerous than at the former sessions. All our wrongs, and the measures for their redress, were submitted to him, and he took the lead in the Senate.—To him was committed the outrage on the Chesapeake; he was on the committee which reported the embargo bill, and he made the report for expelling John Smith from the Senate, for concurring in Burr's conspiracy. During this session, he attended the meeting which nominated *Mr. Madison*. At the close of this session, Col. Pickering issued his bitter philippick against the embargo, in a letter which shook New England to the centre. But Mr. Adams in his answer thereto, completely refuted Col. Pickering, and sustained the wisdom of the administration. The effect it produced was most powerful; the recoil was greater than the shock, and New England was undeceived, and awakened to her senses again. The legislature of Massachusetts, soon after the close of this session, passed a resolution disapproving the measures *Mr. Adams* had supported; whereupon he immediately resigned his seat, refusing to be the representative of his constituents a moment longer than they were satisfied with his acts. What a noble example to other Senators, similarly situated. The Republicans of Massachusetts invited him to stand as Governor, but as he thought the office belonged to Lieutenant Governor Lincoln, he refused to be run.—Mr. Madison appointed him minister to Russia, and before his departure, the Republicans, with Honestus, BENJAMIN AUSTIN, at their head, invited him to a public dinner. Before Mr. Adams left the country, he wrote the review of the works of Mr. Ames, in which he pointed out the dangerous principles therein defended, and warned the people against such measures as led to the Hartford Convention, and as will inevitably follow from the late proceedings in South Carolina, if persevered in. For this review, and his embargo letter, he deserves the lasting gratitude of his country.

The vindication of Mr. Adams is now completed; we have shown by a mass of evidence, that he never was a Federalist in the party sense. From the burthen of the evidence it might well be contended, that during the whole period of his life, he was a REPUBLICAN in the party sense. But such a position, though resting on much stronger evidence than the converse, would not be correct. The zeal of party never animated him, but the fire of *patriotism* ever burnt bright in his bosom.

To a friend who five years since, wrote to Mr. Adams, in relation to the slanders on his character, he replied in a private letter:

"That characters of persons presented to the public for election to offices of trust, should be strictly and even severely scrutinized, is both just and equitable. Far from objecting to the exercise of this censorial power as respects myself, I do not complain that it is extended to the transactions of my private life, and search-

es my religious opinions: That it discusses my manners, my deportment, my temper, and inquires even of the order of my domestic economy, and the principles upon which I receive and return visits. Not that I have the presumption to imagine that, in the issue of this examination, I can escape the detection of errors and infirmities, but because it is necessary to the full and perfect developement of the elective franchise; and because, relying upon the justice of the people, I can neither refuse to abide by the sentence of their judgment, nor reluct at the exhibition before them of all the evidence which may tend to enlighten their decision. It is not to be expected, that under the excitement of all the passions, incidental to a popular election, the laws of truth will be observed in the charges of heated partizans; and amidst all the bitterness with which I have been assailed, I have derived much satisfaction, by inferring from the nature of the charges brought against me, the absence of such as might have been less answerable."

From a conviction of the justness of these principles, neither Mr. Adams nor his friends have reluctcd at the severest scrutiny. The defence has necessarily been long, for it has covered a space of twenty years, and extended back forty years. If during the latter portion of the time, Mr. Adams's conduct has the appearance of more devotion to the administration it was the result of the existing state of affairs. In a quiet and prosperous course of things, the patriot need not take any very active part in the affairs of his country; but when that country is in danger, and her honor invaded, he will not hesitate to rally with all his energies to support the administration, which is sustaining her honor and defending her rights.

FROM NEW-JERSEY.

Amongst the many flattering accounts of Ohio's attachment to the cause of her country, I am happy to learn from the lips of a gentleman, lately from Warren in that state, (a man of information and unquestioned veracity,) that Ohio will most assuredly go for the Administration by an overwhelming majority,—the Jackson humbug to the contrary notwithstanding. And I venture, sir, confidently to assert, that New Jersey will also give her vote to the statesman, in preference to the "military chieftain."—The contest, I know will be warm and close, but with proper exertion, the CAUSE OF THE PEOPLE *MUST* and will triumph over an infatuated, turbulent, and disingenuous opposition.

The sources of my information, are by no means doubtful, and I think you may safely set down our majority at 3000. But let us not presume on our strength, and anticipated superiority, and thereby relax into supineness and inactivity, thinking all will be well, but let us be up and doing, and render if possible, our success doubly sure. Palsied be the arm that hangs down in a good cause. The end is to be attained only by the use of means, and the object is worthy the attention of every patriot. The honor and welfare of our beloved country is at stake,—a formidable opposition, marshaled by a few disappointed political aspirants, is drawn up in battle array,—the votaries of *modern Joab*, transported with mad enthusiasm, and the dazzle of martial glory, seem strangely determined to trammel the wheels of government, and overturn the fair fabric of our free institutions, by madly exchanging the REPUBLICAN STATESMAN, FOR A *MILITARY DESPOT!*

Is not the *Reign of Terror* impending? Are not the friends of a wise and patriotic Administration, called upon to put forth their mightiest efforts?—Let us remember the Ides of March! the downfall of the Roman Republic! and be zealous in a good cause: the cause of the people: rely upon the arm of Israel's God for strength, and HE will order our political battle, and crown us with victory, and ultimate success.

AN OLD SCHOOL DEMOCRAT

N. J. August, 1828.

GENERAL JACKSON
A NEGRO TRADER.

[No room is left for doubt, that General Jackson, amongst other means to accumulate wealth, engaged in the business of buying negroes and sending them to market. The following extract from a publication made by Andrew Erwin, and published in the National Banner, printed at Nashville, August 2, 1828, contains full proof of the fact alleged. We submit it to our readers without comment.—Certainly, it requires none.]

"And now sir, it remains for me to redeem the pledge I have given to the public, to prove you a *negro trader*, if you dared to deny it. I consider the publications of the 30th of May and the 11th of July, in the Republican, as intended to be a flat denial on your part, of the charge, particularly the latter publication—and both evidently by your authority. It is manifest indeed, you do not wish it to be believed. It has been pronounced by your supporters, a calumny *seriously implicating your character*, and has been called by your printers, under the impulse of a too hasty zeal, 'an infamous falsehood.' But, when a statement is made by those same printers, on your own authority, of the circumstances of one transaction of the kind, enough, more than enough, is admitted, completely to sustain the charge. This has been already shown, in the very conclusive and unanswerable letter of Doctor McNairy, which neither you, nor any of your partizans, have even attempted to controvert. It is remarkable, however, that you did not contrive a story in the first instance, which you and your friends could steadily adhere to. On the contrary, we find your newspaper giving one account on the 30th of May, and quite a different one on the 11th of July. Besides other material variations, it will be seen that the former represents the amount of the first payment, at $2000, while the latter fixes it at $2050. Yet great exultation is expressed, on the presumption of the minute accuracy of this latter statement, in the idea that the sum of $929,45, is not a proportional part of $2050, and consequently, could not have been your share of the first payment to Epperson. But before I proceed with any further comments on your own admissions, I will lay before you and the public, a little evidence on the subject, derived from another source. A purchase of negroes is acknowledged to have been made, in 1811, by the firm of Coleman, Green & Jackson. The members of the firm were, Joseph Coleman, Horace Green, and yourself. I will in the first place, present you with the statement of your partner, Mr. Horace Green, who, you know, was in Nashville a few days since, and was seen & conversed with, by a number of your warmest partizans. Why they did not procure from him an account of the transaction, will be readily seen on a perusal of the following letter.

Nashville, 18th July, 1828.

SIR,—Your note inquiring of me information in relation to some NEGROES, *in which General Jackson was concerned*, I have received. To give a correct view of the transaction, as I understood it, I must connect it with another. In the latter part of the year 1810, Capt. Joseph Coleman proposed to me to join him in the purchase of some cotton and tobacco, of a Mr. Bennet Smith, to which I assented. He stated to me that Mr. Smith would require security, which he would procure. Some short time after this understanding with Capt. Coleman, he informed me that Mr. Smith would take no other security than Gen. Jackson; and that Gen. Jackson would be such but, that *he* ☞MUST *be placed in the light of a PARTNER*, in order that he might have a controling power, if he thought it necessary. The cotton and tobacco were accordingly purchased, and taken by me to New Orleans. I placed them in the hands of Gray & Taylor, then commission Merchants of that place, for sale, as the property of Coleman, Green, & JACKSON. The article of cotton being somewhat depressed at the time, I was advised by them to ship it round to Philadelphia. I left it with them, and instructed them to do so for OUR benefit and returned to this place.

After my return, in May, 1811, WE PURCHASED A NUMBER OF NEGROES of a Mr. Epperson, for which WE were to pay a part in hand—I paid one-third, and understood the *balance was paid* by Capt. Coleman, and GEN. JACKSON. The negroes were taken by me to Natchez, FOR SALE, and a part of them sold.—In the month of December, (I think) of the same year, I received letters from Gen. Jackson, (which letters are at this time mislaid) advising me ☞*he had purchased out Capt. Coleman, in* BOTH *these transactions, and offering to sell out to me at cost, by securing him, or to* BUY ME OUT, *and refund to me the advances which I had made.* I thought proper to sell. In relation to the purchase of the negroes, although I had no understanding to that effect, from either Capt. Coleman or Gen. Jackson, I thought he stood in the SAME SITUATION as in the purchase of the cotton and tobacco, from the circumstance, as I then believed, IT WAS HIS CREDIT WHICH HAD ENABLED US TO MAKE THE PURCHASE. Capt. Coleman made the negotiation, and I made the selection. The negroes were, at the time of the transaction, at Capt. Coleman's plantation, near this place, and I do not now recollect that he saw them before they descended the river.

I am, respectfully,

H. GREEN.

It seems then, from this statement, that a *partnership* was formed in the year 1810, between yourself, Joseph Coleman, and Horace Green. You

were applied to, in the first place, it is true, to become a *security*, but you insisted on being placed in the light of a *partner*. A firm was therefore constituted under the style of "Coleman, Green, & Jackson;" and in the spring of 1811, a purchase was made by the firm, *with your assent*; (for your printers admit, that the contract with Epperson, was signed by yourself, as well as by the other partners,) for the purchase of *negroes*, to the amount of ten thousand dollars. One-third of that portion of the purchase money which was required in advance, Mr. Green expressly tells us was paid by him, and the other two-thirds, he understood, were paid by Captain Coleman and General Jackson. Now sir, let us see what *you yourself* say, as to the payment of these two-thirds. The following is an exact copy of a memorandum, *in your hand-writing*, which, in connection with the above statement of Mr. Green, leaves no room for the slightest doubt, as to the nature of this transaction.

A. Jackson amount of *proportion* of cash for negroes bot. of Richard Epperson, $929 45.—J. Coleman is to pay the note in Bank for interest on purchase of cotton from B. Smith, for $613 39, and the sum of $191¼, which he is to pay, and the sum of $125 for boat, makes up *his proportion*. A. Jackson has paid for Keelboat, $50. To Capt. Wetherall discount, *this 20th of Nov.* 1811, on the bill remitted W. Jackson & co. on James Jackson & co. $14 51; and also $16 on note endorsed by J. H. Smith.—*Note*—provisions furnished cotton boat 500 lbs. pork and flower, and meal, in all $17 50.

The above is in your own hand-writing—all in one paragraph, and could not have been written previous to the 20th of November, yet it correctly recites your payment to him of the 21st of May, and was my authority for saying it appeared by your own hand-writing, that your two proportions of the first payment, were $1858,90; and for saying you wrote it six months after the date of the purchase of the negroes, and your first payment to Epperson. Now sir, I know nothing about the amount of your first payment, (and never said I did,) except from your own statement above quoted, and now from the additional statement of Horace Green. But it will not do for you to rely upon any private memorandum or agreement of your own, in contradiction of these statements, unless you candidly develope the whole matter, bring back all your books and papers, which you have withdrawn from bank with so much trepidation, and release the bank officers from all obligations of secrecy, so that we may have a full view of this transaction, as well as of some others perhaps of a similar kind. It has been said indeed, that the $929,45 spoken of in the memorandum, as paid by you to Epperson, might have been the expenses attending the attempt to sell the negroes, ascertained and refunded by you after they were brought back. Miserable subterfuge! That amount sir, you know full well, was paid by you to Epperson, three days after the alleged date of the contract for the purchase of the negroes; and the above memorandum conclusively shows, that Coleman was to pay a sum almost precisely equal. By adding together the three sums, $613,-39,191,33, and 125, we have the amount of $929,72, which is 27 cents more than the sum paid by yourself. Green likewise paid a similar amount; and he tells us distinctly, that he paid one third, and that the balance, as he understood, was paid by Captain Coleman and General Jackson. It is possible indeed, that the aggregate sum thus advanced, may have paid not only the first instalment to Epperson, but also sundry expenses attending the transportation; such as the purchase of a boat, provisions, &c; and this is the more probable, as it is stated in the memorandum, that $125 of the amount paid by Coleman, was for a boat. But it is quite unnecessary for me to puzzle myself about the details of these transactions; it is enough that you are conclusively established as a NEGRO TRADER, *not as* SECURITY, for that idea is perfectly ridiculous, but AS A PARTNER in the transaction. You were solicited to be a security for Coleman and Green, in the purchase of cotton and tobacco, but would not, on account of the magnitude of the risk, consent to lend your capital and credit unless admitted as a partner, and Mr. Green, one of your firm, says, that although nothing special was said about

the relation you were to occupy in the negro speculation, he considered you as standing "in the same situation as in the purchase of the cotton and tobacco," for the very obvious reason, that *your credit* enabled the firm to make the purchase; and he might have added the still more conclusive circumstance, that you signed the contract as a partner, and actually paid down in cash, one third part of the amount required in advance. It is perfectly ridiculous, indeed, for you to expect to ESCAPE the odium of this transaction, by representing youself as a security, and not a principal. You paid your money, risked your credit, signed your name to a contract, drew bills, gave notes, wrote checks, and afterwards purchased out the interest of your partners, became yourself sole owner, went to the lower country, and finding yourself unable to sell them to advantage, you brought part of the objects of your speculation back with you, passed the Choctaw agency in triumph, and afterwards, no doubt, disposed of them in some other way, as you admit you sold the greater part of them. Is it not then a pitiful story to say you were not a voluntary agent in those transactions? You were a security forsooth; and how do you attempt to prove a thing so improbable and absurd? Not by your friend, who was himself concerned in the *transaction*. He says you REFUSED to be a *mere security*, but insisted on being a PARTNER!! that your credit enabled the firm to make the purchase, and that HE understood, you advanced your proportion (one third,) of the purchase money. How then *do* you attempt to prove your ridiculous tale? The only particle of proof offered by you, is an alleged copy of a *memorandum of your own*, contradicting all your other memmoranda, and exhibited only to a few of your chosen confidants. If you are so ready to refer to a part of your documents, why are you not equally ready to expose them all? Why have you not candidly exhibited all your books and papers, which cannot fail to discover how the transaction really was, and boldly called on friend and foe to come forward and examine them? We should then see *when* the payment was made to Epperson, which I assert, was three days after the alleged date of your agreement. On the contrary, you have hurried all your documents away to your private desk, where they remain carefully concealed; and in the vain hope of preventing the production of evidence, you have taught your printers not only to hint "at the *indignant flashing of your eye*," but to attempt to intimidate peaceable citizens by threats on their part, promptly to assail the private character of any man who shall dare to give testimony unfavourable to you. What confidence then, under such circumstances, can be reposed in this alleged memorandum, on the back of your agreement? Does it not rather create suspicions of something worse than has hitherto been discovered? But sir, without dwelling longer on this point, I will call your attention, and that of the American people, to the following letter from a gentleman whose high standing is well known to the citizens of Tennessee—a gentleman not only above reproach in private life, but distinguished for his public services in the Legislature of the state, and the Congress of the nation.

Lockeland, June 14th, 1828.

Col. ANDREW ERWIN,

SIR:—In answer to your letter, addressed to me of the 26th ult. making enquiry relative to what knowledge I have respecting Gen. Andrew Jackson's buying and selling negroes for profit, and his bringing negroes from Natchez—In the year 1811 or 12, I understood that a Mr. Horace Green took from Nashville a number of negroes to Natchez, for sale, and that those negroes were the property of the late Joseph Coleman, of Nashville, Gen. ANDREW JACKSON, and said Horace Green, (yet I do not know this of my own knowledge.) I HEARD Gen. Jackson say, he went to Natchez, or somewhere in that country, and had brought said negroes back to Tennessee; and about that time, a Mr. Dinsmore, the United States agent for the Choctaw nation of Indians, was in the habit of stopping all persons travelling through said nation with a negro or negroes, who had not a passport. *The General observed, that he had taken no passport, and on the morning he was to pass the agency, that he armed two of his most resolute negro men, and put them in front of his negroes, and gave them orders to* FIGHT THEIR WAY, *if necessary*. He further observed, that a friend had put into his hands, the night before, or on that morning, a GOOD RIFLE; that when he came opposite the agency, he directed his negroes to go to a branch, and eat their breakfast,—that he rode

up to the agency, where he saw several Indian countrymen, inquired of them for Mr. Dinsmore, who informed him, Mr. Dinsmore was not there, or from home. He told them to tell Mr. Dinsmore, he should have been glad to have seen him, but he could not wait, that he was going on home with his NEGROES. A fellow named John Amp, whom I raised, and *was sold by the then Capt. John Brahan*, to the said Joseph Coleman, was one of the negroes armed and put in front as the General then stated.—The above is a true statement of what I heard Gen. ANDREW JACKSON say in Nashville, after his return from Natchez. It may not be the precise words, but it is the substance, to the best of my now recollection. I am, sir, yours respectfully, R. WEAKLEY.

It seems from this letter, that the purchase from Epperson was not the *only* negro speculation in which your firm was concerned. You bought of John Brahan, and probably, if all the transactions could be brought to light, of several other persons. But my main object in introducing the above letter, is to show your respect for the laws and constituted authorities of your country. You even boasted, it seems, of having armed your *negro slaves*, in order to FIGHT *their way*, if necessary, rather than conform to the *regulations of government*, and procure and produce a passport for them. This, sir, is perfectly consistent with your declaration, in your celebrated letter to G. W. Campbell, about sweeping from the earth the invader of legal rights, and involving Silas Dinsmore in the *flames of his agency house!!* Is this a spirit to be patronized and cherished by the people of these United States? Does this not also explain the heighth and depth of your untiring, malignant persecution of myself, who, alone, or nearly so, defended my unsuspecting, poor, but honest neighbours, against your *swindling combination* to ☞DEPRIVE THEM OF THEIR HOUSES AND HOMES, so fairly and honestly *bought and* PAID *for, by them*, as set forth in transcripts from the records, by the "Tennessean," in his numbers, from two to seven, each included. Dinsmore was threatened with consuming fire, for giving you the trouble of obtaining a passport in strict conformity with the laws of the country, and in the faithful execution of the confidence reposed in him by government. *My* crime was of a deeper dye. I deprived you of sweeping three or four hundred thousand dollars worth, of my neighbors' lands, into your own pocket by taking advantage of your own agency, so well described in Judge Anderson's letter, (in the seventh number of the 'Tennessean.') for which you had not paid one dollar; neither had your partner, P. H. Darby, who got $5000 of the $10.000 you so unrighteously extorted out of the people, rather than be longer harrassed by you and him.—You also got 6 or $7000 worth of land from me, for your individual benefit in said compromise, about which you have been very silent; and are yet—in open violation of that article of compromise—causing five or six of my worthy, but poor neighbors, to be harrassed with lawsuits; although every iota of the agreement has been complied with on our part. This accounts for the perpetual torture I have undergone for ten years, by your printers, partizans, dependants, and expectants, and particularly for my persecution here and elsewhere, by co-workers in the *fire-side business*. Eaton and Calhoun, who used Wirt's official character, for your special benefit, I do not positively say, knowingly on his part. Is a man to be elevated to the Presidency, who will not only resist, himself, the constituted authorities of the country, and boast of his arms as his only passports, but will even encourage his negro slaves in rebellion, and order them to fight their way, and if resisted, *to spill the blood of respectable freemen*, engaged in the discharge of public duties!!!

I will now ask your attention to the following brief extract of a letter written by you to a gentleman on business, (not in bank) and dated Hermitage, March 20th, 1812.

"Having to attend Wilson circuit court, it will not be in my power to be in Nashville next week. I am very much engaged to arrange my business, so that I can leave home on the trip WITH MY NEGROES FOR SALE."

The letter containing the above sentence, is in your own hand-writing, and is signed ANDREW JACKSON.

I shall not trouble myself to conjecture whether it relates to some of the same negroes purchased of Epperson,

by the firm, Coleman, Green, and JACKSON, or whether it refers to another speculation. It is enough to show, at any rate, that you did not hesitate to speak freely, at that time of your being actually engaged in *negro traffic*. Nor is it necessary to dwell upon a dispute between yourself and Epperson, which was referred to the arbitration of Judge Haywood and Judge Overton, respecting a negro fellow ☞YOU BOUGHT FOR THE EXPRESS PURPOSE OF SELLING to Kennar and Henderson at New Orleans, expecting to obtain for him the enormous sum of $2000, provided you could procure the certificate of D. Moore, and others, as to his being a good blacksmith. You no doubt recollect the circumstances of that case; and notwithstanding the reluctance which may be felt, to encounter, unnecessarily, the "*indignant flashing of your eye*," something can be produced in relation to it, *in your own hand writing* likewise, if it should be found expedient to recur again to the threadbare topic.

I have already made this communication so long, that I will only trouble you at present with one other little document relative to ☞ANOTHER INSTANCE OF NEGRO TRAFFIC, IN WHICH YOU WERE CONCERNED. The writer of this letter is a respectable citizen of Sumner county, and he is well supported by the records of a controversy about this same negro in court, of many years standing, in the names of JACKSON and Hutchings, *vs.* Rollins. The following is Mr. Blythe's letter to a friend:

Ash Grove, July 20th, 1828.

SIR,—In reply to your inquiry as to my knowledge of Gen. Jackson being concerned in buying and selling slaves, I will briefly state, that about the year 1805 or 6, Gen. Jackson and a Mr. Hutchings, (his nephew by marriage) had a store in Gallatin. About that time, ☞THEY PURCHASED OF DR. ROLLINS, A NEGRO BOY, AND SENT HIM TO THE LOWER COUNTRY TO SELL. The negro had been previously in the hands of Dr. R. to cure a sore leg, and was sold by Rollins to them, with a knowledge, by both parties of that fact, as I understood at the time. Some time afterwards, I had been up the Ohio, and on my return by the way of Smithland, I came to the place called the Horse Ford, below Eddyville, where boats were compelled to stop, by reason of low water, where I saw the negro above alluded to, in a barge on his return from the lower country, where they had been unable to sell him, by reason of his leg breaking out afresh. When the negro came home, he was put under Dr. Ward, and died. Jackson and Hutchings sued Rollins for a fraud in the negro; the suit was pending several years, and finally decided in favor of Rollins. I was summoned as a witness in the case. I have heard that there were OTHER SLAVES PURCHASED BY ☞JACKSON☜ and Hutchings, and sent to the lower country for sale; but it is so long since, that I do not recollect any other particular case than the one named; and this one is *impressed on my memory* from the circumstance of the long and vexatious *lawsuit*, to which Dr. Rollins was subjected, and the other facts related as above. Respectfully yours,

S. K. BLYTHE.

It will be clearly seen, that you have by your manner of treating this subject, given it much more consequence than it really deserved. You have greatly enhanced the magnitude of your offence against the moral sense of the community, by the sensitiveness which you have displayed, by the prevarication, shuffling, and misrepresentation which you have resorted to, in order to avert from you the character of a negro trader. But sir, honesty and plain dealing, after all, are the best policy. This course enables men to go ahead fearlessly, (even in the face of such enemies as I have to encounter,) who are not desperadoes under the discipline of a mob and riot aristocracy, a principle never countenanced by a brave man, a moral man, nor a man who has any regard for the rights of others, and the mild precepts recommended in holy writ. Such men are inoffensive and law abiding, and consider themselves accountable to whatever they may happen to injure or offend by the laws of their country, of their church, or of society, in an open and manly way, and none other. They require no vaults to conceal their crimes on this side of the grave, to which we are all on our passage. And suffer me, in return for the unauthorized liberties yourself, and your weak, inexperienced young printers here, and your aspiring partizans of higher pretensions, to whom I have alluded, elsewhere, have taken with me, to tell you and them, that every attempt to conceal or misrepresent the occurren-

ces with which you are connected, is a serious injury to you and your cause. You should show by your practice as well as your professions, that you are incapable of manœuvring to avoid responsibility. Witness what has befallen you by denying that you made any advances of cash to Richard Epperson, for those negroes, and the introduction of your own certificate attested J. A. upon your own agreement to buy negroes, which you considered conclusive; when the fact is, it is conclusive against you, as three days after that date, your payment to Richard Epperson, for $929.45, which you stated, six months after, was made for that express purpose, renders your own certificate null and void, to all intents and purposes, and places you before the American people in a new dress, which I would not wear for ten times as many bubbles as have been floating about you, and the favour of all your aiders and abettors in concealing your crimes."

RETRENCHMENT REPORT.

There is no subject that more vitally concerns the whole body of citizens, than the expenditures of public monies. It is no impeachment of any man, or of any party, to say, that on this subject, there is a proneness to abuse, seemingly inseparable from our nature, which can only be kept in check, by the most active and incessant vigilance. A disposition is almost universal, to regard the public purse as one upon which every kind of depredation is allowable, provided it is so committed, as not to incur legal punishment.—Men, in other cases moderate and upright, appear to lose all conscience, when exhibiting claims against the public. It would seem as if the rage for public office, that pervades all countries, might have its origin in the hope of obtaining an opportunity to batten upon the public spoil with some degree of impunity. The conviction that such was and is a prevalent disposition, gave rise to all the constitutional and legal checks which have been devised, to protect the public purse from the misapplication of those to whom it must be intrusted.

It is in the very nature of things, that the disbursers and receivers of public money should be displeased at all enquiry into their various operations, where any possible discretion may be, or has been, exercised. Every thing is disagreeable that touches our interests or our convenience. The wisest men know that discretion is, at best, but matter of opinion. Consequently, he, who placed in the situation to exercise it, would have decided in exactly the same way, when called upon to judge of its exercise by another, would unreservedly condemned it. And, in either case, would be equally honest in his opinion: the difference resulting from being placed in different circumstances. But the very reasons which render such investigations disagreeable to those who handle the public money, operate upon those from whom it is collected, to require that they should be frequently instituted. The apprehension of a strict scrutiny would, of itself, restrain many aberrations from correctness.—But the principal benefit is to be expected from the correction of abuses, in their early stages of existence, before they have ripened into precedent, or effected any serious mischief. The reflections here briefly suggested, satisfied me, that the recent appointment of a committee of the House of Representatives, to examine into the state of public expenditure, and enquire what expenses might be retrenched, was not only a correct, but a judicious measure.

I regarded it as no objection, that it was a time of high party excitement, and a majority in Congress well disposed to detect and expose all abuses that might really exist: or even exaggerate that into abuse, which was not reprehensible in itself. There is too much reason to believe that, except in such a state of parties, no close and thorough examination would be made. A committee, indisposed to find faults, would be very apt to overlook them, whilst one determined to find them at any rate, would be sure to ferret them out, if they existed. From a commit-

tee opposed to the whole body of men engaged in administering the government, and resolved to dispossess them of power, if possible, the country would be sure of obtaining an exposition of all that could be censured. Thus the people would know the worst that could be said of their servants, because said by their worst enemies, with all the means of detection within their reach. With a reference to this state of facts, the report of the Committee should be reviewed and examined.

The report itself occupies 41 pages; the documents 39 pages; the journal and correspondence embodied in it, cover 48 pages; and the counter report of the minority, Messrs. Everett & Sargeant, occupies 70 pages; making altogether, a book of 199 pages. Our readers will at once, perceive that it is impossible to compress such a work as this into an article for a newspaper. We must therefore content ourselves with noticing such parts of it as appear to us most material and interesting to be known.

The committee commence with an examination of the expenses of the State Department. They make various comparisons of the expenditures in the years 1822, '23, and '24, with those of the years 1825, '26, '27, showing an aggregate increase of expenditure, upon one view, of ninety thousand two hundred and twelve dollars. Upon another view, they make it one hundred forty-five thousand four hundred and thirty six dollars; and upon a third view they make it two hundred and seventy-three thousand one hundred and thirty-two dollars. It is unnecessary to perplex our readers with the data and calculations that produce these results. They are of a subtle and unsubstantial character, tending rather to mystify than elucidate the subject. Figures are employed not to produce positive, but comparative demonstration: and statements are made not to show that the expenditures have been illegal or unnecessary, but to show that the expense has been greater within three years of the present administration, than in the three last years of that of Mr. Monroe. This every candid reader must know, might happen without fault being attached to any one. For as the population and business of the country increases, public labour and public expenditure must increase with them.

From these comparisons the Committee pass to something like specifications; and they first recur to a slander whispered about last winter to the prejudice of the late Daniel P. Cook.—This subject was brought before the Committee on the 25th of April, by Mr. Hamilton, the Chairman, upon the suggestion of a citizen whom he "*did not feel at liberty*" to name. The suggestion was, that $5,500 had been paid to Mr. Cook, and that Mr. Barton of the Senate—Mr. Letcher, of the House —and the Postmaster General, were conuzant of the circumstances. An investigation was commenced, which resulted in satisfying the Committee, that Mr. Cook was sent by the President, in April, 1827, a secret and confidential agent to Cuba, and paid about $1000. The Committee consider that Mr. Cook's infirm health, and ignorance of the Spanish language, made it a very improper appointment; and having said this much, they say they leave the matter as they find it.

When Mr. Clay was called upon for information, in his reply to the Committee, he stated that if requested, the President would communicate confidentially, the real and true state of facts to the Committee. A proposition was made by the friends of the administration in the committee, to request the confidential information.—But the Jackson majority refused. It better suited their views to leave the matter involved in doubt, than to obtain the truth, and be compelled to report that it was satisfactory.

The case of John H. Pleasants, about which the opposition prints have made so much noise, is next introduced. Mr. Pleasants was sent in 1825, to carry despatches to Rio Janeiro and Buenos Ayres. He was taken sick on the voyage, and, apprehensive his life would be sacrificed, if he pursued his voyage, confided his despatches to the Captain of the vessel, got on board another vessel, and proceeded to England. The despatches were safely re-

ceived; and on the return of Mr. Pleasants, he was paid $1940, upon the ground that the misfortune of being taken sick in the public employ ought not to deprive him of compensation. The Committee think he ought to have received nothing, or "*at all events*," not more than the payment of his passage to Buenos Ayres. No doubt they now think this a very just view of the case. But should Gen. Jackson be elected President, Martin Van Buren be Secretary of State, and Mr. Charles Wickliffe be sent bearer of despatches, and encounter a similar misfortune,—it is clear to me, the gentlemen who composed the majority of the Committee, would *then* view the thing very differently. Every principle of justice required that a reasonable compensation should have been paid Mr. Pleasants. Whether the sum allowed was, or was not, too much, I am no competent judge, and cannot take upon me to say. The Committee consider it exorbitant.—Mr. Clay thought it reasonable. In their illustrations, the Committee refer also to an account of George Watkins, sent with despatches to London, in 1825, and cause an item (for hire of chaise, and pair, from Liverpool to London, $97 68 cts.) to be printed in capitals; and introduce also the aggregate sum paid to Mr. Theodore W. Clay, but without taking any exception to it.

The next item of censure noted by the Committee, is the sum paid for printing, in 1826, a notice in relation to a convention between the governments of France and St. Domingo. This notice appears to have been printed in eighteen different papers, at different prices. I presume this arose from the circumstance, that some papers printed the English, only, and not the Spanish part of the document. The reason assigned for noticing this item, is, that in the opinion of the Committee, the amount, $3,253, greatly exceeds "what ought to have been paid for such an object." This, it will be seen, is n mere question of expediency, upon which different men might very honestly differ in opinion.

There is a little affair in the notice of this subject, that serves to characterize the spirit in which the whole report is written. In specifying to whom the amount was paid, the Committee set down:

"*Morgan, Lodge & Fisher, printers for C. Hammond.*"

No man can mistake the object for which my name is dragged into this statement. It is obviously intended to give color to the thousand and one Arabian Nights' Tales that are circulated about my connexion with the Secretary of State. My name did not appear in the account, and could have no possible relation to it. The assertion thus made by the committee, is not true—Morgan, Lodge & Fisher, are not, and never were, "*printers for C. Hammond.*" They were the proprietors of the CINCINNATI GAZETTE, which they printed for themselves; and in the pecuniary concerns of which I never had a particle of interest.

The next exception taken, is to the sum of $500 paid to Wm. Wirt, Attorney General, for aiding in prosecuting an individual upon a charge of having violated the law to suppress the African slave trade. They object that the District Attorney was competent to conduct the prosecution, and that the expenditure was improperly made from the foreign intercourse fund.

The $4,500 paid to John A. King, for outfit as charge des affaires at London, is next objected to. This payment is condemned as utterly illegal; and it is proposed that a call be made upon Mr. King to refund it; and, in the event of his refusal, that suit be bro't against him.

This recommendation is another evidence of the spirit that actuated the committee. Nothing but the delusion and phrensy of party excitement, could induce any tolerable lawyer to suppose, that money, paid on the order of the President, for services like those of Mr. King, could be recovered back in a suit at law.

The sum of $1000, paid to Jonathan Elliot, for 100 volumes of a book entitled "the Diplomatic Code," is also objected to, as beyond the value of the

article purchased, and a misapplication of the foreign intercourse fund.

Lastly, the sum of $1623 16 cents, paid by the State Department for Newspapers, in three years, is noted without specific or general objection to it.

Such is the whole sum and substance of the specifications of unnecessary expenditure, detected by the committee, in the State Department. For each of these expenditures, the previous usages of the office furnish abundant precedents. But admitting, that in every case, smaller sums might have been allowed by other individuals, than the one at the head of the department, that proves nothing to the discredit of the present Secretary.—He has considered the laborer worthy of his hire, and I think it will be found that in no period of the Government, a captious and fault finding committee would have found less to condemn. Let Gen. Jackson be three years President, and Mr. Van Buren Secretary of State, and I will vouch their accounts will be found much more liable to exception.

The affairs of the Treasury do not seem to have interested the committee so much as those of the Department of State. The Secretary gave it as his opinion, that the expenses could not be reduced. The committee "withhold their concurrence." They find that the cost of newspapers have annually increased, and that the expense of advertising is much augmented. The aggregate contingent expenses have gradually increased within the last three years, and exceed, by about nine thousand dollars, those of the three last years preceding. The expenses of the General Land Office have diminished. The account is stated, but the fact is not otherwise noticed. Mr. T. Watkins is the fourth Auditor. He is very much attached to Mr. Clay, and is supposed to write occasionally upon political subjects. Particular pains are taken to show that the contingent expenses in his office have greatly increased. The committee say the explanations offered are not sufficiently satisfactory to justify it.—Messrs. Everett and Sergeant in their report, say they deem the explanation entirely satisfactory. It would require too much room to state here, the explanation referred to. It may, however, be stated, that the difference of expense is accounted for, by showing the different amount of labour to be performed in different years, and the steady increase of business in the office. The case of the fourth Auditor, is singled out from those of the other Auditors, manifestly for political effect, and because an accidental increase of expenditure, in the last year, gave some color to the contemplated object.

The committee object to the annual appointment of Examiners, to examine Land Offices, and refer to the case of Mr. John Scott, of Missouri, employed for that purpose last year, but pass no opinion upon it. There could be no motive to thus introduce and dispose of it, but the discreditable one of affording aliment for the vile insinuations of the Jackson prints with respect to it.

The expenditures for books, maps, and charts, and other small contingencies, are objected to. They "*seem large*," the committee say, and they recommend an effort to diminish them. It is quite manifest, that the committee were rather disappointed that they could find so little to censure in the Treasury Department, and they pass in haste to the Navy, where they were not more successful.

The expenses of some Court Martials are objected to as excessive, and a few hundred dollars for stationary, newspapers, clerk hire, and printing, are represented in the same light.—"*A considerable sum*," the committee say, "*varying from one to two hundred dollars*, is annually expended in purchasing books for the Secretary's office alone." This is not positively condemned, and can only be introduced *ad captandum*.

The War Department is introduced with a high compliment to its "*late administration*," in other words, to Mr. Calhoun. This evidence of the partial feelings of the committee was unnecessary. But if any doubt existed of that feeling it is sufficient to remove it. No fact is better established, than the profusion of Mr. Calhoun, in his

management of the War Department. No head of that Department ever paid less regard to specific appropriations, in directing expenditures of public money. Yet a committee especially engaged in seeking out abuses, and charged with enquiring for a corrective, step out of their way to compliment Mr. Calhoun.

In the first place, various comparative views are given, all of which result, according to the opinion of the committee, disadvantageously to the present state of the Department: and, consequently, at every step, an occasion is taken to eulogise its condition under the late administration. The minority of the committee allege, that the conclusions of the majority, who make the report, are produced by "an assumed statement of facts," founded upon "some misapprehension, which the minority ask leave to rectify." This rectification, appears to me most conclusive. But we have no room to insert either the assumption or the correction.

When the committee resort to specification, they seem to be as much at a loss in the War Department as elsewhere; although nearly half of the whole expenditure of the government, passes under the control of that department. The cost of newspapers, and the price paid for printing, constitute here, as in the other departments, one item of complaint. They glance at the expenses of surveys, but fasten principally upon the Indian Department. An opinion has long possessed my mind, that great abuses existed in this branch of expenditure; and I was much surprised that the committee found so little to censure. The whole annual appropriation is $95,000. The items of misapplication, enumerated, are something like these:

To a Clerk,	$753 000
For books of politics, &c.	310 000
An old account, Dr. Sibly.	1790 000
Taking President Adams' likeness,	1000 000
Indian portraits,	3190 000

With other charges—for Indians' board, &c. when in Washington.

The likeness of the President is engraved on a silver medal, to be presented to the Indian chiefs. And the portraits of Indians are taken to preserve the remembrance of them, and also to gratify and please them. It has been the practice since the formation of the government, and this the committee well knew. The purpose of *now* objecting to it cannot be mistaken.

Amongst others, exception is taken to an allowance made Mr. McKenny, the head of the Indian Department, for his personal services, expenses, &c. Commissioner at Green Bay, and visiting Southern Indians. The amount is $7,212, for about six months service. Mr. McKenny was the special favorite of Mr. Calhoun, and under him imbibed his notions of expenditure. We should naturally expect him to be liberal enough. But according to the minority of the committee, the nett compensation to Mr. McKenny, after deducting his actual expenditures, in travelling expenses and presents to the Indians, would only be about 1200 dollars, which is a little less per day, than Bob McHatton or James Findlay receive, for franking Jackson documents and extra Telegraphs from Washington. And surely a man may claim to be better paid for the services performed by Mr. McKenny, the fatigues he endured, and the dangers that he encountered, than for lounging at Washington in the employment stated.

The General Post Office is dispatched in a single paragraph of high commendation. Here again the partialities of the committee are manifested. No inquiry is made as to increased expenses,—none as to charges for newspapers, and the price paid for printing, —no invidious comparisons are drawn, —nothing is said about supernumerary clerks.—the report of the head of the department is taken for correct, and referred to as conclusive.

I am not disposed to detract any thing from the merits of the Postmaster General. Yet I am well persuaded that the same grounds of exception might have been found to various expenditures in that department, that have been so diligently searched out in others. I recollect, that last year the same advertisement, for proposals to carry the mail in Ohio, was published at Columbus, Lebanon, and Cincinnati, at an expense of something like

130 dollars at each place. Had the Postmaster General stood in the same acknowledged relation to the administration and the opposition, that the heads of the other departments stand, the committee, I have no doubt, would have found out, that this expenditure exceeded "*in amount, that which ought to have been paid for such an object.*" I notice this matter only by way of illustrating the effect that political feeling has evidently had upon the judgments of the committee.

In no part of their report have the committee pursued a more unfair course, than with respect to the "*Executive patronage of the press.*" They exhibit a table of the "amount paid for printing, advertising, and subscription to newspapers, by the Executive department at the seat of Government for the last three years; and for the General Post office for the last two years." No reason is assigned for assuming these different periods. In the four principal departments, they state the separate account of each for newspapers and for printing; the post office account is given in the gross amount, and no explanation is given why this course is pursued. The whole amount in round numbers, is seventy-eight thousand eight hundred dollars.—— The committee express great apprehension and alarm at the use that may be made of this patronage, and they propose to take it from the executive department, and transfer part of it to the clerks of the two houses, regulate the disposition of part so as to vest it in Congress, and give part of it out by contract to the lowest bidder. To all this I have no objection. I do not believe that, in any of these modes, the work will be done better or cheaper, nor do I believe that the existence of this patronage strengthens the Executive, or that being deprived of it, will weaken that department of the government. I doubt whether the exercise of it, has not always rather prejudiced than aided the executive. But so much clamor has been made about it, I would prefer to see it vested in other hands.

When the Committee come to speak of the members of Congress themselves, and their officers, they admit the subject is one of difficulty, in which there is room for great discrepancy of opinion. They saw no room for this, when scanning the conduct of the Executive officers, thus verifying the maxim, that charity begins at home. They seem as if hopeless of applying any remedy to the enormous expenses incurred by long sessions, innumerable calls for documents, and enormous charges for newspapers and printing. The suggestions made of the best means of remedying the existing evils, convey strong imputations upon the conduct of the members themselves.

To expedite business, and thus shorten the sessions, they propose that eight dollars per day shall be given every first session up to the first Monday of April, and after that but two dollars per day. This proposition substantially asserts that the sessions are prolonged for the pay—that were this temptation removed, the public business would be despatched, and the members return home. I do not know that one should consider it surprising, that men, who attribute such unworthy motives of action to each other, should grieviously suspect the integrity of other public functionaries.

Some remarks are made, on the subject of calculating mileage, that imply a great destitution of integrity in those who have given occasion for them.— The remedy proposed is in character with those, to which an honest man would only resort, when necessity compelled him to employ one he knew to be a scoundrel.

A portion of dissatisfaction is expressed towards Messrs. Gales and Seaton, and some pains taken to display the whole amount of money received by them for public printing, which is $271,883 37. Messrs. Gales and Seaton are, however, competent to their own vindication.

One item of information is disclosed in this report, which, but for it, would most probably never have been divulged.— At the time the report was made, 501 reams of paper had been consumed in folding or enveloping packets, sent by members of Congress. The cost was $2002. If we suppose, as was pretty

certainly the case, that one half the sheets were divided, so that each sheet enveloped two packets, and the other half the sheets enveloped one, the whole number of packets would amount to three hundred and sixty thousand. The committee recommend that this practice be prohibited, and the privilege to each member of subscribing for three daily newspapers, at the public expense, be abrogated.

It appears, from the journal of the Committee, that when the members divided in opinion, it was usually upon party ground, an evidence that the judgment is too often made pander to the feelings of the moment.

It is a matter worthy of serious remark, that this enquiry, upon the subject of retrenchment of expenses, was confined principally to questions of Clerk hire, compensation for printing, contingent expenses of foreign intercourse, and other incidental matters of the same character. For the year 1826, the whole expenses were $13,062,316, exclusive of the sum paid upon account of the public debt. The whole amount of this large sum, which came within the view of the retrenchment Committee, was $489,776. Of this latter sum, all is paid upon specific appropriations, except about $80,000. This sum of $80,000 per year, is the total amount of expenditure into which the Committee were directed to enquire, and according to the views of the minority of the Committee, there is no reason to suppose that difference of opinion would arise about the expenditure of more than one-tenth of this sum—that is, about eight thousand dollars. The smallness of this sum is not stated as an apology for its misapplication, if in fact it has been misapplied. But it is stated to show how trivial is the amount to which the attention of the Committee has been directed.

The annual disbursements under the direction of the War Department, exceed four millions of dollars. A large proportion of this is paid upon individual contracts with the department; in making which, a wide door is open to improvidence and favoritism. Enquiry into this branch of expenditure might have led to important results. It was here that Mr. Calhoun made himself conspicuous. Who does not remember the Johnston contract, and the famous case of Gilbert C. Russel? There is not a case of more outrageous favoritism, to the prejudice of the public interest, any where to be found, than this of Russel. In an attempt to wrest a contract from Russel, and bestow it in fact upon Samuel D. Ingham, but nominally upon a friend of his, Mr. Calhoun not only lost to the government $90,000, illegally advanced to one of his favorites, but subjected it to pay Russel $59,000 and upwards for damages!! Congress is fully acquainted with all the details of this nefarious intrigue, yet they not only remain silent, but Samuel D. Ingham is appointed a member of the Committee to seek out abuses and recommend retrenchment!

This is one, of the many instances, to show with what impunity a certain class of politicians may attempt to aggrandize themselves and their followers at the public expense. The most pregnant proof is in print upon this subject, contained in two reports of the Committee of claims, with the accompanying documents. Congress have founded two laws, in favor of Russel, upon this proof. Both passed in silence. Ingham dared not open his mouth in exculpation or vindication of his conduct. And the nation are left in ignorance of the whole transaction. Though charged home upon Ingham, by Jonathan Roberts, no enquiry has been excited, whilst the payment of fifty dollars for an old billiard table, by the President's son, has been rung in all the cabins of the nation. Such is the unequal course of enquiry and examination into abuses of public expenditure.—*Cin. Gaz.*

FROM THE ALBANY ARGUS.

"It's an *idle thing* in this state, however it may be in others, to strive *even for a moderate support* of Mr. Jackson. He is wholly *out* of the question, so far as the votes of New York are in it. Independently of the disclosures of his political opinions, he could not be the *Republican* candidate. He is respected as a gallant soldier, but he stands in the minds of the people of this State, AT AN IMMEASURABLE DISTANCE from the Executive Chair. *His habits*, aside from his politics, *are quite too summary for that.*"—1824.

JACKSON'S BURRISM.

The Richmond Enquirer has at length attempted to vindicate Gen. Jackson from the charge made against him by Judge Williams, in respect to his connexion with Burr. This vindication is just such a one as a guilty party usually attempts to make. Instead of meeting the charge really made, it shapes the accusation differently, and then sets about to disprove that which nobody has alleged. A plain exposition of the real facts is all that is necessary to stamp with insufficiency the defence now set up.

The charge made by Judge Williams, in his letter to his friend in Virginia, is in these words:

"He (Jackson) offered me a commission of captain in Burr's army, or told me I could get one if I would accept. And, during this affair he said to me, in the presence of Judge Stuart, who though now does not remember it, "*depend upon it gentlemen, the division of the Union has taken deep root: you will find a number of the Senate, and a number of the members of the House of Representatives, deeply involved in this scheme.*"

The reader must observe that this letter names no particular time or place, when or where, General Jackson told Judge Williams he could get a commission in Burr's army. It is also to be noted, that Judge Stuart is not stated to have been present, when that offer was made: but at a different time, and at a different conversation, which related not to Burr's army, but to a division of the Union. These two facts must be carefully borne in mind, in order to understand the TRICK of the defence.

Now let us ascertain what is the charge, as it is stated by Gen. Jackson and his friends?—The General himself gives it in these words:

"The report is, that this Judge Williams writes, when a young man he applied to you, *then a judge, to sign his license as a lawyer*: that you did so, but recommended to him, as you conceived him to be a man of promise, to push his fortune by joining Burr, *who was then in your house*, promising if he would do so to procure him a commission as captain in Burr's army."

Here are two allegations interpolated into the statement of Judge Williams, which he did not make. One, that the commission was proposed at the time he applied to Jackson as a judge to sign his license to practice law; the other, that Burr was then in Jackson's house.—Having added these two facts to Judge Williams' statement, the General and his friends set out to discredit that statement, by disproving these facts of their own suggestion! and this constitutes the main ground of their defence.—The evidence offered is the certificate of Judge Stuart, a certificate of the time Jackson resigned the office of Judge, and a statement made by Mr. Alston, a member of Congress from N. Carolina.

Judge Stuart is called upon to tell what he knows, not in relation to Jackson's conversation about a division of the union, but in respect to the offer of a commission to Williams. The following is an extract from his reply:

"In answer to your letter of Feb. 28, in which, amongst other things, you enquire whether I ever heard General Jackson offer to obtain a commission for Mr. Nathaniel Williams under Burr or any other person, &c. &c. I respond, that I never did: that to the best of my recollection, I never was at Gen. Jackson's house when Burr was there, nor do I remember ever being there with Mr. Williams."

As Judge Williams did not allege that Judge Stuart heared Gen Jackson offer the commission, as he did not allege it was offered at Jackson's house when Burr was there, it is manifest that Judge Stuart's statement had no possible bearing on the case. Not one word is said by Judge Stuart about that part of Judge Williams' statement, in which reference is made to him, as having heard General Jackson's declarations about the division of the Union. It can scarcely be necessary to remark, that this contradicting what was not asserted, and remaining silent as to what was asserted, wears any appearance rather than that of fair vindication.

Gen. Jackson's resignation of the office of Judge was in the forepart of the year 1804. John Overton was elected his successor on the 1st of August of that year.—This too has nothing to do with the case:—For Judge Williams did not allege that Jackson was a Judge when the Burr commission was offered. Why then is this proof adduced? For no obvious reason, but that of misleading the public mind.

Next comes the certificate of Mr. Alston. It is as follows:

"I hereby certify that in a conversation with Mr. Jefferson, then president of the United States, respecting the movement of Colonel Burr in the west, I observed that the rumour of the day was, that General Andrew Jackson had joined Burr. Not so, or, not true, said Mr. Jefferson, for I this day received a letter from him (General Jackson,) informing me that he had seen Burr, and that Burr said his enterprize was sanctioned by the government, & he, Jackson, had been tendered a high command by Burr, and asked of Mr. Jefferson the views of the government, tendering his services, if wanted to make a descent upon Mexico, as stated by Burr, but if Burr was not authorized by the government to carry on his enterprize as stated, then he, Jackson, was ready to arrest him.

WILLIS ALSTON.

Chamber of the H. of Representatives,
February 11, 1828.

Without placing much confidence in the accuracy of Mr. Alston's recollection, it may safely be admitted, that he heard Mr. Jefferson hold the language stated.—And what does it prove? Certainly it proves nothing but that Jackson was tampering with Burr. It is Jackson's own acknowledgment that Burr offered him a high command, and that he thought of accepting it. Before this certificate can be made bear upon the innocence of Jackson, it is important to know when the conversation was had with Mr. Jefferson. Upon this most material point Mr. Alston is conveniently silent.

Let us look a little at some well authenticated facts. On the 27th of November, 1806, Mr. Jefferson issued his proclamation denouncing Burr, and sent Mr. Graham a special agent into Ohio and Kentucky to apprise the state authorities of the treasonable nature of Burr's objects. On the 22d of January, 1807, Mr. Jefferson sent a message to Congress giving them information

of his proceedings in respect to Burr, and the intelligence obtained of his movements. In that message he thus expresses himself: "NOT APPRISED UNTIL VERY LATELY THAT ANY BOATS WERE BUILDING ON THE CUMBERLAND, *the effect of the proclamation had been trusted to for some time in Tennessee.*" This is conclusive proof that Gen Jackson had not communicated to Mr. Jefferson an account of the movements in Tennessee. It was not known at Washington, that Burr had boats building on the Cumberland. Much less was it known that Gen. Jackson was Burr's agent to build the boats. That fact is now placed beyond all dispute.

In 1812, when Gen. Jackson was at Natchez, as commander of the Tennessee volunteers, Blennerhasset sued an attachment against Burr as a non-resident debtor, and summoned Gen. Jackson as a garnishee, alleging that money, the property of Burr, was in Jackson's hands. In answer to this suit Gen. Jackson alleged that Burr was in his debt, and produced the affidavits of Gen. Coffee and of William Eastan to prove the fact. The proceedings and documents, in this suit, have been recently published, at Natchez The following is an extract of Gen Coffee's deposition:

"Sometime in the year 1806 (to the best of my recollection) Aaron Burr was engaged in an expedition or enterprise down the Mississippi, and which he said he was authorized to do by government; and for the purpose of procuring provisions and boats for his contemplated plans, he, the said Burr, did forward a sum of between three and four thousand dollars in Kentucky bank notes, to Gen. Jackson, with a request that he would procure for him, by purchase, the amount in boats and provisions. At the time Gen. Jackson received the sum alluded to, I was connected with him in mercantile business, at the Clover Bottom, Tennessee, and on the receipt thereof, the General shew me his instructions, and handed the money or notes over to me, with a request that I would transact the business. for Mr. Burr, and *in behalf of the mercantile firm above alluded to, I did so; and made contracts for several boats for Mr. Burr.*"

Here is indubitable proof that Gen. Jackson received money from Burr, to employ in the purchase of boats and provisions. This money was expended by Jackson's own partner, (Coffee,) in making purchases. No one would expect that Gen. Jackson or Gen. Coffee, would now confess that they knew Burr's object to have been unlawful. But they were agents:—received his money, and contracted for the building of boats. And of this fact, the government was kept in ignorance. For it must be remembered, that on the 22d of January, 1807, Mr. Jefferson said he was not apprised, until very lately, that boats were built on the Cumberland.

The following is an extract from Mr. Eastan's affidavit:

"I do certify, that sometime about the 10th of November, 1806, I purchased a bill of exchange from Aaron Burr, drawn by him on George M. Ogden, of New York, at ninety days sight, for five hundred dollars, with Andrew Jackson as endorser."

It was early in November, that Burr was arrested in Frankfort, and then his transmable projects were suspected all over the country, yet Gen. Jackson was THEN giving him credit by endorsing his bills! On the 10th of November, or about that time, Mr. Eastan purchased this bill of Burr in Nashville: on the 12th of the same month, Gen. Jackson wrote his famous letter to Claiborne. This was singular conduct An agent to build boats and buy provisions for Burr, endorsing his bills to obtain him money, giving the President no information that boats were building on the Cumberland, but writing a confused letter to Claiborne, hinting at danger, not from Burr, but Wilkinson, and entertaining Burr at his own house, up to his final departure, on the 22d of December, 1806. Such was the conduct of General Jackson, as is now placed beyond controversy. And in the face of these facts, what does Mr. Alston's certificate amount to?—Just nothing, as to exculpating Jackson from the charge of Burrism. For that is now fastened on him, by the affidavits of Gen. Coffee and Mr. Eastan. The letter written to Mr. Jefferson, must have been written purposely to deceive. It communicated no useful information: it was silent as to Burr's actual movements, and kept out of sight the fact that boats were building by Jackson for Burr, on the Cumberland! Had it communicated these important facts, in proper season, Mr. Jefferson would not have remained ignorant of them until about the 22d of January.

The suggestion, that Burr stated to Jackson and others, that the Government approved his movements, can have very little weight in Jackson's favour. It was easy, at any time, to ascertain its truth. And it should, in all cases have been ascertained, before a man received his money, became his agent, and endorsed his paper to give him credit. After having participated in his projects, and contributed to carry them into effect, it is a poor story to say—Burr told me the Government approved them.

If, when Gen. Jackson received Burr's money, and became his agent to build boats and buy provisions; if, when he endorsed Burr's paper, he believed the Government approved his projects, why has he ever denied his connection with Burr? Why did he not at once avow it, and give the explanation? If he believed the Government approved what was going on, surely it was as innocent to engage men, as to buy provisions, or build boats; why then betray so much excitement, at the allegation of Williams, about a commission in Burr's army? "*A libel*,"—"*a calumny*,"—"*a base calumny*," are the terms which the General himself applies to the charge of offering the commission. I repeat, to enlist men, was no worse than to build boats, and if the latter was done in innocent ignorance, the former might have been placed on the same ground. Gen. Jackson might have said, and in my opinion would have said, "I do not recollect offering a commission to Mr. Williams, but I may have suggested it to him. I had confidence in Burr. I believed he was acting with the approbation of the government. In that belief I aided him; was his agent to build boats and buy provision, until I discovered that he was not acting with the knowledge of the Government, and then I abandoned him." This would be the natural language, was Gen. Jackson imposed upon by Burr. His denial, and his allegation that the charge was a base calumny, show that he was not a dupe, but a partisan of Burr's. Such is

the legitimate deduction from the whole conduct of his partizans. But they cannot rescue him from the odium of being concerned with Burr. That is a fact they can no longer dispute. It is hung up on high, by the testimony of Coffee, who was also concerned with him. It now remains for the General and his partizans, like all detected culprits, to justify, what they have denied. And we may expect soon to see them maintain, that it was perfectly innocent to do that, which a short time past, they denounced it calumnious to allege against their chief.

There is nothing more difficult than to patch up, and put together a consistent story, where the object is to pervert the truth. The advocates of Gen. Jackson have experienced this in their efforts to rescue him from the imputation of a participation in the projects of Burr. Whilst they have been busily engaged in the east, in collecting scraps of testimony to show he never was concerned with Burr, the testimony of his confidential friends and partner has been brought to light in the west, fully establishing this charge. Whilst one tale has been told at Richmond, and another at Charlottesville, each supported by documents,—a document has been published in the west, putting them both completely down. One day we have published in Cincinnati, a certificate of a member of Congress, stating Mr. Jefferson's declarations exonerating Jackson,—the next mail brings us the document addressed to Mr. Jefferson himself, stamping the Congressman's certificate with incorrectness.

We have already noticed the Richmond defence, in connexion with Mr. Alston's certificate,—we now proceed to notice the Charlottesville defence, which is published in the Virginian Advocate of August 2d.

The first effort is to prove that Judge Williams really did allege that the commission, in Burr's army, was offered to him, when he applied to Gen. Jackson to sign his license as a lawyer. The whole effort on this head is a very unfair one. But it is not necessary now to notice it. We have given the charge as really made by Judge Williams, which the Advocate omitted to give; and it puts this suggestion at rest.

The next argument is, that supposing Jackson to have made the offer, unless he made it after he knew Burr's projects to be unlawful, it was not criminal. This argument, too, we have answered. Before Gen. Jackson lent himself to Burr, and gave countenance to, and recommended his schemes, he ought to have been sure what was their character. To participate in guilty projects, and afterwards to profess ignorance of their character, is the common case of all persons detected in crimes. Had he acted in good faith, there was no occasion to deny so vehemently as he does, and his partizans for him, any act or part in the movements of Burr. His conduct would have been acknowledged and vindicated.

The defence concludes with an attempt to discredit the statements of Judge Williams, by certificates, and Gen. Jackson's letter to Mr. Jefferson. These require a little examination.

Thomas G. Watkins states, that in the winter of 1806 or 7, he was a member of the dancing assembly of Nashville, that Burr came to town and was invited by the managers, that some objection was made, a full meeting called, and the invitation sanctioned. Burr attended, and "*though somewhat distrusted by some, was considered an elegant acquisition to it.*" He also makes the following statement:

"Sometime previous to the Ball, a young gentleman who resided in my family in Nashville, appeared anxious to go with Col. Burr—he afterwards cooled off. And questioned on the subject, by myself or some one in my presence, he stated that a Mr. Caffery, I think was the name, had been about that time advised—verbally or by a letter, I am not certain which—by Gen. Jackson, to have nothing to do with Col. Burr's expedition."

Now let it be remembered, that the Nashville Gazette of December 20, 1806, contained the following article:

"Col. Burr arrived, on Sunday evening last at Gen. Jackson's, nine miles from this town, and has been in this place several times this week. He appears to be preparing for some movements, we know not where."

Let it also be remembered, that the President in his message of January 22d, 1807, states, that Burr descended the Cumberland the 22d of December, 1806, and it follows conclusively, that Burr was at this ball under the patronage of Jackson, being then an inmate of his family, during the very last act of his preparation in the West. Gen. Jackson was his agent to build boats and buy provisions. Gen. Jackson endorsed his paper. Gen. Jackson received him into his house, and associated with him, at a ball, in Nashville, almost a month after the President's proclamation denouncing him as a traitor. And yet we are to be made believe, that Gen. Jackson abandoned him so soon as the character of his plans was suspected!! Who in his senses can believe it?

A statement is also given from Mr. Joshua Baker, in reference to a communication made to him by a Mr. Caffery. We give the following extract:

"Burr visited Tennessee, staid sometime at Nashville, and was often to see Gen. Jackson. A friend of Burr went to see Gen. Jackson, and while in familiar conversation with him, asked him what he would think of the man who had the talents and means to separate the Western States from the Eastern, and make the mountains the dividing line. The General replied that he would consider him a traitor to his country, and would be one of the first to take his life. Here the conversation ended. This friend of Burr returned to Nashville, where Burr then was, and no doubt communicated to him Gen. Jackson's answer to this oblique question. This conversation awakened Gen. Jackson's suspicions, for he wrote to Governor Claiborne, putting him upon his guard against Burr. Claiborne was then Governor of the territory of Mississippi. Gen. Jackson also recalled from the service of Burr all his young relatives who had been induced to join Burr under the belief that he was going to revolutionize the Spanish dominions in North America. Mr. Caffery was one of them. I think (though I will not be positive,) that Mr. C. showed me Gen. Jackson's letter to him, advising him to abandon Burr."

The facts here stated, at second hand, may serve to show that General Jackson played a double game, or they may serve to show that

after Burr had been generally abandoned, the General too gave him up. But they cannot be received to disprove the facts now before the public. The agency for Burr, the endorsement of his bill, the receiving him at his house and keeping him a week on the very eve of his departure, are now established beyond all doubt. And they speak a language not exactly in accordance with this certificate.

But Jackson's letter to President Jefferson, that certainly must put the whole story at rest! Here it is, and it speaks for itself.

"THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

SIR,—In the event of insult or aggression made on our government and country FROM ANY QUARTER, I am so well convinced that the public sentiment and feeling of the citizens within this state, and particularly within my division, are such, of such a nature and such a kind, that I take the liberty of tendering their services—that is, under my command:—and at one moment's warning; after your signification that this tender is acceptable, my orders shall be given conformably.

I beg leave to offer to your view, the enclosed orders some short time ago issued by me: since which time I have not been furnished with complete returns of the volunteer companies; but from the information I possess, I have no doubt that three regiments of volunteers (to be commanded by their own officers, and such as may be recommended by their General) can be brought into the field, ready to march, in twenty days from the receipt of orders

Accept assurances of my high consideration and respect, ANDREW JACKSON,
M. G. 2d Division, Tennessee."

The reader will perceive that this letter is without date. It is however endorsed by Mr. Jefferson as received Nov. 24, 1806. It is certainly clear as to see how it proves any thing, but General Jackson was abundantly ready in professions. It communicates no information about Burr; it says not a word about his preparations; it gives the President no intimation that boats were building, and provisions purchasing. It promised loudly but left the President in the dark, "UNAPPRISED THAT ANY BOATS WERE BUILDING ON THE CUMBERLAND."

So far from regarding this letter as evidence that Gen. Jackson was not connected with Burr, it seems to me a document of very suspicious character. He had ordered his division to be ready for action, he communicated the fact to the President with strong professions of patriotism. He held out to the men, that if ordered into service it would be at the call of the constituted authorities. So far he prepared the way to deceive both the executive and the public, and had Burr appeared in force, he could have joined him the more readily, as he would be free from suspicion. What is now suspicious, when we know all the facts, would appear very differently under other circumstances.

Again. Why was this call upon the militia, and tender of service made? The executive had not ordered it; and without such order, it was at least rather an officious act. Doing too much is often most suspicious. SEMPRONIUS, on the very eve of deserting to the enemy, was more loud and vociferous in professions of loyalty than any of his countrymen.

This tender of services is in itself, not a little singular. It is only to be binding under the command of the General himself. He is particular in this, "THAT IS, UNDER MY COMMAND." And these volunteers were only to be offered and accepted, if commanded "*by their own officers, and* SUCH AS MAY BE RECOMMENDED BY THEIR GENERAL." The whole was to be so organized as that "THEIR GENERAL" should be omnipotent with them. Why all this precaution, if nothing extraordinary was on foot?

It is impossible to say in what light Mr. Jefferson viewed this offer. Had he considered it one of public character, it would have been deposited in the public archives. By retaining it amongst his private papers, it would seem that Mr. Jefferson attached but little importance to it.

The Charlottesville Advocate prints the words "FROM ANY QUARTER" in small capitals, and attaches great importance to them, as intending to include Burr's plans. This is a far fetched inference. Why not frankly advise the President of Burr's movements? Why not say to him, I have been deceived by this man—He has put money into my hands—I have made purchases for him—I have endorsed his notes—I am ready to atone for this error by prompt action to stay his course? Had Jackson held language like this to the President, it would tend something to his exculpation. The language he has held proves only that he meant to deceive, and prepare the way to secure himself in any event. He wrote to the President, and made a pompous tender of services. He remained silent as to the transactions of Burr, to effect whose object he was then contributing his credit, and his countenance. The legitimate inference is strongly against him.

This letter to Mr. Jefferson, however, serves one useful purpose, upon account of which it is well that it has been published. It shows the real value of Mr. Willis Alston's certificate. It does not say the writer had seen Burr; it does not mention Burr's enterprise; it does not make enquiry as to its being sanctioned by the government; it says nothing about the offer of a command, or about being ready to arrest Burr It shows very conclusively that Mr. Willis Alston has not correctly related his conversation with Mr. Jefferson, who could have no motive to state what was not the fact Had Mr. Jefferson received any such letter as that stated by Mr. Alston, it would no doubt be found amongst his papers. Here, then, is one certificate-man put to silence. What a pity the busy-bodies, who got this certificate in print here, could not have waited a day or two longer! They might have avoided exhibiting contrary proofs in relation to the same fact.

In conclusion of this subject, I request the reader to recollect, that this letter to Mr. Jefferson was received Nov. 24, 1806; it must, therefore, have been written in October or early in November. At that time the projects of Burr were the general theme of conversation in the west, and a dark cloud of suspicion rested upon them. Gen. Jackson wrote to the President in reference to the public safety, & was silent as the grave with respect to Burr and his projects Let it be remembered, that in the midst of all this alarm and apprehension, Gen. Jackson's mercantile concern, conducted by Gen. Coffee was building boats, and buying provisions, fo

Burr; that Jackson was endorsing his paper, and entertaining him in his house; going with him to balls, and treating him as an honorable man. Let all this be remembered, as now established to be true beyond controversy; and with these recollections, let every honest man give what character he can to the letter in question. Further comment cannot be necessary. *ib.*

THE PROOF MULTIPLIES.

The nail is clinched. Whilst the Virginia advocates of Gen Jackson are quilting together a miserable defence of shreds and patches against the charge of Burrism, direct proof, to contradict them, is elicited and multiplied upon the very theatre where the transactions took place. The deposition of Gen. Coffee fully establishes the fact of Jackson's agency for Burr, in the receipt and expenditure of money, for boats and provisions. Mr. Eastan's deposition proves the fact that Jackson, about the 10th of November, 1806, endorsed a bill drawn by Burr for $500. We have now before us, two original letters, written by Gen. Jackson, which go still further. They are given to the public by Dr. Boyd M'Nairy, of Nashville, in an article published by him, in the Whig and Banner of August 12. And he asserts that the originals, in the hand writing of Gen. Jackson, are in his hands for inspection.

Copy of a letter from General Andrew Jackson, dated

HERMITAGE, Sept. 25, 1806.

Col. Burr is with me, he arrived last night—I would be happy you would call and see the Col. before you return—say the Gen. O. that I shall expect to see him here on to-morrow with you—Would it not *be well for us to do something as a mark of attention to the Col.* He has always and is still a true and trusty friend to Tennessee—If General Robertson is with you when you receive this Be good enough to say to him, that Col. Burr is in the country—I know the Gen. R. will be happy in joining in any thing—that *will tend to show a mark of respect to this* WORTHY VISITANT. With due Esteem,

ANDREW JACKSON.

Copy of another letter from the same.

Dear Friend

I send you five hundred dollars. It appears to me I said I would send you $1000. But when I came to myself I found there were appropriations made that I knew nothing of. This I learnt at the store, and Two Journeys to perform, and expences to be born that my recollection did not serve me with at the moment—Tomorrow when you come up arrangements shall be made, so as to accomodate as far as I can—My dear sir, do not fail to come up tomorrow, at ten o'clock I will meet you at my house; I have to see Gen. Smith in the morning at his house—The Boats I think you said five in number and some Pork you would furnish—these must be done against the 20th of December next but more of this tomorrow—you must set out in a verry few days, I will furnish the needfull—The cash now sent is in part for the boats—the ballance on delivery—Either in bank bills or a Draft on New Orleans the $3000 being all the cash that can be furnished, this must be appropriated to the best Possible advantage—and to the last shilling will be put in your way if you can furnish the Boats and Pork except so much as will meet the engagements already entered into,—I send you twenty $20 bills and ten $10 bills—which I wish safe to hand, and beg you not to fail comeing up tomorrow—*I wish to start a messenger on monday next*—

Health and respect

ANDREW JACKSON.

On the 25th of September, 1806, Col. Burr was at the Hermitage. Gen. Jackson sent a note of invitation to his friends to come and visit Col. Burr, and suggested that it would "*be well to do something as a mark of attention to the Colonel*" He named Gen. O. (no doubt the famous Gen. Overton,) and Gen. Robertson.—The latter he knew would "*be happy in joining in any thing that would tend to shew a mark of respect to this* WORTHY VISITANT."—"*Worthy visitant!*" The publication of the Querist, feeling the public pulse upon the subject of dissolving the Union, was commenced at Marietta the forepart of September. Burr had just left that place. He travelled in haste to Nashville, and this publication was scattered through the Western country, diffusing doubt and suspicion.—At the Hermitage he is a *worthy visitant*—one to whom some mark of respect ought to be shown; because, forsooth, he was always "*a true and trusty friend to Tennessee.*" The Richmond Enquirer writer had the folly to assert that, on Burr's visit to the Hermitage, he was "*coldly received,*" and remained "*only two or three hours.*" This note of warm commendation, under the General's own hand, asserting that Burr came *last night*, and inviting visitants *to-morrow*, is an appropriate exposition of the correctness of this part of the defence. Gen. Jackson was the warm friend, the delighted host, and ardent eulogist of Aaron Burr, at the close of the month of September, 1806. But

this is not all. The other letter is pregnant with equally important matter.

"I send you 500 dollars. I promised 1000.—But there were other appropriations. Two journies to perform, and expenses to be borne that I did not remember. The Boats, five in number, and some pork—must be done by the 20th of December next. You must set out in a very few days. I will furnish the needful. I wish to start a messenger on Monday."

Here it is manifest that the person to whom this letter was written, was employed in many things. He was to furnish boats and pork, and was also to go on some urgent mission upon which he "MUST *set out in a few days.*"—"*I wish to start a MESSENGER on Monday.*"—Can any reasonable man doubt what it was that involved the General in such a hurly-burly of business? Let it be remembered that it was on the 22d of December that Burr, in fact, left Nasbville disappointed and disheartened. Let it be remembered that the firm of Jackson and Coffee were engaged in procuring boats and provisions, by the sworn admission of Coffee, when adduced as a witness by Jackson himself. Let these facts be connected with the warm reception given Burr, at the Hermitage, in the letter of September 25, and there can be no question that all this hurry and bustle was the consequence of active co-operation with Burr. Two journeys were to be performed—a messenger was to be sent—money to be paid, all in the service, or upon account of Burr. What can impudence itself now say, to exculpate the General from the charge of Burrism? The excuses, apologies, and denials of his Virginia advocates are scattered to the four winds of Heaven.

Scepticism itself can no longer doubt. The proof is irrefragable. One fact corroborates another. Received in his house—recommended as deserving tokens of respect—company invited to visit him—money received—money advanced—agencies performed—messages sent—journies superintended! In September, again in December, & to the last moment that he was in the country! What more could be done, except it were to join him in raising the standard of rebellion, and signing a proclamation declaring war against the Government? Compare the facts here established, with those proven against John Smith, whom nineteen Senators voted to expel as Burr's associate, and it will be seen that Jackson's case is much the strongest.

What was the proof against Smith? He received Burr, at his house, and treated him respectfully. His son carried a letter to Blannerhasset's Island, supposed to be sent by Burr. He wrote a letter to Burr by Peter Taylor, inquired of him what the people said of Wilkinson, and advised him not to go to a tavern lest the people sift him with questions. Burr drew an order upon him for 500 dollars, which he paid, and another order for an equal sum which he did not pay. He made Burr a visit, at Frankfort, Kentucky, in the forepart of December, 1806, and he received a letter from Burr shortly before that time.—These were the allegations against Mr. Smith, except the testimony of Elias Glover, which was considered as discredited. All these allegations were explained, or contradicted. Yet nineteen Senators voted to expel him. Amongst them, Mr. Crawford, and Mr. Smith of Maryland, both of whom would now make Gen. Jackson President!

The facts now established against Jackson, are a great deal stronger than any thing charged upon Smith by color of evidence. He took Burr again and again to his house, eulogised and recommended him, advised men to join him, bought boats and provisions, lent money, endorsed bills, sent messengers, and finally allowed his nephew to accompany him on his final departure. He clung to him to the last, and never advised the Government of a single circumstance of all Burr's movements. His letters to Mr. Jefferson and Governor Claiborne say not a word of Burr, not a word of his movements, and only serve to involve him more deeply in the charge of duplicity towards both Burr and the Government. So complete is the evidence of his Burrism, and of his double dealing, that the only matter for doubt is, whether the letters, to Mr. Jefferson and to Governor Claiborne, were written to aid the treason, or to provide a retreat for himself in case of failure. To the facts, as they are now presented, no man has a right to shut his eyes, or to refuse his credence. No man who examines them can hesitate. Jackson was the active co-operator of Burr, and never deserted him until he had taken his final departure. He has concealed and denied this co-operation, which is always deemed the criterion of guilty intention. When the proof is exhibited, he now remains silent. He stands mute. Every friend of the country, every upright man, is bound to look to it. It is treason against all good principles to permit party predilection to blind the understanding or warp the judgment. To aid in electing Jackson President, with this proof before the world, is not less criminal than it would be to elect the arch conspirator himself. What confidence can henceforth be reposed in public virtue, if the people of the United States, with the full proof before them, elect the coadjutor of Burr, President of the United States. Heaven forbid that such a stigma should come upon our country.

Cin. Gaz.

FUNERAL OF DICKINSON.

We again republish the particulars of the funeral of Dickinson, killed, in a duel, by Gen. Jackson. These particulars are taken from a paper of the period, when the events occurred, and could not have been prepared for electioneering purposes. They speak for themselves, and every man should read them with attention. The unfeeling and dictatorial spirit of Gen. Jackson appears in its true colors. What now, would be said of a man, who, in similar circumstances, should act in this manner?—*ib.*

FUNERAL OF DICKINSON.

FROM THE IMPARTIAL REVIEW AND CUMBERLAND REPOSITORY.

NASHVILLE, June 7, 1806.

On Friday the 23d ultimo, Gen. Andrew Jackson came into this office and told the Editor he had received information that Mr. Chas. Dickinson was about to have a piece published, which respected himself; and demanded a sight of it, his request was complied with; a few hours after which, we are informed the General challenged Mr. Dickinson which was accepted, and a meeting agreed upon in the state of Kentucky, on the Friday following, at 7 o'clock A. M. They accordingly met with their friends, Gen. Thomas Overton and Dr. Hanson Catlett, near Col. Harrison's on Red River, at the hour appointed; where upon exchange of fires Mr. Dickinson received a mortal wound, of which he died in a few hours; Gen. Jackson was slightly wounded by the ball passing through his left breast.

On Sunday evening last, the remains of Mr. Charles Dickinson were committed to the grave, at the residence of Mr. Joseph Erwin, attended by a large number of citizens of Nashville and its neighborhood. There have been few occasions on which stronger impressions of sorrow or testimonies of greater respect were evinced, than on the one we have the unwelcome task to record.

In the prime of life and blessed in domestic circumstances with almost every valuable enjoyment, he fell a victim to the barbarous and pernicious practice of duelling.

By his untimely fate the community is deprived of an amiable man and a virtuous citizen, his friends will long lament with particular sensibility the deplorable event.

Mr. Dickinson was a native of Maryland, where he was highly valued by the discriminating and good—and those who *knew him best*—respected him most.

With a consort that has to bear with this, the severest afflictions, and an infant child—his friends and acquaintances will cordially sympathize. Their loss is above calculation. May heaven assuage their anguish by administering such consolations as are beyond the power of human accident or change.

The subscribers, citizens of Nashville, and its vicinity, respectfully request Mr. Bradford and Mr. Eastin to put the next number of their papers in mourning, as a tribute of respect for the memory, and regret for the untimely death of Mr. Charles Dickinson.

Hanson Catlett, Thomas E. Wagaman, Thomas G. Watkins, Boyd McNairy, John McNairy, Wm. Tait, Duncan Robertson, John H. Smith, Thomas Williamson, Wm. T. Lewis, John Nichols, Thomas C. Clark, Daney McCraw, John Maclin, Jeremiah Scales, Timothy Demonbrum, Elisha Johnston, Jas. P. Downes, Wm. B. Robertson, Wm. Lytle, D. Moor, Robt. Stoteart, J. Gordan, J. B. Craighead, P. Boum, Alexander Craighead, John Read, Robert P. Currin, Roger B. Sappington, Roger B. Currey, Thomas Swann, Ernst Benoir, Wm. Y. Probert, C. Wheston, J. Baird, Hervey Lane, Samuel Finney, Wm. Black, R. Hewett, Thos. Ramsey, Nathaniel McCrairys, Thomas Napier, Robert Hughes, James King, Robert Bell, Felix Robertson.

Mr Eastin,—I am informed that at the request of sundry citizens of Nashville and its vicinity, you are about to dress your paper in mourning "as a tribute of respect for the memory, and regret for the untimely death of Chas. Dickinson."

Your paper is the public vehicle, and is always taken as the public will, unless the contrary appear—*presuming that the public is not in mourning at this event*—in justice to that public it is only fair and right to set forth the names of those citizens who have made the request.—The thing is so novel, that names ought to appear that the public might judge whether the true motives of the signers were "a tribute of respect for the deceased," or something else that at first sight does not appear.

Yours, with esteem,

ANDREW JACKSON.

June 6th, 1806.

In answer to the latter request of Gen. Jackson, I can only observe, that previously, the request of some of the citizens of Nashville and its vicinity, had been put to type, and as soon as it had transpired that the above request had been made a number of the subscribers to the amount of 26, called and erased their names.—Always willing to support by my acts the title of my paper—always willing to attend to the request of any portion of our citizens, when they will take the responsibility on themselves, induced me to comply with the petition of those requesting citizens and place my paper in mourning—impartiality induces me also to attend to the request of Gen. Jackson.—*Editor*

GENERAL JACKSON'S ECONOMY.

The advocates of Gen. Jackson profess themselves devoted friends of retrenchment and economy. One object they allege, of supporting Gen. Jackson, is to obtain his aid and countenance in reforming abuses and reducing expenses, at Washington. It is therefore an important inquiry, whether in principle and in habits, Gen. Jackson is a man qualified to aid those objects. It has already been made known, that Gen. Jackson, in exhibiting charges against the govern-

ment, upon his own accounts, has manifested as much greediness as any political shark in the country. We deem it proper to republish, in connection, certain transcripts of accounts, charged and received by Gen. Jackson, so that the reader may at a single view observe them all.

Gen. Jackson was appointed a Major General, on the 8th of June, 1814, and continued in that office to the 31st of May, 1821. It is true that the General in his letter to Samuel Swartwout, says: "*The war over and peace restored, I retired to my farm,* TO PRIVATE LIFE, *where but for the call I received to the Senate of the Union, I should have contentedly* REMAINED." It is equally true, however, that in making this statement, Gen. Jackson did not speak the truth. He "REMAINED" in public employ, as Major General, and was besides, appointed to negotiate three Indian treaties, at different periods, and with different Indian tribes. And at the determination of his office of Major General, he was appointed commissioner to receive possession of Florida, upon account of which office, he received a salary up to the 1st of January, 1822. The following is the account of cash received by him from government, whilst in the office of Major General.

1814.

Pay from 8th June to 31st Dec.	331553
Subsistence for same time, double rations	1242 00
Forage for seven horses 4 MONTHS	224 00
Pay, rations and clothing, for four servants, 1st Sept. to 31st Dec.	256 84
Transportation of baggage	75 00
	$3151 17

1815.

Pay	2400 00
Subsistence, double rations	2190 00
Forage,	396 0
Pay, subsistence and clothing servants	620 97
Transportation of baggage from Nashville to Washington	187 50
Payment for room rent and fuel at Washington, 4 weeks	162 00
For medical assistance to himself and suite at Washington	100 00
	$6056 46

1816

Pay	2400 00
Subsistence	1098 00
Extra rations	1098 00
Forage	536 35
Pay, subsistence, &c. for servants	489 76
Transportation	267 75
Quarters and fuel	200 00
For holding treaty with Chickasaw and Cherokee Indians 72 days	576 00
Expenses for self and Secretary to Chickasaw Council house	113 78
Do. to Turkey town	41 45
Do. from Turkey Town to Nashville	84 62
	$6890 62

1817.

Pay	2400 00
Subsistence	1095 00
Extra rations	1095 00
Forage	672 00
Pay, &c. for servants	680 80
Transportation	298 00
Quarters	400 00
Fuel	45 00
	$6685 80

1818.

Pay	2400 00
Subsistence	1095 00
Extra rations	1095 00
Forage	616 50
Pay, &c. for servants	680 80
Transportation	724 20
Quarters, 6 months and 24 days	226 67
Office rent	43 33
Fuel	44 00
Holding treaty with Cherokees, 36 days	304 00
	$7249 50

1819.

Pay	2400 00
Subsistence	1095 00
Extra rations	1095 00
Forage	672 00
Pay, &c. for servants	680 80
Rent of Quarters	400 00
Fuel	162 00
Transportation of baggage	531 20
Services as Commissioner for treating with Chickasaw Indians 41 days, at 8 dollars per day	328 00
	$7,364 00

1820.

Pay	2400 00
Subsistence	1093 00
Extra rations	1093 00
Forage	672 00
Pay, &c. for servants	672 96
Rent of Quarters	400 00
Fuel	224 00
Transportation of baggage	166 40
Holding treaty with Choctaw Indians, travelling expenses for self and suite to Dokes' stand	425 03
Pay as Commissioner, from 14th Sept. to 21st October, 37 days at 8 dollars per day	296 00
Expenses for Gen. Jackson and suite on their return	351 00

Pay as Commissioner on return, 21st Oct to 18th Nov. 20 days, at 8 dollars per day	160 00
	$8,109 67

1821.

Pay to May 31st	1000 00
Subsistence	153 00
Extra rations	453 00
Forage	280 00
Pay &c. for servants	279 20
Quarters to April 14	115 54
Fuel the same time	71 67
Three months extra pay and travelling allowance	776 65
Additional subsistence	75 00
	$3507 06

The General has himself told us, that when the war was over, he "*retired to his farm.*" The war was closed in 1815, and the General returned from New-Orleans to his farm, in the May of that year. From that period the General resided on his farm.—— There was his head quarters, there his home and residence. It appears from the foregoing accounts, that he continued to charge the government the full amount of every dollar of expense that he could have charged, if in actual service. *Extra rations, forage, pay for servants, rent of quarters and fuel.* Thus, although General Jackson is at home, he receives annually, 1095 dollars for extra rations· 672 dollars annually, for finding his own provender and grain to his own horses: 672 dollars for the hire of his own slaves, who remain at their regular work on the farm. For the rent of his own house, 400 dollars per year, and a very considerable sum annually, for fuel, consumed at his own house, for his own family use. These charges may be legal. But they are uniust and unreasonable. Pay for feeding horses, and for hiring servants, for fuel, and rent for quarters, could not be honestly charged, unless actually expended. The man who could demand it, when not paid out, in any form, can have no right conception of moral honesty, and never can he safely relied upon to retrench public expenses.

Although receiving full pay and full compensation for every service and expenditure, Gen. Jackson charged 3 dollars per day, for holding Indian treaties, and charges for his expenses in addition. These expenses were of no moderate character: on the contrary, they evidence great profusion.

On the 1st of June, 1821, General Jackson's office as Florida commissioner commenced, and from that day, he drew a salary. It will be seen by the two last items in the foregoing accounts, that Gen. Jackson received also his extra pay and subsistence, as Major General, for three months in advance, from the 31st of May, amounting to $815,65. Thus the General had no scruple to receive double pay for the months of June, July and August, 1821. Another proof how little he is qualified to retrench public expenditure.

The General returned from Florida to Nashville, whilst acting as Governor, early in November, 1821. He states himself, in his letter to the Secretary of State, of November 13, 1821, that he arrived at Nashville on the 5th. From that time, he could have performed no duty as Governor of Florida. yet he drew the salary to the first of January, 1822: pocketing two months pay, and doing nothing. The following is his account for expenses and salary, as Governor of Florida.

W. Harvey, for passage of Gen. Jackson and family, from Nashville to Washington, Mississippi,	238 00
Peabody and Chamberlain, for do. in steam-boat Rapid,	170 00
H. Munro, do. in sloop Herald, from New Orleans to Blakely,	270 00
J. Austin, for transportation of Gen. Jackson's baggage from Blakely to Montpelier,	45 00
Do. for board of Gen. J. his family and suite, at Blakely,	275 75
Blue and Shome, bill of stores,	244 31
Manuel Gon's. subsistence and forage from 16th June, to 11th July, 1821,	200,00
E. A. Blane, forage at Pensacola,	146 42
Incidental expenses,	370 15
E. A. Blane, bill of sundries, say wines, &c. &c. for the use of Gen. Jackson and his family,	**1047 39**
R. K. Call, bringing horses from Nashville to Blakely,	125 93
Gen. Jackson's salary as Governor of the Floridas from 1st June, 1821, to 1st January, 1822.	2,921 19
	$6,056 14

There is certainly very little evidence of economy in any of these charges: on the contrary, they are marked by something like wanton ex-

travagance. The General seems always attended by a "*family*," or a "*suit*," that understand consuming the good things of the country through which they pass. They all seem to have lived under the comfortable conviction, that Uncle Sam paid the score, and that [illegible]ally, it was for the general advantage of those who furnished, and those who consumed, that a good bill should be run up. Some of the items in the foregoing account, are not a little curious, and they appear still more so, when the bill of particulars is examined. The four first items are for transportation. The fifth is for board at Blakely, $277.75. The specific articles making up this bill, are not in my possession. The following is the account rendered:

The United States, Dr.
To JOHN AUSTIN,

To the expenses of Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson, Commissioner for receiving the Floridas, from the 29th April, to the 8th of May, 1821, for boarding himself and family, as per bill rendered, $277 75

From this it appears, that the charge of $277.75, is for about ten days boarding, making an average of 27 dollars 75 cents per day. What family the General had with him, living thus at free quarters upon the Government, I do not know. Why this family should be fed at the public cost, I am unable to state. But unless the number was excessively great, they must have been a rare set of gourmands, to consume 27 dollars 75 cents worth of provisions per day. Such, however, appears to have been the fact.

The next item of this account, is "Blue and Shomo's" bill of stores, 244 dollars 31 cents. The particulars that compose this item are all curious enough:

Montpelier, 31st May, 1821.
The United States, Dr.
To BLUE & SHOMO, Cr.

Stores for Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson, U. S. Commissioner for receiving the Floridas:

May 14—		
To 30 lb. brown sugar, at 18 cts.	$5 10	
" 1-2 doz. nutmegs, 1 50	75	
" 10 lbs. Coffee, 40	4 00	
" 14 galls of Molasses, 1 00	1 50	
" 4 1-2 do. Pico Madeira Wine, 5 00,	22 50	
" 52 lb. L. Sugar, 33,	17 16	
" 2 boxes Claret Wine, 10 00	20 00	
" 2 do. cider, 7 00	14 00	
" 2 do. real London Porter, 7 00	14 00	
" 3lb Gun Powder Tea, 3 00	9 00	
" 25 lb. Coffee, 40.	10 00	
" 2744 lbs. Bacon Hams, 15 00	4 17½	
" 44 lbs. sides, 10	4 40	
" 1 doz. dried tongues,	12 00	
" 1 half barrel Fly Market beef,	13 00	
" 6 bottles lime, 1 87½	8 25	
" 2 do. lime juice, 1,50	3 00	
" 1 box raisins,	6 00	
" 1 do Almonds, 36 lb 30	10 80	
" 1 qr. box Spanish segars,	5 00	
" 4½ gallons (4th proof) Brandy, 4 00,	18 00	
" 4½ do rye whiskey, 75,	3 37½	
" 50 Spanish segars,	1 00	
	$244 31	

The aliments that sustain life, constitute the smallest portion of this bill: the narcotics that destroy it, make the principal figure. Spirits, wines, and segars of the best quality, and at the highest prices, seem to have been the principal articles of consumption in the General's family.

A sum of 370 dollars 15 cents, is charged for "*incidental expenses*;" what they consist of we know not. As the charges for transportation, for forage, for board, for stores, are all specified, it would seem singular what expenditures could be incurred, to raise this charge. It might include secret service money, for various services not fit to be enumerated in the accounts of a public officer, and known only to the private purveyor for his various comforts. The subjoined specification declares them to have been "*necessary expenses*," but in what sense *necessary*, we are not informed. No vouchers were taken: but why we are not told. The only legitimate inference, is that above suggested. The necessary gratification purchased, was not a proper item of specification.

The United States,
To Gen. ANDREW JACKSON,
Comm'r. for the reception of the Floridas, Dr
From 22d April to 17th July, 1821

To necessary expenses incurred by him from the time of his arrival at New-Orleans, until he received possession of Pensacola, and for which no receipts were taken, and which are not included in any other account.	$370 15

I certify that three hundred and seventy dollars and fifteen cents were actually expended as above charged, and for which no regular vouchers were obtained. J. G. BRONOUGH,
P. Sec'y. for Gov. Jackson,
Pensacola, 17th July, 1821.

The next charge, "*Bill of sundries, say wines, &c. for the use of Gen. Jackson and family,* $1047,39." is a thumping one. The idea has generally been received, that this charge was for narcotics altogether. But the fact is otherwise. It is indeed, a "*bill of sundries.*" And for the information of the public, it is here published at length:

The United States,
For the Comm'r. Gen. Andrew Jackson,
To Eph. A. Blane, Dr.

May, 1821.

To 9 galls. brandy, at 2 50,	$ 22 50
27¼ do. Madeira wine, at 5 00	137 50
19¼ do. old whiskey, 57 cents,	14 6¼
6 boxes of claret, 12 00	72 00
2 do. small bottled, 13 00	26 00
1 cask of Porter, 8 doz. 3 50	28 00
1 doz. syrup,	8 00
1 doz. Noyeau,	8 00
3 bottles bitters,	3 00
150 lbs. rice at 2 1-2 cts per lb.	5 25
2 boxes pickles, at 4 50	9 00
6 boxes segars, at 4 50	24 00
1 box tea, 4 lbs. 1 50	6 00
2 boxes candles, 61 lbs. at 60 cts.	32 00
2 do. of soap, at 3 00	6 00
220 lbs. brown sugar, at 9 cts.	19 80
80 loaf sugar, 25	20 00
66 hams 963 lbs. Bacon at 6 cts.	58 68
1 keg of lard,	7 98
Beef furnished, July 10, to Aug. 7.	52 43¾
1 bag of coffee, 181 lbs. at 28 cts.	50 68
1 do. of salt,	2 00
Hams, at 15 cts.	6 67½
Butter 75 lbs. at 37½	28 13
24 Mackerels'	1 51
2 cords of wood,	7 00
2 boxes of syrup	24 00
2 *barrels superfine* FLOUR, *at* 5	10 00
1 *barrel* CORN MEAL,	4 400
252 *loaves of bread, at* 6¼ *cents,*	15 73
June 21, to Aug. 7.	
Market Bills. Vegitables,	109 48
Fresh fish,	30
Chickens,	53
Fresh Pork,	30
Turkeys,	12
Eggs,	10
Mutton,	15
Repairs for out-buildings and stables, for General and suite's horses	31 00
The Steward for 47 days, at 1 dollar per day,	47 00
	$1,047 39

This bill seems to cover the time embraced in the other bills, running through May to August. And it exhibits quite a Lordly style of living for a plain Republican. What family the law allowed the General to quarter upon the public, I have never been able to ascertain. I can find no law giving him either a private secretary or a steward, or any other family or suite, to be fed at the public expense. Whoever they were, it is plain they were a set of jolly livers, who considered themselves entitled to the best and most costly dishes and viands. It is my firm conviction, that every dollar of this money was paid without the sanction of law. The extravagance of the expenditure therefore, is not the only objection to it. Gen. Jackson ingratiated himself into the good graces of Mr. Monroe, and he seems to have known how to turn that favour to his own account. We can in no other way account for these allowances.

The question is now put to every reader, who has perused these accounts; Does he think Gen. Jackson a man who would be economical of public money? I feel confident the answer must be in the negative. Is it not then worse than folly to elect him President in the expectation that he will aid to reduce public expenditures? Most assuredly it is. And I venture the prediction, that should Gen. Jackson be elected President, his administration will be the most profligate that has ever been known to the country.

Further Extracts from the Drama of the

HERO OF TWO WARS.

Act V.—Scene IV.—A Library.

Director, alone.

Director. I have peril'd much already in this cause,
And now a desperate measure is proposed,
Of doubtful policy; most desperate men
Must be confided in, and counselled with,
I like it not: Here are too many heads,
Busy in planning schemes of selfishness.
The men who urge me to this strong attempt,
By its consummation, may insure success
For their own councils, and their idol chief,
And they risk nothing. But I jeopardize,
My all of promised, and of present greatness.
'Tis meet I should be wary. This *carte blanche*,
Is a seducing tempter,—Yet, remember
My part performed, it may be disregarded—
What's my redress? Complaint, or seeking vengeance,
As Sampson sought it; by my own destruction.
I must take counsel. There is one can give it—
Yes, I must have an interview with Outcast;
He knows this chief,—has fully proved him;
His nerves, his faith, his mighty master passion,
Have all been probed; their deep and secret working,

Drawn to the surface, and made bare before him.
The times are in conjunction too, with *Outcast*,
His friends are in repute, and he looks upward:
A second Marius from the dust of Afric,
Rising to wreak his vengeance on his country,
And die with gloating joy, a bloody dotard.
His hopes are in full action, and awake him
To old ambitions and deep smothered vengeance.
'Tis long since he were soothed with courtier language,
'Twill steal upon his soul, as I shall use it,—
Oh thou! the subtle genius, by whose aid
I have threaded the dark maze of policy,
In all its crooked windings, and have reached,
The lofty pinnacle, on which I stand!
Inspire me now with Machivelian skill;
Grant that the bland insinuating smile,
In all its softest tints may rest upon me;
Let every look evince sincerity,
And every motive seem as undisguised,
As maiden blushes at a tale of love.
Give me the eyes of Argus: let me hear
As with a thousand ears: let nought escape me,
For now the crisis of my fate approaches,
I rise to power, or fall to rise no more. [*Exit.*

SCENE V.—A PARLOUR.—*Outcast.*—*Cypher.*

Out. What? the Director seeks a private meeting
With me? and does not name the object of it?
Cyp. He does so; and he says he has good reasons,
Which, when disclosed, you will appreciate.
He speaks you fairly, as it is his wont,
When he would serve himself by others' aid,—
Matters of high import, of deep concernment,
To you, your friends, the country;—Thus he speaks:
Smiles graciously, and grasps the yielding palm,
Presses it softly, looking wondrous things.
Out Why what a minion! And are these the arts
That politicians now descend to use,
In courting men? They better far become,
A lady's boudoir, than a statesman's closet.
I understand him: it is very well,
He shall be met as secret as he pleases,—
Appoint him at our private rendezvous
An hour hence, or any other hour,
That best may suit him. Have this note delivered,
Without delay. Advise our chosen friends,
That ears and eyes are needed where they wot.
When time and place are fixed by the Director:
Return with speed, and give me information.
[*Exit Cypher.*

Outcast (*alone.*) Now here's a cunning knave! this wise Director!
By shallow arts has managed shallow men,
Within a narrow circle here at home;
'Till like the fabled frog, he swells himself
With vain conceit that he is competent,
To take in charge an empire, and to grapple
With veteran and experienced politicians.
He seeks with me an interview, and seeks it,
As with a courtezan, in secret darkness.
He fears remark—soon like the silly fly,
Meshed in the spiders toils, he'll find himself.
He deems the recent message from the west,
Is to himself alone. And now he ponders
Whether 'twere safe to take the counsel given:
Safe for himself,—'tis there his thoughts concentrate.
The greedy gudgeon eyes the *carte blanche* bait,
With craving palate—Shall he swallow it?
There rests the matter of his consultation.
Myself! friends! country! All mean the Director,
To improve his own condition, without risk.—
I'll ply him as a skilful angler,
And use him as occasion justifies,
For my own ends, and for the glorious Chief,
Whose soul enlarged, expanded, nobly soars,
Above the dull pursuits of civil life.

SCENE VI.—A CHAMBER DIMLY LIGHTED.

Outcast.—*Director.*

Dir. Sir, I rejoice to meet you thus alone,
Where the free spirits of enlightened men,
May hold free converse. Here let all restraint
Be cast away. You *know*, that I can estimate
The injustice of the blighting prejudice,
That has o'erwhelmed you, and cast into shade,
Your name, your talents, and your well earned fame.
Out. 'Tis fairly spoken.—But you *know* the world,
You *know*, that I too *know* it. Cold neglect,
And still more cold contempt, so long have marked me,
Their special victim, that I needs must wonder,
What strange event, now brings me in request,
With one in such high station as yourself.
Dir. Nay do not mock me. Such humility
Is out of place between us. Your high spirit
Cannot permit the times to pass unheeded;
Strange revolutions are in embryo.
The charm is broken, by which some have ruled,
And others been laid prostrate. Your old friends
Rise into credit with the citizens;
Cast but your eyes abroad, and you shall see them,
In open canvass for the highest places.
The odour of your name's no longer hateful,
Nor does it longer blast a rising fame,
To have been confederate with you.
Even he, your great compatriot and compeer,
Who stood erect, to the last moment with you,
Is now the people's man, borne by the people,
To highest office, with strong & loud acclaim.
Out. 'Tis I am mocked. Why talk to me of friends?
Why speak to me of those who rise to power?
All have forsaken me, all joined to make me
The very *Outcast* that my name imports.
Dir. You do yourself injustice. The way opens,
For the redemption of your character;
I come in friendly guise, to point it to you.
Give me your confidence: An unreserved—
An open, candid character of Hero,
May bind *me* to his fortunes, and that tie,
Places within his grasp, the highest honors.
How stand you with him? should this be accomplished,
What hold on his affections may you claim?
Do his attachments last? Is his faith firm?
Or plays he false with friends? This once resolved,
Resolves my course, on which his hopes depend.
Certain there are, who now make proclamation,
That he became your friend, and then impeached you;
A double traitor gains no trust. I'd learn
From your own lips, the truth of this suggestion.
Out. Wherefore should I make this disclosure to you?

Dir. Is he your friend? and has he kept his faith?
In power he takes you to his aid and councils,
Was he a traitor to you? You may now,
By simple truth, dash from his reaching hand,
The power he seeks and almost feels his own.
Out. I've slight assurance of the first,—The last—
Vengeance, alas! the spirit's dead within me.
Dir. But you may be assured. Thro' Hero's hands
The secrets passed but to mine, if pledges
May be relied upon, by Hero given.
And when I rule, though in another's name,
Talents like yours shall be called into action.
Out. Here's pen, and ink, and paper,—you can write it.
Dir. Why do you doubt my word? do you distrust me? [growth,
Out In old men's minds, distrust is a natural
Where those, who can, refuse to weed it out.
I ask no confidence; and you who ask it,
Decline a proper pledge.—Our conference ends.
Dir. Be not so hasty. Think. These written pledges,
Rise up in judgment, at an after day,
'Gainst all concerned, and work a common mischief;
And when I give one, I have no assurance,
Of confidence from you, or ought beside.
Out. I can and will speak to the point you seek—
Explicit, full and highly interesting.

Dir. The paction 's made: take and peruse this paper.
[*Gives paper to Outcast.*
Out. 'Tis wisely judged. Now hear and mark my words:
Hero was true and faithful to the cause.
Even to the last extremity he stood,
A friend indeed. He never blenched at danger.
And now he laughs to scorn the silly efforts,
Of those who seek to make him my betrayer.
His letters, were of my dictation. Read them:
High sounding words,—professions loud and empty,
Designed to amuse a wise philosopher;
Insinuations, dark, obscure, horrific,
To puzzle a weak, blustering, busy body.
We knew our men. Defeat came not from them;
The public sentiment was set against us,
Too few were ripe for glory. But that few
A Spartan band of bold and choice spirits:
Hero and Cypher, and some thousand others,
Their bond for life and death was never broken;
And faithful now they wait the consummation
Of their long cherished hopes. You have truly spoken:—
Yes, I have marked the spirit of the hour,
For bold design, and fearless execution,
The times are most propitious; [ple,
To gain the proudest niche in fame's high tem-
Is ne'er achieved but by bold enterprise;
The brightest blaze of glory that e'er flamed
Around the brows of Elba's exiled chief,
Lighted his path from Frejus to the Seine.
What bold emprise did e'er compare with that?
And whence its glory, but its noble daring?
So may you now by one chivalric deed,
Obtain high honor. Seize power when you may;
Place it in hands beneath your own controul,
And turn the scale of empire at your will.

Dir. You are o'er fervid in your eloquence; I sought not counsel but communication.
Out. This you may yet obtain. Behold this packet:
It bears you see, the signet of the Chief,
The ink is almost fresh,—the messenger
An hour since was with me—and disclosed,
His conference with you, and all its import.
Dir. I knew not, sir, that you were of our counsel;
There has been some concealment, which I like not,—
When I command, I choose my own subalterns,
When I deliberate, I select my counsellors.
Out. And now you understand the part assigned you,
In this high enterprise, you must march forward;
Retreat admits not, but with infamy,— [of.
Our council has been larger than you thought
Dir. A written pledge and witnesses beside!
Say, was this well? or does it look like friendship?
Out. 'Tis policy,—the means of politicians;
Remember you must act, when you're required;
I introduce our friends to close our councils.
[*Raps on the door. Enter from behind, Cypher, Toady, and others.*
Dir. I am fairly caught, and must submit to it. (*aside.*)
My worthy friends, I doubt not we are all,
Compatriots banded in the common cause;
Give me your hands; I hope to know you better,
The fiat shall go forth. The mouthing herd,
The hurrah boys cannot be safely trusted.
Power must be wrested from them, and confided
To our own kindred spirits who will wield it,
To place our Chieftain in the highest seat.
Success is never treason. My humble board,
My services, are all at your command;
Time moves apace,—my honored friends, adieu.
[*Exit Director, smiling and bowing gracefully.*

Out. And this man passes for a deep intriguer!
The times indeed are altered. Can it be,
The great Magician, my once hated rival,
Was duped by such a caitiff?

Cyph. Nothing more certain; but his powers were sinking,
And death removed him from the humiliation,
As in compassion of his former greatness.

Toad. 'Tis useless to disparage the Director,
Say what you may, he's a well spoken man,
A polished gentleman,—his easy manners,
His sweet insinuating smile,—his bow,—
The pressure of his hand,—his every motion,
Steal on the good opinions of his friends.
He's almost Hero's equal in the graces.

Out. Is Hero too a Chesterfield? So be it.
The good old lady—does she court the graces?
Trifling a truce,—I like not this Director;
He dreams of, Lord knows what. He govern Hero!
The fool! When was a Southern nabob ruled,
By Low-dutch cunning! His ambition blinds him.
But let that pass—when Hero bears full sway,
His level will be found by this Director;
We have him in our hands.—His hopes, his fears,
Both bind him to us. Power once achieved—
We care not for him. Should he now desert us,
He falls with hero. There our safety lies.
The Burgomaster counts the loss and gain,
And finds the sum of all *his profits* footed,
On Hero's column. We have nought to fear.
Exeunt.

JACKSON'S BURRISM AGAIN.

The fact of General Jackson's association with Burr is so fully established, by the affidavits of Coffee and Easton, and the letters published by Dr. M'Neary, that it is useless to offer further proof of it. A faint attempt has been made to maintain, that after Burr's plans became suspicious, Jackson abandoned his connection with him. This assertion is roundly made in Coffee's affidavit. The facts, now before the public, that Jackson highly recommended Burr on the 25th of Sept. 1806; endorsed for him on the 10th of November, and received him again in his house on the 14th of December, are very strong to prove the futility of this pretence of abandonment. But I have still stronger proof upon this subject. The following is an extract of Gen. Coffee's deposition:

"Sometime in the year 1806, (to the best of my recollection) Aaron Burr was engaged in an expedition or enterprise down the Mississippi, and which he said he was authorized to do by government; and for the purpose of procuring provisions and boats for his contemplated plans, he the said Burr, did forward a sum of between three and four thousand dollars in Kentucky bank notes, to Gen Jackson, with a request that he would procure for him, by purchase, the amount in boats & provisions. At the time Gen. Jackson received the sum alluded to, I was connected with him in mercantile business, at the Clover Bottom, Tennessee, and on the receipt thereof, the General shew me his instructions, and handed the money or notes over to me, with a request that I would transact the business, for Mr. Burr, and in behalf of the mercantile firm above alluded to, I did so; and made contracts for several boats for Mr. Burr; when report reached Tennessee, that his projects or plans, was not, nor would not, be countenanced by government.—On hearing this rumour, by and with the advice of Gen. Jackson, I declined making contracts for Mr. Burr any further than had been done before that time; and still held in my possession a considerable part of the sum first remitted by Mr. Burr, to Gen. Jackson: Some time after that, when Mr. Burr came on to Tennessee, *on his way down the river*, he *stopped* at the Clover Bottom, near which place lay some of the boats that I had contracted for his use, and where he fitted himself out for his voyage down the river. The report of his acting in opposition to the wishes of the government, prevented his procuring supplies of provision; and as such, he had not use for all the boats, that had been made for him—two I believe was the number he made use of for himself and those with him. The balance of the boats, the number I do not recollect, was left by Mr. Burr; and afterwards by virtue of his order in favour of Patten Anderson, the boats or the proceeds thereof was handed or paid over to him. Mr. Anderson: When Mr. Burr was at the Clover Bottom, Gen. Jackson and myself made a settlement with him the said Burr, and *after charging him with the boats and other articles furnished him for his voyage down the river, I returned him all the balance of his money, in the very same notes first sent on by him*, and the accounts was then completely closed and paid on both sides as I understood."

In this statement, dates of every thing, except the year, are omitted, and it is very carefully alleged that, upon hearing that the government would not countenance Burr's plans, Gen Coffee, by and with the advice of Gen. Jackson, quit making further contracts for Burr. But it appears that several boats were built for Burr, that some provisions were purchased, that Burr took his final departure from Clover Bottom, and, at the time of that departure, a settlement took place between Jackson and Coffee, and Burr. After charging Burr the boats and provisions furnished, they returned him the balance of the money.

The suit, in which this affidavit was taken, originated in the opinion that a balance of the money remained in Jackson's hands. That opinion arose from the fact of a paper, in the hand writing of Gen. Jackson, stating an account between Burr and himself, being in the possession of Blennerhasset. Of this account the following is a copy:

"*A. B. in account with A. J.*

1806,		Dr.
Oct. 4.	Expenses of J. C. and postage,	$6 62½
	Spanish horse,	50 00
	W. P. Anderson,	700 00
	Cash paid Yates,	60 00
	Donelson Cattery wages and expenses,	29 00
	Boat of T. Dixon & Coble,	123 00
	Expense of do.	21 50
	Expense at sundry times,	8 00
	Keel boat,	200 00
	Bill store Messrs. F. & H.	43
	Cash for do.	50
	J. & W. Jackson bill do.	44
	Cash to Mr. Adams,	5
	Boat of W. Crenshaw & Co.	123
	Expense for do.	18 75
	Postage,	1 50
	3 boats a $133 33	400
		$2023 37½
	Cash on hand,	$1726 62½

1806,	Cr.
Oct. 4, By draft on Bustard & Co.	$250
Nov. 3, By notes by W.	3,000
Dec. 8, By do	500
	$3,750

This, no doubt, is the settlement referred to by Coffee—the memorandum rendered by Jackson to Burr, at the Clover bottom, when "*on his way down the river.*" It corresponds exactly with Coffee's statement: He is charged "*with the boats and other articles furnished him for his voyage.*" The balance is struck, and, considering the object of the account, the payment of the balance could not be noted, because the account was stated to show what that balance was.

Let us now carefully examine the items of this account, and the times when they arose. Jackson's complimentary letter, recommending Burr and inviting friends to show him respect, is dated September 25. The first charge in this account is dated October 4, and the first credit on the same day.

"*Expense of J. C. and Postage*, $6 62½."

We should like to know what expenses Jackson paid for Burr, and what correspondence he carried on upon his account. These items have no obvious connection with building boats and buying provision. Cash paid to Anderson and cash paid to Yates, are in the same predicament. Then comes "*Donelson Caffery's wages and expenses*, $29 00." This Donelson Caffery has been introduced before into this Jackson dish of Burrism. The Virginia Advocate gives us the certificates of Watkins & Baker, that Mr. Caffery was advised by Jackson, not to go with Burr. He sent him nevertheless on some expedition for Burr, and paid his expenses. In the second letter, published by McNairy, Jackson speaks of his sending a *message*, & adds he will furnish "*the needful.*" We see here that he did furnish it.

Five flat boats and one keel boat were built, and paid for. Coffee did not recollect the number. He remembered that Burr used but two, and left the remainder, which, or their proceeds, were delivered to P. Anderson. One large item, 700 dollars, of this account was paid to Mr. Anderson. Coffee tells us that Burr was engaged in "*an expedition or enterprise down the Mississippi,*" and that "*for the purpose of procuring provisions and boats for his* CONTEMPLATED PLANS, *he forwarded a sum of between three and four thousand dollars, in Kentucky bank notes, to Gen. Jackson.*" In this respect the account corresponds with Coffee's statement. It appears that 3500 dollars, in "*notes*," were forwarded by a Mr. "W." at different periods: the first $3000 on Nov. 3, the latter 500 on December 8. Besides these, the sum of $250 was advanced October 4, in a draft on Bustard & E. Thus we see that this account and the statement of Coffee are in harmonious accordance with each other.

I have already remarked that the first items of debt and credit are on the 4th of October, and that Burr was confessedly, at Jackson's residence a most welcome visiter on the 25th of September preceding. How long he remained, I do not know: it is asserted in the National Journal of the 17th of July, that he left Nashville on the 6th of October. The time between these two dates, was no doubt occupied in making all the necessary arrangements between Burr and Jackson. Within this time some things were transacted, which wear the appearance of singular coincidences, to say the least.

In General Jackson's letter to Mr. Jefferson, without date, recently published as evidence that he had no connection with Burr, we find the following: "*I beg leave to offer to your view, the enclosed orders, some short time ago issued by me, since which I have not been furnished with complete returns of the volunteer companies,*" &c. These orders, it appears, were dated the 4th of October, the very day on which Gen. Jackson opened an account with Burr, "*for the purpose* (asserted by Gen. Coffee) *of procuring provisions and boats for his contemplated plans.*" Does not this coincidence clearly show that these orders looked to the same objects with the boats and provisions? Gen. Jackson opened an account with Burr avowedly to '*further his plans,*' and issued these orders on the very same day. They were cotemporaneous acts, and must have originated in one common motive. It is a just inference that these orders were issued at the suggestion of Burr, and the letter to Mr. Jefferson written also, at his suggestion, if not dictated by him. The caution, in reserving the command to Jackson himself and their own officers and such as Jackson might recommend, is characteristic of that wily politician, rather than of the headlong hero of the Hermitage.—Had Mr. Jefferson been drawn into an acceptance of the service, upon the terms proposed, his letter of acceptance could have been conveniently used to deceive the unsuspecting. Fortunately he was too cautious for this.

As the letter to Mr. Jefferson is endorsed to have been received the 24th of November, 1806, it must have been written about the first part of that month. Here is another singular coincidence. The remittance of 3000 dollars was received on the 3d, the receipt of this cash and the letter to the President seem to have been cotemporaneous acts. The messenger, Mr. W., who brought the cash, most probably brought also the advice to write the letter. It was surely a singular mode of defeating the conspiracy,

to be acting as the efficient agent to promote it, and write to the President without any direct notice of it. It was an equally singular mode of abandoning it, to receive money purposely to "*further*" it, when the alarm was almost universal, as it was in the West, on the 3d of November! The months of October and November, 1806, was the period of time that General Jackson was engaged, in his principal acts of co-operation with Burr. This was, indeed, the period of the most active operations, on the great theatre of action, from Pittsburgh to the mouth of the Cumberland. During this period we find Gen. Jackson most industriously engaged in *furthering* his plans, whatever they may have been. The testimony of Coffee, explained and corrected by this account, and the letters already published by McNairy demonstrate, not only the facts, but the period of their occurrence. They completely silence the pretension that Gen. Jackson abandoned Burr as soon as the legality of his enterprise was suspected. The falsehood of this pretence is evident, as well from the facts now disclosed, as from its intrinsic absurdity. What private *enterprise* or *expedition down the Mississippi*, as Coffee describes it, could depend for its legality upon the countenance of the President? That which was, in its nature illegal, could not be legalized by the countenance and approbation of the National Executive. Conspiracy against the laws of the country, can derive no sanction from the President or his cabinet. They are as answerable to the law as others. Had Burr contemplated a trading or emigrating expedition, it did not require the countenance of the executive to make it lawful. There was no law reprehending such an expedition. The admission that enough was known, by Gen. Jackson, to assure him that the enterprise needed the sanction of the Government, includes a confession that he knew it to be illegal, when he engaged to aid it. From this conclusion he cannot possibly escape, but by making himself an idiot, simpleton, and a ridiculous dupe. None can believe him to have been such. On the contrary, the just conclusion is, that he was a principal confederate, and that both his letters to President Jefferson and Gov. Claiborne, were written, in concert with Burr, "*for the purpose of forwarding his plans.*"

When, on December 22, 1806, Burr left Clover Bottom with two boats, the expedition was prostrated. The public voice had denounced and defeated it. There was no hope of success, and Burr could only go on, and trust his desperate fortunes to circumstances. Every motive that government, made it proper for General Jackson to stop, and endeavour to escape suspicion. By this course he might still remain in a situation to assist Burr and the other confederates at another time. By proceeding, he would certainly damn himself, and could as certainly render them no service. Hence the account was settled as a mere mercantile agency, without however the usual mercantile charge of commissions.

Gen. Jackson's labour & responsibilities were carried to the account of the cause, and liquidated by the *per contra* of the common good.—He did escape general suspicion, and it was only when he began to renew, in the face of the public, his old Burr associations, that suspicion revived against him. As this acquaintance extended, and as, from time to time the old Burrites kept raising up their voices, in support of Gen. Jackson, enquiry was put upon the alert. And, when the confidential agent of the Hermitage was found, at a most critical conjuncture, wending his course towards the home of Burr, and the theatre of his present secret operations, those possessed of the evidence have felt it their duty to disclose it. The chieftain stands now before the world, as the active coadjutor of Burr, without hope of refuge, except the humiliating one of being his tool and dupe.

MILITARY PRETENSION.

[The following from the National Intelligencer of August 20th, cannot be too strongly considered. It gives a strong glimpse at least, of the prospect before us.]

Is it your intention fellow-citizens that the right of succession to the Presidency of the United States shall henceforth reside in the army?

That is a question which we solemnly propound to you; and it is one which you, as far as depends upon you, are about to decide, by your votes at the approaching election of electors.

Are you, we repeat, ready to sanction the principle, that the President of the United States shall always be taken from the line of the army, or from among those who have but recently retired from it?

If you are obliged to admit this proposition, applied generally, to be an absurd one, wherein is it less absurd to apply it in a particular case? You cannot elect a succession of Presidents at once, so as to make the rule general by a general vote. You cannot chuse but one at a time; and if you chuse that one upon the military principle, you *begin* the succession; which being

yielded to-day, may come to be demanded to-morrow.

Upon what principle is General ANDREW JACKSON supported for the Presidency? Is it upon any other principle than his military fortune? Without entering into an examination of his claims to the rank of "a hero," what but his military qualifications have recommended him to his supporters? Nothing whatever. In one word, he is a bold and fearless man, spurning controul, disregarding both law and the orders of his superiors in authority, and reckless of consequences. To civil qualifications he lays not the slightest claim. He has resigned, after short trial, every civil appointment he ever received; and we have the recent evidence of one of his friends (Judge Breckenridge) that he did not pretend to execute, otherwise than by deputies, casually selected, the civil functions belonging to his office of Governor of Florida—a couple of his friends undertaking to find out for him what were his powers in that office; and afterwards, under those powers making ordinances which, with his signature, passed *for his*. It cannot be denied, that his claims to the public suffrage are *purely* military.

We come now to the circumstance which led us to this train of thought. The first number of a new paper, published at Clarksville, *in the state of Tennessee*, by the title of the *Clarksville Gazette*, has just reached us. In the Editorial Address, the political views of the editor are disclosed. Towards the close of it, we find the following passage:

"One other topic only will be touched, and that but briefly—the Presidential Election. General Jackson has our support—a preference founded not only on his patriotism, his integrity, and his knowledge of human character, but on the military services he has performed: for military services form a legitimate claim to public support. If you withhold from the citizen warrior all prospect of obtaining the high civic honors of the state, you not only deprive him of the strongest stimulus to exertion, but you tempt him to snatch, by force, the honors which you deny him by your suffrages. But say that the services of the soldier, and the successes of the patriot general, shall be repaid by commensurate rewards in the administration of civil affairs, you take away the incentive to perpetuate military command, and to convert the sword of the conqueror into the sceptre of the monarch."

Here is an unsophisticated man, who speaks openly and plainly his principles; who either has not the art, or disdains to veil his real sentiments.—Gen. JACKSON, he tells us, has his support, not only for the qualifications which he supposes him to possess, but for those which he is most sure of his possessing, and therefore more dilates upon. "*Military services*," he tells us, "*form a LEGITIMATE CLAIM to public support*"—that is, *for the Presidency*, of which he is speaking. Here is the doctrine boldly avowed, that the *most successful soldier has A RIGHT to the Presidency*. This is going the whole, but no more than the whole, of the creed of those who first set up the claims of Gen. JACKSON to the Presidency, and who have gathered around their original party a large body of citizens, attracted by other considerations to the military standard. Were we not told, by his original supporters at Philadelphia, as a reason for offering him the Presidency, that if he had been so minded, he might with a victorious army at his back, have assumed—not the Presidency—no, the IMPERIAL PURPLE? And did we not hear the same sentiment, the other day, from one of the Generals of Militia in a Southern state, who said that he would rather vote for JACKSON to be EMPEROR than for Adams to be President? But our brother in Tennessee does not stop here. He goes on to lay down proposition after proposition, each more and more calculated to startle those who know how to discriminate between Republicanism & Despotism—between Election and Usurpation——between Freedom and Slavery—between Life and Death. "If you withhold from the citizen WARRIOR all prospect of obtaining THE HIGH CIVIC HONORS of the

state," our editor tells you, "you not only deprive him of the strongest stimulus to exertion. [thus making him fight for the crown] but you tempt him to SNATCH BY FORCE THE HONORS *which you deny him by your suffrages.*" Does this need translation? Is it to be endured, that the partizans of a "Military Chieftain," as the Richmond Enquirer has entitled him, shall endeavor to force him upon this people as their President, by threats of ☞SNATCHING THE HONOR BY FORCE, if it be not voluntarily bestowed? Or, if the *threat* be not designed, is the idea itself to be borne? Can any countenance be given to it by any who are not ready for the collars and chains of a base servitude?

Let us follow on our candid friend in Tennessee, to the close of his further cogitations on this subject: "Say that the services of the soldier, and the *successes* of the patriot General shall be repaid by commensurate rewards in the administration of civil affairs, and you take away the *incentive to* PERPETUAL MILITARY COMMAND, and TO CONVERT THE SWORD OF THE CONQUERER INTO THE SCEPTRE OF THE MONARCH!!!" So, this *worthy* Tennesseean is seriously of the opinion, that if *the successes* of Gen. Jackson—he might as well have *named* him—be not "repaid by commensurate rewards in the administration of civil affairs," (the Presidency, to wit,) an "incentive" will be afforded him ☞*"to convert the sword of the Conqueror into the* SCEPTRE *of the* MONARCH!!!" This is the plain meaning of his stately periods; a meaning not to be disguised; a sentiment on the contrary, ostentatiously put forth as a cardinal principle in the creed of a new adventurer in the field of politics!

Now, fellow-citizens! Jacksonians! You who are so from mere prejudice, or casual association! You who have not gone too far to retreat! Are you ready to yield assent to such doctrines as these? Are you prepared, by any act of yours, to countenance the doctrine, that not only all the honors in in your gift, but all that you hold dear—your life, liberty, and property, are subject to the disposal of any mere soldier, who chances to win a battle? This view of the matter puts aside all questions as to qualification or character. In one word, are you willing to admit that it is in the power of any military captain in this country, refused *the Presidency*, by your suffrages, to become ☞YOUR SOVEREIGN BY HIS WILL? That you are so, is the doctrine promulgated by this newly established press in the State of Tennessee.

We do not say that this is the sentiment of Gen. Jackson—we trust in God it is not. It is sufficient to create alarm, that it is the doctrine of *some* of his liege supporters, and we fear of no small number of them—of that class who, in the language of the *Reverend* expounder of the Gospel at Philadelphia, are more likely to pay respect to the word of their Hero *than to the word of God!*

FIRE AND FAGGOT.

We learn from Knoxville, Tennessee, that the Jacksonians in that vicinity, finding other arguments exhausted, have applied to that of fire and faggot. *Truth's Advocate* has been made the subject of an *auto de fe.* The Honorable Jacob C. Isaacs, member of Congress discharged the functions of Jack-Katch, *ex officio.* At Westminster, he collected a body of men good and true, to the hero, and assimilated in character with himself, and burnt Truth's Advocate, the Richmond Whig, Knoxville Enquirer, and other papers, at the foot of the whipping-post. This is always the last resort of Tyranny. The books of Gallileo were thus burned. The works of the great reformers shared the same fate. We never dreamed that our ephemeral, would have obtained this distinction. But it marks the spirit of the times, and the temper of the Jacksonians. Those who would burn the book, would also burn the authors. We see the path before us, in these proceedings. But we trust there is a feeling in the community, equal to the repulsion of such attempts at violence and intimidation. They disgrace our country, and more especially disgrace it, when we find a member of Congress is engaged in them.

P. R. Fendall

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TRUTH'S ADVOCATE

AND

MONTHLY ANTI-JACKSON EXPOSITOR.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, OCTOBER, 1828.

JACKSON IN FLORIDA.

In the preceding numbers of this work, Gen. Jackson has been exhibited as a military commander, and as a private citizen. Some prominent points of his conduct, in both these relations, have been investigated, and presented to the country, in their true colours. The just inference from these exposures, is, that he is not either in temper, habits, or capacity, qualified for civil rule. This result, which seems inevitable, from the facts already spread before the public, is most conclusively sustained by his course of conduct, when placed in the office of a civil magistrate. Fortunately for those, who sincerely wish to make a just estimate of Gen. Jackson's fitness for the Executive office of the nation, he has been called to officiate as a Chief Executive officer, in a purely civil capacity. His conduct in that office, is matter of history, and is preserved in public and official documents. From these it is now intended to compile a full and faithful account of his proceedings, connected with such explanations and reflections, as may serve to present the whole in a just light before the nation. It will not be practicable to compress this narrative, with the necessary documents to sustain it, within the space that could be wished. But although the article must be a long one, it will be found to comprise a body of information highly interesting to the politician, the historian, and to every honest enquirer after the true character of Gen. Jackson.

The general fact is well known, that in 1821, Gen. Jackson was appointed by President Monroe, to receive possession of the Floridas, from the Spanish authorities, and to officiate as Governor over the territory. It is equally well known, that in the performance of these duties, Gen. Jackson involved himself in desperate quarrels with the Spanish officers, and with the United States Judge. The active and operating motives that produced these results, and the discreditable conduct into which Gen. Jackson's passions hurried him, are little known and almost forgotten. It is only by a perfect knowledge of these, that the demerits of his proceedings can be fully understood.

Early in the year 1819, a treaty was concluded at Washington, between Don Onis, the Spanish minister, and Mr. Adams, Secretary of State, for the cession of the Floridas, by Spain, to the United States: and Congress, in anticipation of its ratification by Spain, passed a law, providing for taking possession of, and governing it. The ratification, however, did not take place until the 24th of October, 1820, on the part of Spain; and on the 18th of February, 1821, it was ratified by the Senate: the ratifications were exchanged, and the treaty promulgated at Washington, February 22nd, 1821. Congress then proceeded to enact another law providing for taking the possession of, and for the government of the country. This second law was considered as superesding the law of 1819, and all that was done under it.

By the 1st section of this law, the President was authorized to take possession, and to remove the officers and soldiers of Spain, according to the provisions of the treaty, for which purpose he was empowered to employ any part of the army and navy of the United states, or the militia. By the second section, it was provided: "That until the end of the first session of the next Congress, unless provision for the temporary government of said territories be sooner made by Congress, all the military, civil, and judicial powers, exercised by the officers of the existing government of the same territories, shall be vested in such person and per-

sons, and shall be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct, for the maintaining the inhabitants of said territories in the FREE ENJOYMENT of their liberty, property, and religion." This section further provides for the enforcement of the revenue laws of the Union, within the territories; the subsequent sections provide for executing certain specific stipulations in the treaty, appointing commissioners for different purposes, fixing their compensation, and appropriating one hundred thousand dollars for carrying the law into effect. The provisions of the second section, as above quoted, are a transcript of the law of 1803, with respect to taking possession and to the government of Louisiana.

Under this law, the President issued three commissions to Gen. Jackson; one appointing him to receive possession of the Floridas; one appointing him Governor of the Floridas; and a special commission for carrying into effect the stipulations of the treaty. It is only the powers conferred by the two last commissions, which it is necessary to understand. No difficulties arose about the first. After reciting the treaty, and the act of Congress, the commission of Governor proceeds:

"Now, know ye, that, reposing special trust and confidence in the integrity, patriotism, and abilities, of Maj. General Andrew Jackson, I do, in virtue of the above recited act, appoint him to exercise, within the said ceded Territories, under such limitations as have been, or may hereafter be, prescribed to him by my instructions, and by law, all the powers and authorities heretofore exercised by the Governor and Captain General and Intendant of Cuba, and by the Governors of East and West Florida, within the said provinces respectively, and do authorize, and empower him, the said Andrew Jackson, to execute and fulfil the duties of this present appointment according to law, and to have and to hold the same, with all its powers and privileges, until the end of the next session of Congress, unless provision be sooner made for the temporary government of the said territories, so ceded by Spain to the United States: *Provided, however*, and it is the true intent and meaning of these presents, that the said Andrew Jackson, or any person acting under him, or in the said territories, shall have no power or authority to lay or collect any new or additional taxes, or to grant or confirm to any person or persons, whomsoever, any title or claims to lands within the same."

The special commission, after reciting the treaty, the law, and the powers given as Governor, is in these words:

"Therefore, be it known, that in virtue of the above recited act of Congress, I do, by these presents, appoint and authorize you, the said Andrew Jackson, to administer the government with the existing authorities, in the best manner in your power for the present, and to report without delay, the actual state, with such alterations as you may think advisable, that further instructions may be given respecting the same: and I do authorize you to suspend any officer or officers in the said territories which the public good may seem to require, with the exception always, of such as are, or may be appointed by the President of the United States, making a report to this government of your proceedings therein."

The two first commissions are dated March 10th; the last March 20th, 1821.

The President also appointed Col. Forbes to proceed to Havana, and receive from the Governor certain archives and public documents, belonging to the Floridas, and to receive from the Governor of Cuba, the proper orders to the Governors of the Floridas, to deliver the country to the United States. At a subsequent time, the President made the following other appointments:

Eligius Fromentin, of Louisiana, to be Judge of the United States for West

Florida, and for that part of East Florida which lies westward of the Cape, to reside at Pensacola.

Alexander Anderson, of Tennessee, to be Attorney of the United States for West Florida, and for that part of East Florida which lies westward of the Cape, to reside at Pensacola.

William P. Duval, of Kentucky to be Judge of the United States for East Florida, with the exception of that part which lies westward of the Cape, to reside at St. Augustine.

John G. Bird, of Georgia, to be Attorney of the United States for East Florida, with the exception of that part which lies westward of the Cape, to reside at St. Augustine.

James Grant Forbes, of New York, to be Marshal of the United States, in and for East and West Florida, with authority to appoint a deputy, either for St. Augustine or Pensacola, while he shall himself reside at either of those places.

George Walton, of Georgia, to be Secretary in and for West Florida, and for that part of East Florida which lies westward of the Cape.

William G. D. Worthington, of Maryland, to be Secretary in and for East Florida, except that part which lies westward of the Cape, to reside at St. Augustine.

Mark Harden, of South Carolina, to be Collector of the Customs at St. Marks.

John Rodman, of New York, Collector of the Customs, and Richard S. Hackley, of Virginia, Surveyor and Inspector of the Revenue, at St. Augustine.

Alexander Scott, of the District of Columbia, Collector of the Customs; William S. Smith, of the District of Columbia, Naval officer; and Charles Jenkins, of South Carolina, Surveyor and Inspector of the Revenue, at Pensacola.

Gen. Jackson was apprised of his appointment, by a letter from the Secretary of State, dated March 12, 1821. This letter contained particular instructions for the performance of the various duties assigned to Gen. Jackson, and from it, the following extracts are made;

"It is the President's desire, that you should appoint Gen. Gaines, or such other officer as you may deem expedient, to receive possession of St. Augustine; and that the same instructions should be applied to the execution of that service. The United States brig Enterprise or schooner Porpoise, will be ordered to proceed to that place, to escort the transports which are to convey the Spanish officers and troops thence to the Havana. The care of providing the transports at both places is referred to you. The number of troops at either place is not known, but supposed to amount to about 500 men at each. The stipulation is understood to include civil as well as military officers, and provisions as well as passage.

"Instructions will be given by the Secretary of War, to the Quarter Masters and Commissaries, to furnish to your orders, provisions and transports for the conveyance of the Spanish officers and troops. It is expected they will be supplied at New Orleans and Mobile, for those to embark within the Gulf, and at Savannah and Charleston, for those going from St. Augustine. * * * *

"As soon as the possession shall be transferred, you will, in pursuance of your authority over the ceded territories, issue proclamations announcing the fact—a form adapted from that which was issued on the first occupation of Louisiana is herewith enclosed, to be modified as the circumstances, in your opinion, may require.

"The power vested in you by the enclosed commissions, are also conformable to those which were entrusted to the Governor of Louisiana, under an act of Congress of similar import.—The President is satisfied that they will be exercised by you with a due regard as well to the privileges and usages of the inhabitants, under the government to which they have been subject, as to the personal and social rights to which they will be entitled by the stipulations of the treaty, and as associates to the union of these

states. The money paid into the Spanish treasury before the delivery of possession, and whatever may be due thereto at that date, is to be considered as the property of Spain. Payments and debts subsequent to that date will belong, of course, to the United States. * * *

"Your compensation as Governor will be at the rate of five thousand dollars a year. As Commissioner for receiving possession of the provinces, such reasonable expenses as may be incurred, will be allowed. Whenever your military command ceases, your salary as Governor will commence. * *

"At the ensuing session of Congress, it is to be presumed, one of the earliest objects of attention to that body, will be to make further provision for the government of these territories. The President wishes you, in the interval, to collect and communicate to this Department, any information relating to the country and its inhabitants, which may be useful to the exercise of the legislative power of the Union concerning them. * * *

"For the expenses incident to the services herewith required, you will draw upon this department. Strict economy is to be observed in incurring them, and I have urgently to request the transmission, as early as possible, of all the accounts resulting from them, with the vouchers necessary for their settlement at the Treasury." * *

By the act of March, 1821, reducing the military peace establishment, which took effect on the 1st day of June, 1821, Gen. Jackson's military command ceased; at that time, his salary as Governor commenced.

Gen. Jackson left Nashville for the performance of his duties in the Floridas, so as to arrive at New Orleans on the 22d of April. He took with him his military family; or, at least a part of them; Captain Call, as aid-de-camp, and Doctor Bronaugh, as Surgeon General, accompanied him. At New Orleans, he commenced enquiries of the Quarter Master's department, for funds to provide for the transportation of the civil and military officers of Spain, according to the terms of the treaty. His own account of his movements, and his own opinions of the results, are here inserted, as the first specimen he has given, of his views of the powers and duties of civil officers:

"I have here met with Major Staunton, of the Quarter Master's Department, who advises me, that he is without Quarter Master's funds for the purpose of carrying into effect the transportation of the civil and military officers of Spain from the Floridas, as stipulated under the late treaty with Spain, and informs me, that it is understood by the Quarter Master General, that, through me, the funds necessary to carry into effect the stipulation for transporting the Spanish troops are to be obtained. *From the perusal of my instructions, it does not appear that I am authorized to draw upon the State Department for Quarter Master's funds, but will take upon me the responsibility so to do.* I thought it most advisable to endeavour to raise here, by a draft upon your Department, the sum necessary to meet the expenses of receiving the country and organizing the government, fearing that a draft would not be sold at Mobile or Pensacola; for this purpose, I offered for sale a draft, and found I could not obtain United States paper for it without a discount. I therefore, directed Major Staunton to apply to the branch bank of the United States, to be informed whether it would advance upon my draft? It refused. I then addressed a note to the Collector, Mr. Chew; the enclosed is his answer. I also enclose the statement of Major Staunton: from all which you will discover, that, without discount, money cannot be obtained here on drafts upon the Government. No delay, however, shall occur in the transportation of the Spanish troops, from the want of funds, as far as I can command them: nor will I ever consent to sell bills on the government at a discount, to any, and more particularly to the branch bank of the United States, in which is deposited all the revenue of the government received at this place. I shall endeavour at Mobile or Pensacola, to raise the necessary funds on drafts. Should I fail there, I trust,

upon the receipt of this, the government will instruct the branch bank to furnish me with the amount that may be necessary to meet the expenses that may occur in receiving the Floridas, and organizing the government thereof.

"I am, Sir, &c.

"ANDREW JACKSON."

[ENCLOSURES IN THE ABOVE.]

Major Stanton to Governor Jackson.

"NEW ORLEANS, April 25, 1821.

"SIR: Agreeably to your request of this morning, I waited on the Cashier of the United States branch bank, and stated to him your wish to negotiate through his bank a draft on Washington, for ten or fifteen thousand dollars, which he peremptorily declined doing. Knowing the importance of obtaining funds, and that money could not be had in market for drafts, but at a discount, I ventured to state to the Cashier such reasons as presented themselves to my mind, why the favour requested should be granted, and the very serious embarrassment that might result to the public service, should he persist in his refusal, which, however, he thought proper to do, without assigning *any other reason*, than that the mother bank forbade his negotiating drafts.

"I have the honor to be, &c.

"H. STANTON, *D. Q. M. G.*"

The Collector at New Orleans to Gov. Jackson, dated 25th April, 1821.

"SIR: I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, and should have been extremely happy to be empowered to advance the sum you require, by accepting a draft on the Department of State; but particular instructions from the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury would be necessary to authorize me to make that disposition of the public money in my hands.

"I am, &c.

"BEV. CHEW."

It is here seen, that the habitual disregard of all legal restraints, was so prevalent with General Jackson, that he proposed, without scruple, to transcend his authority, and do what his instructions did not warrant. And that he obliquely censures both the Cashier of the branch bank of the United States, and the Collector of the Customs, because they would not, either of them, disregard their official duties at his bidding. He admitted that he had no authority to draw a draft on the State Department, yet he determined to draw such a draft!! The Cashier of the branch bank declined purchasing this unauthorized draft, because his "*instructions forbade his negotiating drafts.*" The Collector could not advance money upon the draft, because, without particular instructions from the Secretary of the Treasury, he had no authority to dispose of the public money. Yet Gen. Jackson is evidently dissatisfied. What possible security could there be for public monies, if it were allowable to pay them out upon unauthorized drafts, contrary to positive instructions, or without the legal authority? Gen. Jackson conceived that all this was proper, and not only attempted to effect these illegal monied operations, but in the heat of disappointment, gives a very unjustifiable turn to the refusal, by those who held the money, to part with it. He holds this language: "Nor will I ever consent to sell bills on the government at a discount to any, and more particularly to the branch bank of the United States, in which is deposited all the revenue of the government, received at this place." The natural inference from this language would be, that the branch bank sought to obtain the General's bills upon government, at a discount, whereas, the Cashier stated, explicitly, that his instructions forbade him from purchasing at all. The D. Q. M. G. expresses pretty distinctly, his opinion, that obedience to his instructions, on the part of the Cashier, was but an insufficient ground of action. He reasoned with him to induce disobedience, and seems quite surprised that he should think proper, to refuse "*without assigning any other reason.*" And Gen. Jackson adopts the D. Q. M. G's opinion, as it would seem, from the manner in which he treats the subject. Is not this proceeding one of a

most startling character? Here is a high functionary of the government, seriously reasoning with an officer having charge of money belonging to other people, to prevail with him to act in direct disobedience to the instructions of his employers!! Surely such a course of conduct evinces but very loose notions of either individual or official morality!

From N. O. Gen. J. proceeded to Blakely, in Alabama, which place he reached on the 20th of April, and from thence he proceeded to Montpelier, where he was on the 19th of May.—From Blakely, Gen. Jackson sent Messrs. Bronaugh and Brackenridge, one as Surgeon General, the other as private Secretary to the General, to notify the Governor of Pensacola, that he was appointed to receive possession, and proposing to enter into preliminary arrangements for receiving it, as soon as Mr. Forbes should arrive from Cuba with the proper orders. CALLAVA, the Governor of Florida, declined entering into these arrangements, and assigned as a reason, that he had not "received any orders from the Captain General of Cuba, the superior on whom he was immediately dependant, relative to the treaty and surrender of the province, and by which his measures must be governed, in case he should be selected as the person to make the same."

This reply was dated the 4th of May, and was received by Gen. Jackson on the 7th. In communicating the facts to the Secretary of State, Gen. Jackson took upon himself to express surmises as to the cause of Mr. Forbes's delay at Havana, very discreditable to the Spanish authorities. The following is an extract of his letter, dated Blakely, May 7th, 1821:

"I am at a loss to conjecture the causes of the delay of the Hornet: a few days will give us the reason, and I hope it may not be found to exist in any understanding existing between an association of *our merchants* and the Governor General of Cuba: but, sir, it is rumoured and believed here, that such an attempt will be made by merchants, to prevail upon the Governor General to withhold the order for the delivery of the Floridas, until the last moment to give time for the arrival of large shipment of goods for Pensacola."

This rumour & belief implies a scandalous imputation upon '*our merchants*,' as well as upon the Governor Gen'l. of Cuba. And it is no evidence of purity of intention, to be so ready upon mere *rumour, to believe* and give expression to a charge of such degrading character. We may no doubt trace to this species of ungenerous suspicion, the disagreeable events that followed, after General Jackson obtained possession. This, it will be seen, is not the only instance in which the General allowed himself to cherish and express suspicions highly derogatory to the Spanish officers and to our own citizens.

On the 14th of May, Captain Call was again at Pensacola, with a message from Gen. Jackson to Governor Callava. Certain propositions were made, and on the 16th, Gov. Callava returned an answer, concurring in the propriety of all that was suggested, but declining to act upon them, because he had as yet received no orders, and was without authority. This reply appears to have been perfectly satisfactory to the General. In communicating it to the Secretary of State, on the 21st, he observes, it "will shew you the feelings of the Governor, and that nothing is wanting but the arrival of Col. Forbes, to place us in possession of the ceded country."

Capt. Call, in making report on the 21st of May, of his interviews with Gov. Callava, thus expressed himself:

"I had repeated interviews with the Governor, and as far as I had an opportunity of forming an opinion of his character, I believe him to be a frank, ingenuous soldier, and that every confidence may be placed in the professions which he has made. Of this I am sure, he is not less anxious to leave, than you are to occupy, the ceded country."

Previous to the receipt of this communication from Gov. Callava, and of Capt. Call's report, Gen. Jackson had entertained different opinions, and the-

expressed them, in a letter to the Secretary of State, dated Montpelier, May 19th.

"Believing, as I do, that, as soon as the Spanish agents are notified of the ratification of the treaty and the exchange thereof, there can be no reason for delay, the moment the Hornet arrives, I shall move to Pensacola, and having taken possession, shall organize and exercise the government of the country, as a thing which we have a perfect right to do at any time. The evacuation of the fortifications by the Spanish officers and troops, and the transporting them to Cuba, is another thing, to accomplish which they have six months, if it is not possible to withdraw them sooner.

Here, from my instructions, I am to remain until the arrival of Colonel Forbes; but on his arrival, if any delay is attempted, it cannot be attributed to the government of Spain, but a wanton act of her officers, not warranted by good faith, or by the treaty. In this case, therefore, I have a right to present myself, and demand possession. This course I intend to pursue, if necessary, and my conjectures that this course may become necessary, grow out of the delay of the arrival of Col. Forbes. From reading his instructions, I cannot see any real cause for his delay, or how it has occured, or why he has permitted it."

On the 30th of May, the first unfavourable impressions, which seemed to have been removed on the 21st, had again taken possession of the General's mind. He thus writes to the Secretary of State:

"I have no information from Colonel Forbes since my last; but it appears to be understood and expressed by the inhabitants of Pensăcola, that we will not get possession until the expiration of six months from the exchange of ratifications of the treaty. My letter of the 19th inst. will have given you my construction of the treaty, and my power under the commission to take possession of the Florids, combined with your instructions. I shall anxiously await your answer to that letter, as I have but little doubt now, but we will experience every delay that can be thrown in our way, and I have no wish to do an act contrary to my instructions, or the wish of my government; but when I review the delays and conduct heretofore practised by the Spanish government, I feel myself bound to oppose any attempt to prostrate our national character, and to violate the pledges of friendship given in the treaty. I feel every desire to harmonize and to obtain possession of the country ceded in the most gentle manner, provided I meet a corresponding disposition on the part of the officers of Spain: but, if the order for the delivery should not be sent by Col. Forbes to the Governor of Pensacola, on his report that he has delivered the royal order to the Captain General and Governor of Cuba, I deem it imperious upon me, to advance within the limits of Florida, tender sufficient transportation, and demand a surrender of the country, agreeably to the second article of the treaty—it being presumed that the Governor-General of Cuba has done his duty, and that duly notifying the Governor, he has given the necessary order for the delivery of the ceded country. If the Governor alleges that he is not ready to deliver the country and embark his troops, it seems to me, that he is not only bound to show good reasons, but also to defray the expenses of demurrage incurred upon the public vessels ordered for the transportation of his troops. If the Spanish Governor should not embark his troops before the 22nd of August next—must not the Spanish Government after that date furnish their own transportation, having violated the treaty, and have not I a right after that date, *to take possession by force*, if not peaceably surrendered? From the wording of the Act of Congress, I have no doubt we have.

"I hope I may be agreeably disappointed in my forebodings, but, from the declarations of some Americans that we will not get, nor have a right to demand, possession, until the expiration of the six months, and that even then we must negotiate for pos-

session, added to the delay already experienced: I am induced to believe that every delay will be experienced, that the Spanish officers think will be submitted to by the American government."

What had occurred between the 21st and the 30th of May, to revive these suspicions, and inspire the General with such unfavorable sentiments, we have no means of ascertaining. No facts are detailed in the correspondence, to warrant the General's opinions: and the whole of his suspicions seem to be predicated upon the delay of Col. Perches. But these suspicions are not more unreasonable than the doctrine he advances, in connection with them, is extraordinary.

By the 7th article of the treaty, it was stipulated that "*the officers and troops*," in the territories ceded, should be withdrawn, and possession of the places occupied by them should be "*given*" to the commissioners of the U. States appointed to receive them within six months from the ratification of the treaty. The President had recognized the necessity of a delivery by Spain to a commissioner appointed for that purpose. The King of Spain had made an order to the Captain-General of Cuba, to cause delivery to be made. The President of the United States had appointed a commissioner, and sent him to Cuba with the order of the King of Spain, to obtain the requisite and necessary order for the delivery. In this State of the case, the Commissioner takes upon himself to set up a new interpretation, and determines that he has a right, under the treaty, to take immediate possession, without waiting for the formal act of delivery. And this doctrine he founds upon the proposition assumed by himself, in the absence of all proof, that the delay is the "*evasion act of the Spanish officers, not accorded by good faith or [illegible]*."

This assumption is contrary to all comity between nations. It is by public functionaries that all Governments act: If such functionaries disregard their duty, the plain course is to make representations to their government, and it is only when these representations fail to produce effect, that the injured nation can properly complain, or take redress into its own hands. Any other doctrine would lead to the most mischievous consequences, and would place it in the power of every hot headed, and every idle public functionary to compromit the peace of nations and of the world.

Until the ceded country was delivered to Gen. Jackson, by the Spanish authorities, he was not authorized to exercise any power over it. The government remained with Spain, until transferred to the United States under the treaty: and that fact was to be made known by proclamation, a form for which, was sent to Gen. Jackson by the Secretary of State. The two Governments were careful to provide against any possible collision of authority, between their officers, exercising their functions at the same time over the same country. Gen. Jackson was vested only with the powers of Commissioner to receive possession, and yet this mere ministerial agent proposes "*to take possession by force*."

Let us only remark upon the various characters it became necessary to assume in this proceeding. First: the Commissioner, accuses the Spanish officers of violating the treaty. Second: he sits in judgment upon this accusation, and pronounces it true. Third: he proceeds, as judge, to pronounce sentence and invest himself with a right to execute it. And fourth: he takes command of the military force of the nation to enable him, by force, to carry his own judgment upon his own accusation, on his own testimony, into effect. Is not this the very essence of tyranny, even in the case of an individual? What character can properly be given to it, when its consequence is to embroil his own with a foreign government, in the very face of executing a treaty of amity, settlement and limits between them? The law and the comity of nations forbade that the government of the United States, or its officers, should have pursued any such course. The proposition of a mere agent, that he would pursue it, upon his own authority, shows how utterly

ignorant Gen. Jackson was of public law, and of public duty; or, feeling that he was the strongest, his utter disregard of both. The result demonstrated, that his suspicions of the Spanish authorities, and of "*our merchants*" were alike unfounded. The Floridas were delivered in good faith, on the 17th of July, 1821, and the delay accounted for, to the satisfaction of the President.

A careful perusal of the narrative and documents here presented cannot fail to impress all candid minds, with the unfitness of Gen. Jackson for civil office. They exhibit him as ready to assume authority, and disregard legal and official restraints, and to encourage the same conduct in others, upon his own notions of public service. No doctrine or practice could be devised more subversive of all public security, and of all public morals. He is shown to be unacquainted with, or wholly regardless of the plainest principles of public law and of public duty. It is demonstrated that he is capable of conceiving and uttering imputations of the basest character, against foreign public officers, and against his own countrymen. Imputations of no less enormity than bribery, corruption, and dereliction of duty, consequent upon them, without even attempting to adduce other evidence than his own suspicions. These are all traits of character, which greatly disqualify him for the high office of President of these United States.

We have seen that Gen. Jackson received possession of the Floridas, on the 17th day of July, 1821. His functions of Commissioner then ceased, and he became Governor, according to his own interpretation of his powers, concentrating in himself, the legislative, judicial, executive and military powers of the Captain-General of Cuba. On the 18th of July he commenced the exercise of his legislative functions in the enactment of a law or ordinance, respecting the town of St. Augustine. It is in the following words:

An Ordinance by
MAJ. GEN. ANDREW JACKSON,
Governor of the Province of the Floridas, exercising the powers of the Captain General and of the Intendant of the Island of Cuba, over the said Provinces, and of the Governors of said Provinces, respectively.

That with a view to the preservation of the good order, and health of the Town of St. Augustine,

I DO ORDAIN:

Sec. 1. That there shall be appointed, annually, *by the Governor*, a Chief Officer, to be called the Mayor, and six subordinate officers, to be called Aldermen, who shall form a Council, *and have and exercise* ALL THE POWERS necessary to the good government of the said Town.

Sec. 2. That the said Mayor and Council *shall have power by ordinance* OR OTHERWISE, to *impose fines or forfeitures*, for the infraction of their regulations; and appoint such officers as they may *deem necessary* to enforce their ordinances; and to levy SUCH TAXES AS MAY BE NECESSARY for the support of their Town Government.

Sec. 3. As the Christian Sabbath is observed throughout the civilized world, it is ordained, that, *in order to remove any doubt which might be entertained, with respect to the powers of the Mayor and Council on this subject*, that the said Mayor and Council be authorized to make ANY REGULATIONS *on the due observance thereof*, WHICH THEY MAY DEEM PROPER.

Sec. 4. In order to remove all doubts on the subject of the limits of the town of St. Augustine, and its dependencies, as well as to place under the IMMEDIATE CONTROUL of the Mayor and Council ALL THE FOUNTAINS AND SPRINGS *from which the inhabitants are supplied with water*, it is ordained that the incorporated limits of said town shall be as follows: Bounded East by the waters of the harbour; South and west by the river St. Sebastian, and on the North by a line fifteen hundred yards North of the gate of fort St. Mark.

Sec. 5. [Relating to matters of police, is omitted.]

Section 6. [Gives to the Mayor and Council the power to acquire and dispose of property for public use.]

Sec. 7. That all the innkeepers, gro-

cers, and other retailers of liquors, are, by this ordinance, expressly prohibited from FURNISHING or *selling*, ANY LIQUOR or ardent spirits, whatever, to any *soldier in the service of the United States of America*, under the penalty of nineteen dollars for each offence, and to stand committed to the *common jail* until the said penalty, with costs, is paid.

Pensacola, July 18, 1821.

ANDREW JACKSON,
Governor of the Floridas, &c.

By the Governor:

W. D. G. WORTHINGTON,
Sec'y., &c. for E. Florida.

This ordinance and others connected with it, hereafter to be noticed, were brought before the public, by a writer in the National Intelligencer, who assumed the cognomen of 'HENRY.' He has treated the whole subject, in a very able manner, and he is entitled to the thanks of the country for his exertions to preserve her civil institutions, from the control and direction of incompetent hands. It does not comport with my plan to insert his views and reasonings in extenso; but I take occasion to say, that I am indebted to him, for most of what I shall say upon the subject.

The ordinance now before us, creates a political corporation, and confers upon its functionaries, powers utterly incompatible with public safety, and individual liberty. American legislators, have, at all times, proceeded with the most jealous caution, when giving powers to political corporations. I recollect no case in which such corporations have been created, without a restraining clause, prohibiting the exercise of any power inconsistent with the constitution and laws of the Union, or the state. But here, this description of corporation, was clothed with powers absolutely and uncontroulably despotic. Their own discretion constituted their sole rule of legislation. "*All the powers*" they might deem necessary for the good government of the town, were given to them. Life, liberty, and property, were made subject to their disposal. They were invested with an unlimited power of taxation. They were created *lords of the Sabbath*. "ALL THE FOUNTAINS AND SPRINGS, *from which the inhabitants were supplied with water*," were subjected to their "IMMEDIATE CONTROUL." Every thing that man could enjoy, the atmosphere alone excepted, might, under this organic law, be regulated by seven men,—the Mayor and six Aldermen. A more tremendous despotism was never conceived by the mind of man. Such is the first act of General Jackson as a civil magistrate in Florida.

It is in the nature of man, when clothed with power, always to press upon the limits of his authority, and if there be no limits, to riot in the indulgence of all he dare attempt, without endangering himself. The council created by this ordinance, were not remiss in exercising the powers vested in them. That of imposing taxes, is usually most palatable to public functionaries; and we have a specimen of its indulgence in this case.

"AN ORDINANCE.

Passed in the City Council, on the 17th October, 1821.

Be it enacted by the City Council of St. Augustine, That the following taxes be laid and collected within the city:

Twenty-five cents on each hundred dollars on landed property.

One dollar for each slave above the age of seven years.

Two dollars on each FREE *person of colour*, over the age of seven years.

Five dollars, yearly, on each riding carriage with two wheels.

Ten dollars on each riding carriage with four wheels.

Five dollars on each cart or dray.

Twelve dollars, *half yearly*, on each retailer of wines and spirits.

One per cent. on the amount of stock in trade, seven and a half per cent. on GROSS AMOUNT of sales at auction.

Two dollars on each dog.

Twenty-five dollars, half yearly on all Billiard Tables.

Ten dollars, half yearly, on every boarding house or tavern.

Fifteen dollars, half yearly, on every livery stable.

And be it further enacted, That it SHALL BE THE DUTY of the Collector of of city taxes, to give public notice,

that his office will be kept open from the First to the Fifteenth of November next, for the payment of the above taxes; and it shall be the duty of the said tax collector, from and after the said fifteenth of November next, to take immediate legal means for collecting the same, against each and every defaulter.

And be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of the tax collector to pay over to the city treasury all monies received by virtue of this ordinance.

And be it further enacted, That the following taxes be laid and collected by the clerk of the market:

Fifty cents for each *beef* sold in market:

Twenty-five cents for each *sheep* or *lamb*.

Twenty-five cents for each *goat* or *kid*.

Twenty-five cents for each *calf*.

Twenty-five cents on each *hog*.

Six and a quarter cents *on each person* selling fish in or near market, *per day*.

And be it further enacted, That the clerk of the market be authorized to demand and receive, *daily*, the above tax: and in case any person or persons do neglect or refuse to pay said taxes, the said clerk of the market is hereby *directed* and *empowered* to call to his assistance any one or more of the city constables, and *seize on*, and take into his possession and *sell*, so much of each article, as may be necessary to pay the said taxes.

Passed in Council, this 17th October, 1821.

J. G. FORBES, *Mayor*.

Every candid reader is requested to read this *tariff of duties*, (which General Jackson's council considered a "*judicious*" one,) a second time, and ask himself what he thinks of it? Then let him examine the summary mode of collecting them. Assessed the 17th of October, to be paid by the 15th of November, and the market tax to be paid instantly, and daily, upon every article, or an immediate seizure and sale to follow. If he should feel surprise or disgust at such high handed measures, let him, by way of reconciling himself to them, turn back to page 362, where he will find General Jackson's commission as Governor, containing this clause:

"Provided, however, and it is the true intent and meaning of these presents, that the said Andrew Jackson, *or any person acting under him*, OR IN THE SAID TERRITORIES, SHALL HAVE NO POWER OR AUTHORITY, TO LAY OR COLLECT ANY NEW OR ADDITIONAL TAXES."

In direct and open contradiction of this restraint upon himself, or any person acting under him, or in the territory, Gen. Jackson expressly authorized the council to "LEVY SUCH TAXES AS MAY BE NECESSARY." And the Council, in the very spirit of their commission, and in defiance of the limitation contained in the President's commission, proceeded to levy taxes, making their own opinions of "necessity" the standard for the amount. We have here a full length view of Gen. Jackson, and those appointed by him, employed in the administration of civil government. Are there any persons, in this Union, who can wish to see the same Chief and similar agents, engaged in the same vocation, for the whole United States? If there be such, they may support Gen. Jackson for President. None other should support him.

The sixth article of the treaty is in these words:

"The inhabitants of the territories which his Catholic Majesty cedes to the United States by this treaty, shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, as soon as may be consistent with the principles of the Federal Constitution, and admitted to the enjoyment of all the privileges, rights and immunities of citizens of the United States."

The interpretation put upon this article, by Gen. Jackson, acting as Governor and legislator, is amongst the most extraordinary imaginations that ever entered into the mind of a jorist or of a law-giver. It is embodied in the subjoined document.

AN ORDINANCE

Providing for the Naturalization of the inhabitants of the ceded Territory, by Maj. Gen. ANDREW JACKSON, *Governor of the Provinces of the Floridas, exercising the powers of the Captain General, and of the Intendant of the Island of Cuba, over the said Provinces, and of the Governors of said Provinces respectively.*

AN ORDINANCE *prescribing the mode of carrying into effect the Sixth article of the treaty of Amity, settlement of differences and limits, between the United States of America and his Catholic Majesty.*

WHEREAS, by the sixth article of the said treaty, it is amongst other things, provided, that on the entrance of the ceded Territories into the Union, the inhabitants thereof shall be "admitted to the enjoyment of all the rights, privileges, and immunities, of the citizens of the United States:" Now, therefore, as well with a view to guard against impositions which may be practised by foreigners, as to secure to the inhabitants their FREE CHOICE to become Citizens of the United States, *under the provisions of the said Treaty:*

Sec. 1. I DO ORDAIN, That the *Mayor* of the City of St. Augustine, and such other persons as may be appointed for the purpose, in any town or county of these provinces, shall open a *Register*, and cause to be inscribed the NAME, AGE, and OCCUPATION *of every free* MALE INHABITANT of such town or county, who may be desirous to profit by the provision of the sixth article of the Treaty as aforesaid, in part recited: *Provided*, The person or inhabitant, who may thus desire to have his name inscribed, *shall first satisfy* the Mayor, or such persons as may be appointed to open registers, that he was really an inhabitant of the ceded Territory, on the 17th day of July, 1821. *And provided also*, that he will, of his *own free will and accord*, abjure all foreign allegiance, and take the oath of allegiance prescribed by the laws of the United States.

Sec. 2. That the said office, or register, shall continue open, for and during the *space of twelve months*, when the same shall be closed, and a copy thereof transmitted, under the seal of the said Mayor, or other persons appointed to open registers, to the Secretaries of the said Territories.

Sec. 3. That, from and after the period that the said register shall be closed, NO OTHER FREE MALE INHABITANT above the age of twenty-one, and entitled to make his election, as aforesaid, SHALL BE, WITHIN THE CEDED TERRITORIES, ENTITLED TO ANY OF THE RIGHTS, PRIVILEGES, AND IMMUNITIES, OF A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES: BUT SHALL, to all intents and purposes BE CONSIDERED AS FOREIGNERS, *and subject to the laws of the United States in relation to* ALIENS.

Sec. 4. It shall be the duty of the heads of families, within the said provinces, being desirous to profit by this act, to furnish the Mayor, or such other person as may be appointed to open registers, with the name and age of every free male member of his family, and the said Mayor shall cause the same to be inserted in the register as before provided for.

Sec. 5. In order to guard the more effectually against impositions, as well as to give to the inhabitants the security which citizenship will afford them abroad, it is further ordained, that the Secretary, or Secretaries of the ceded Territories, grant such inhabitants as may be desirous of receiving the same, Certificates of Citizenship; he or they being first satisfied that the provisions of this ordinance shall have been complied with.

Sec. 6. The evidence upon which the Secretaries, shall proceed to grant certificates of Citizenship shall be a certificate of the clerk, of the Mayor, or such other persons as may be appointed to open registers, that the applicant has complied with the requisitions of this ordinance; upon the receipt of which, it shall be the duty of the Secretary or Secretaries, to grant to all and every such applicant or applicants, certificates of Citizenship, for which the said Clerk and Secretaries shall be entitled to ONE DOLLAR EACH; and for every name entered on the register, the Mayor, or other persons authorized to open such regis-

ter, SHALL *receive* ONE DOLLAR!!!

Pensacola, July 18, 1821.

ANDREW JACKSON,
Governor of the Floridas, &c. &c.

By the Governor:

W. D. G. WORTHINGTON,
Secretary, &c. for E. Florida.

St. Augustine, Aug. 20, 1821.

The treaty secured, absolutely and unconditionally to the inhabitants of the ceded territory, the right of citizenship of the United States. This right the treaty makes to depend upon no act of the individual. It attaches, to him, as an indefeasable and necessary consequence of the cession. The acceptance of the territory, by the U. States, consecrated every inhabitant a citizen of the Union, if he chose to remain within its limits. He could not be called upon to make a declaration, or pay a fine, as a preliminary to his admission. This ordinance, No. 3, assumes the power of abrogating the treaty, and of making the right of citizenship depend upon the performance of acts and the payment of fees which it requires. Its third section assumes the prerogative, of disfranchising every one who does not conform to its provisions. And the sixth section requires that a fee of one dollar be paid to the Mayor for every name registered. It is difficult to decide whether the violence or rapacity of this ordinance most deserves reprehension. It devised a system of outrage and plunder. Outrage in assuming to controul the provisions of the treaty, and to disfranchise all who neglected to conform.—Plunder in exacting exorbitant fees, for the Mayor and other officers, from a people, not informed of their rights, and therefore, not likely to resist the imposition. These fees are outrageous. For every name, entered on the register one dollar for the Mayor; and for every certificate of citizenship, "ONE DOLLAR EACH" to the Secretaries of the Territory and to the clerk of the Mayor. That is, one dollar to the Mayor, one dollar to his clerk, and one dollar to the Secretary: three dollars for the liberty of becoming a citizen!! And this right absolutely *secured by the treaty itself!!!* A poll tax of three dollars, upon each individual, for the benefit of three of Gen. Jackson's officers!!! Such is Gen. Jackson's third act as a legislator and civil magistrate.

Although the country at large has remained ignorant of these high handed, illegal, and violent measures of Gen. Jackson, they have not failed to excite in the constituted authorities, a just sentiment of indignation and abhorrence. The following law of Congress, passed May 7th, 1822, stamps with indelible infamy, these reproaches upon the legislation of a free government.

AN ACT to relieve the people of Florida from the operation of certain ordinances.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, &c. That an ordinance, No. 3, made and passed, on the 18th July, 1821, by Maj. Gen. *Andrew Jackson*, entitled &c.; and an ordinance passed by the City Council of St. Augustine, on the 17th of October, 1821, imposing and laying certain taxes on the inhabitants, and all other laws and ordinances, and resolves, so far as they enforce or confirm the same, be and the same are hereby repealed, and declared null and void.

Sec. 2. That if any person shall attempt to enforce any of said laws, ordinances or resolves, by demanding and receiving any tax, imposition, or assessment, authorized or prescribed thereby, such person shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by fine, not exceeding two hundred dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding six months either or both of said punishments.

Sec. 3. That the President of the United States, shall, in such manner, and under such regulations, as he may direct and prescribe, cause to be refunded to any person, any sum of money which he may have paid under, or by virtue of either of said laws, or ordinances, or resolves."

There is one fact connected with these ordinances, thus stigmatised and reprobated, by the National Legislature, which it is proper to state, not because it really forms any apology

for Gen. Jackson, but because some of his adherents regard it in that light. H. M. Brackenridge, Esq. now a judge in West Florida, and who went to that country as private secretary to Gen. Jackson, and acted a conspicuous secondary part, in the scenes where Gen. Jackson was principal, has made a publication, assuming to himself and to a Mr. Duncan, all responsibility for the authorship of these ordinances.—He informs us, that the first was prepared jointly by himself and Mr. Duncan, and that the third was Mr. Duncan's sole production. I presume neither to enquire, nor to determine, whether Messrs. Brackenridge and Duncan were instruments in the hands of Gen. Jackson, or whether Gen. Jackson was an instrument in their hands. This is the real point made by Mr. Brackenridge's publication, and in my view, it is unnecessary to decide it. To the country, Gen. Jackson is the only responsible person. The ordinances are his, no matter who projected, or who prepared them. It "*sheds no additional lustre*" upon his name, should it be conceded that he yielded himself to the direction of Messrs Duncan and Brackenridge. Whatever share of the reprobation they may choose to take, cannot diminish the odium that rests upon Gen. Jackson.

It was not only as Commissioner and Legislator, that Gen. Jackson displayed, in Florida, his qualifications for civil office. He took upon himself to officiate as high justiciary of the country, and it was his judicial acts, that made the most noise, and attracted the most attention. A brief exposition of these proceedings is indispensible to a correct comprehension of Gen. Jackson's qualifications for civil rule.

According to the provisions of the act of Congress, the Spanish laws were to remain in force and the power of executing them, was vested in such person and persons, and to be exercised in such manner as the President should direct. The President authorized Gen. Jackson as Governor to make subordinate appointments, under which authority, he appointed H. M. Brackenridge Alcade of the town of Pensacola. The office of Alcade was partly judicial, partly ministerial. He acted as Notary Public, administered oaths, and preserved the records and papers pertaining to judicial proceedings. Mr. Brackenridge acted in various characters under Gen. Jackson and enjoyed his confidence in a high degree. Soon after, Mr. Brackenridge entered upon the duties of Alcade, an incident occurred, which in its consequences, fully verified the exclamation of the poet.

"*What dreadful contests rise from trivial things.*"

An affidavit detailing the transaction was made by Mr. Brackenridge, from which I compile this account:—About ten days after the delivery of the province, Mr. Brackenridge was applied to by *a free woman of colour, natural daughter* of Nicolas Vidal, named Merced Vidal. She stated that her father had made a will devising his estate to herself and sisters: That John Innerarity, of the house of Forbes & Co. of Pensacola, was a debtor to her father, and had got possession of other property: That various judicial proceedings had taken place, and decrees had been made in favour of the legatees, and she produced a record of part of the proceedings. All the papers connected with these proceedings, of right, ought to have remained in the Alcade's office, and upon enquiry by Mr. Brackenridge, he ascertained that the papers in question were in possession of a man named Sousa, and that there was reason to believe, an intention existed to carry them out of the country, though, under the second article of the treaty, they ought to remain as evidence of private right to property in the country. Sousa held the papers in some way as officer or agent, for Col. Callava, who was the Spanish Governor of the province, at the time of its surrender to the United States. Mr. Brackenridge being at a loss what course to pursue, mentioned the case to the Governor, who replied: "*That if there were sufficient proof to warrant it, an application made to him in writing, should be attended to.*"

According to this suggestion, Mr. Brackenridge, as Alcade, on the 21st

of August, 1821, presented a written statement to Gov. Jackson, with the address, "His Ex'cy. Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson," alleging the fact respecting certain documents, relating to estates, in the place, being in the hands of Sousa, and requesting that his "*excellency authorize some one to make a regular demand of the said documents.*" In exact compliance with this request, Mr. Walton, Secretary of West Florida, H. M Brackenridge, Alcade of Pensacola, and John Miller, Clerk of the County Court of Escumbia, were appointed, and directed to make the demand and report immediately, if the papers were not delivered. The demand, was made, the papers not obtained, and the facts reported on the 22nd of August. Upon the reading of this report an order was instantly issued "to Col. Robert Butler of the army of the United States, and Col. John Miller, Clerk of the county of Escumbia," to forthwith seize the body of Sousa, with the papers, and bring him and them before the Governor. This order was promptly executed: he was interrogated, and acknowledged that the papers were in his possession when the demand was made; and "that after the demand had been made, he went to Col. Callava and stated that he wished to free himself from the responsibility of keeping them, and that he had this morning, at 11 o'clock, had them carried to Col. Callava's house, by a negro, and there delivered to Fullarat the Major domo of the Governor."—Sousa further stated, that when he expressed his wish to free himself from responsibility, Callava said nothing, and that he did not know whether the Governor had received the papers or not.

The next process was against Col. Callava and his Major domo Fullarat. An order was made that Col. Butler and Dr. Bronaugh accompanied by Mr. Brackenridge, wait upon Callava and Fullarat and demand the papers, and that if they were not delivered the said Callava and Fullarat, "be FORTHWITH *brought before the Governor at his office.*" &c. And for the purpose of executing this latter part of the order two others were issued, which as they are brief, are for their singular character here inserted.

ORDER TO COL. BROOKE.

Pensacola, Aug. 22, 1821.

"Sir: You will furnish an Officer, Sergeant, corporal, and twenty men, and direct the officer to call on me by half past 8 o'clock, [night] for orders. They will have their arms and accoutrements complete, and twelve rounds of ammunition.

ANDREW JACKSON,
Governor of the Floridas, &c.

—

ORDER TO LT. MOUNTZ.

Pensacola, Aug. 21, 1821.

Sir: Should Col. Callava and his steward, refuse to deliver the documents which will be required of them by Col. Butler and Bronaugh, and on the report of Col. Butler to you, of their refusal, you will immediately take the said Col. Callava and his steward, Fullarat, into custody, and bring them before me, to answer such interrogatories, as are required by the circumstances attending the case.

Very respectfully your ob't. se'vt.
ANDREW JACKSON.
Lt. Mountz, *Officer of the Guard.*"

Messrs. Butler and Bronaugh proceeded in the execution of their office, with alacrity, and on the same 22d of August, reported at length. The documents were demanded and refused: but finally a promise was made to deliver them, upon producing a copy of the memorandum. This was furnished by Mr. Brackenridge, and notice given that in two hours he would call for the documents. At the appointed time, Messrs Butler and Bronaugh proceeded to Col. Callava's. It was now night, and admittance was refused, though three times demanded. The guard were then ordered to advance; but the back door was found open, several Spanish officers, with Mr. Innerarity, were in the porch.—Lights were procured, the house searched, and Col. Callava found in bed, divested of his coat. The papers were again demanded, again refused, and Col. Callava and Mr. Fullarat, were forthwith taken before

Governor Jackson. The report adds: "That Col. Callava repeatedly asserted he would not be taken out of his house alive. But he seemed to act with much difficulty when the guard were ordered to prime and load." It concludes with a word of advice, which upon account of its singularity is inserted.

"From the relation in which Mr. Innerarity stands in this business, together with the interest taken on the side of Col. Callava, and at the same time exercising the functions of one of the cabildo of the city, we deem it an *indispensible duty to recommend that your excellency will fill his place in the council with a character who will manifest a proper respect for the* DIGNITY OF THE LAWS, *and* YOU *their executive.*"

Although it was late at night, when this report was made, accompanied with the bodies of Col. Callava and Mr. Fullarat, Gov. Jackson proceeded to the hearing of the cause. Callava, being put upon interrogatories, refused to answer in the manner insisted by Gov. Jackson. Fullarat answered that he had receivedthe papers in question, and that they were then in the house of Col. Callava, for whom he was major domo. Whereupon, Gov. Jackson made the following order:

"*To Capt. Dade, Officer of the day:*

"You will take into your custody, and safely keep Don Jose Callava, & his steward, Fullarat, until the documents and papers recited in the order for the arrest of Domingo Sousa are produced, and delivered unto H. M. Brackenridge, Alcalde of the city of Pensacola.

Given under my hand, this 22d day of August, 1821.

ANDREW JACKSON,
Governor of the Floridas."

This order was issued at midnight, and under it Col. Callava and Mr. Fullarat were committed to prison, where they remained until the after part of the next day. In the mean time, upon the application of Mr. Brackenridge Governor Jackson issued an order to open and search the boxes of papers in Col. Callava's house, and take from them the documents in question. This was done, the documents obtained, and Callava, Fullarat, and Sousa discharged.

The citizens of the United States, acquainted with the cautious mode of administering justice in our own courts, and accustomed to consider the sanctity of the dwelling house and the person, as the very essence of liberty, cannot fail to be surprised at the arbitrary and violent proceedings here detailed. The complainant was an illegitimate mullato; upon her statement made on oath, Mr. Brackenridge founded his application against Sousa, whose arrest and imprisonment immediately followed. Contrary to the established rules of American jurisprudence, Sousa was made to give evidence against himself, and upon his evidence, thus extorted, proceedings were commenced against Col. Callava. When the order concerning Callava was made, it was by no means certain that the papers were in his possession, or under his controul. Yet he was directed to give them up, and in case he did not do so, he was to be arrested and brought before the Governor. The comity of nations, as well as the politeness that should prevail amongst gentlemen, certainly required that a civil request should have been preferred to Col. Callava, for the delivery of those papers, before measures of intimidation and coercion were resorted to. The course pursued was calculated to offend all the feelings of a just pride, and to arouse the resentments of an independent man. At ten o'clock at night Col. Callava is brought before Gen. Jackson, and he is called upon to furnish evidence against himself, by answering interrogatories; and for refusing to do so, is adjudged to imprisonment. Sousa had answered, and showed that the documents were not in his possession. Fullarat had also answered, and declared that the documents were in the possession of Col. Callava. His station was that of servant, acting in conformity with the orders of his master. He had received the documents from Sousa, but would

not afterwards controul them. He was, in fact, free from all *blame*, much less *criminality*. Yet he too was imprisoned. It is strange to witness how very soon Gen. Jackson could accommodate himself to the exercise of all the most odious powers of Spanish despotism.

The facts already developed, present some other matter for serious consideration. In his late publication, Mr. Brackenridge tells us, that when Gen. Jackson came to consider this nature of his powers, he was in some difficulty about exercising them, and consequently confided the subject in a good degree, to Mr. Brackenridge, & Mr. Duncan. As Gen. Jackson did not profess to be much of a statesman or lawyer, and as Mr. Duncan was a civilian, and Mr. Brackenridge a lawyer, that was, doubtless, a prudent course. It seems singular, however, that so soon after this, Mr. Brackenridge should go to Gen. Jackson for advice, with respect to the order of proceeding, in a matter purely legal.—We have his word, nay, his affidavit, that he did so. The answer he received, was, if there be sufficient proof make application in writing, and it shall be attended to,—so says Mr. Brackenridge himself. This application is made, and Mr. Brackenridge seems no longer "*at a loss what course to pursue*;" on the contrary, he points out a course in his application, and it is pursued. Mr. Brackenridge, who afterwards appeared as attorney for *Miss Vidal*, is named as one of the persons to act, and in all the subsequent proceedings, is intimately associated with the actors in them.

Col. Butler and Dr. Bronaugh, whose functions were those of mere ministerial agents, and who should have preserved as much as possible a strict neutrality of sentiment in the contest, take great offence that Mr. Innerarity, who was interested in the matter, should be found at Col. Callava's house, and take upon themselves to counsel Gen. Jackson what he ought to do, by way of punishing Innerarity. They would have him removed from the office of cabildo. This advice was at any rate out of place,—and it leaves a strong suspicion on the mind, that in the whole business, Gen. Jackson acted upon the counsel of those around him. The relation of Mr. Brackenridge to the cause, he being attorney for *Miss Vidal*, was something like that of Mr. Innerarity, who was defendant. Why it was proper to confide the whole management to Mr. Brackenridge, whilst it was criminal in Mr. Innerarity to take any part, it is somewhat difficult for a man wholly indifferent to decide. If we suppose that Gov. Jackson and all around him were excited against the Spanish officers, the difficulty is removed.

Other facts, and other views of this affair, all highly important, remain to be presented and considered. Col. Callava had been Governor of the Floridas and Commissioner to deliver possession to the United States; and, though he remained in the country, he considered himself a Spanish officer. When first applied to, about the papers, he objected that he was not addressed in his public character, and there is reason to believe, that had he been so addressed, the papers would have been given up without trouble. Gov. Jackson's order was peremptory, that Don Jose Callava, deliver up the papers, or be brought before him a prisoner. When thus brought before Gov. Jackson sitting as Judge, Col. Callava, objected to Gov. Jackson's jurisdiction over him. He asked leave to write, and began to write a protest against the jurisdiction. But Governor Jackson "*declared, that he would hear no protest against his authority, whilst sitting in his judicial capacity.*"—Whether Col. Callava was subject to the judicial jurisdiction of Governor Jackson sitting as Judge, was properly a judicial question, upon which, Col. Callava had a right to be heard, and which the judge was bound to hear before he decided it. It is every day's practice for courts of justice to listen patiently to exceptions against their jurisdiction. By refusing to hear this plea, Gov. Jackson virtually condemned a man without hearing him, which is a violation of all the just principles of jurisprudence, and the very highest consummation of tyranny.

Nor was this all. Gov. Jackson's manner upon this occasion, was equally derogatory to himself, and to the high functions he was discharging. It is thus related by his friend and advocate, Mr. Brackenridge:

"After writing five or six lines, it was observed by H. Bigelow, Esq. who happened to be standing near the Governor, that he was dictating a protest. *The Governor on hearing this, with considerable warmth*, STRIKING ON THE TABLE, *and addressing himself to me, said:* 'WHY DO YOU NOT TELL HIM, SIR, THAT I WILL NOT PERMIT HIM TO PROTEST."

This conduct was most unseemly.—Here was a foreign subject, unacquainted with the language of his judge, and a stranger to those who had him in custody, arrested in the night, brought immediately to trial, called upon to accuse himself, by answering interrogatories; denied the privilege of protesting; and the judge exhibiting, both in manner and in language, all the intemperance of heat and passion. Is this a scene for an American court of justice?

There can be little doubt that Mr. Brackenridge viewed the conduct of Gov. Jackson in the most favorable light, and put the best construction upon it, that truth would admit, as truth appeared to him. That conduct is reprehensible enough in the account given by Mr. Brackenridge: the account of Col. Callava and of his friends, makes it much more so. Some extracts are here given from their statements:

"Don Andrew Jackson proceeded to speak for a considerable time, looking at the people, but speaking *furiously*: and in the countenances of the bystanders, I perceived fear and surprise, caused by what he said."

"I had hardly began, to write, agreeably to permission, when Don Andrew Jackson took the paper [*snatched* he says, subsequently] from before me, & with much *violence* and *furious gestures*, spoke for some time."

Col. Callava, after relating the proceedings which terminated in the order for his imprisonment, proceeds:

"I begged the interpreter to ask him if he did not shudder with horror at insulting me, and pronounced a solemn protest at his proceedings. The interpreter informed him; and he replied, that he had no account to give but to his government: ☞AND HE TOLD ME I MIGHT PROTEST BEFORE GOD HIMSELF!!!"

The declaration "of many respectable witnesses," signed by Marcos de Villiers and thirteen others, the most of whom were afterwards proscribed and banished, corroborates the statement of Callava.

"The Governor, Don Andrew Jackson, with turbulent and violent actions, with disjointed reasonings, blows on the table, *his mouth foaming*, and possessed with the furies, told the commissary to deliver the papers as a private individual. * * *

"The Governor, Don Andrew Jackson, *furious*, did not permit the interpreter to translate what the commissary answered; that the bystanders, as it appears might not understand it.

Lastly, the Governor, Don Andrew Jackson, after having *insulted* the Spanish commissary with *atrocious words*, took out an order, already written: it contained the order for his imprisonment.

The Spanish commissary said he obeyed, but protested solemnly against the violations of *justice*.

The Governor, Don Andrew Jackson, answered, that it was of little importance to him; that he might even protest before GOD himself!!"

If these witnesses were prejudiced against Gov. Jackson, it must be admitted there were many reasons to warp the minds of his own supporters in his favour. If the truth, lies partly between them, the scene was most disgraceful.

During these three days, August 21, 22, and 23, the case of *Miss Vidal* had produced no slight degree of excitement and agitation, amongst the dignitaries at Pensacola. The proceedings were extraordinary in themselves. In doing right to this obscure com-

plainant, great wrong had been done to the personal rights of individuals, and to the integrity of a foreign government, and acts of oppression and outrage had been perpetrated very inconsistent with the due administration of justice, and discreditable to the character of the Union. The consequences of these evils did not cease with the evils themselves; other outrages grew out of them, of equal enormity, and equally violative of public law, and individual right.

Very soon after he was discharged from imprisonment, Col. Callava set out for Washington: but part of the Spanish officers remained. The proceedings against their chief could not fail to be a subject of conversation, and in the spirit of freemen, in a free country, they expressed their opinions of that affair, and made a publication respecting it. That publication, Gov. Jackson considered "A VIOLATION OF THE DECENCY *due to him as the supreme judicial tribunal of the country and to his interpreters*," and he could not for a moment "*suffer the dignity and majesty of the laws to be thus outraged in his person and in his interpreters, with impunity.*"—He determind to make an example of these offenders against "DECENCY," towards his own person; and for that purpose, proceeded to punish at once, without notice or hearing. The accusation, conviction and sentence, follow in a document, under the General's own hand:

"Whereas, by the seventh article of the treaty concluded between the United States and Spain, on the 22d of February, 1819, and duly ratified, it was stipulated, that the "officers and troops of His Catholic Majesty, in the territories hereby ceded to the United States, shall be *withdrawn*, and possession of the places occupied by them shall be given within six months after the ratification of the treaty, or sooner if possible." And whereas, it has this day been made known to me, that the following officers of His Catholic Majesty, to wit: Marcos de Villiers, Bernado Prieto, Louis Gayarre, Civilio Lessassier, Arnaldo Guillimard, Carlos de Villiers, Pedro de Vegas, and Mariane Latady, and who, according to the said seventh article, ought to have withdrawn from the said ceded territory, with the troops of His Catholic Majesty, without the permission of the existing authorities, have, contrary to the said seventh article, remained in this city and its vicinity: and whereas, it has been made known to me, that the said officers acting in a distinct body, independent of, and disowning even a temporary allegiance to the government of the United States, as existing in the Floridas, have been engaged in stirring up disaffection thereto, and in sowing discontent in the minds of the good people of this said province; and whereas, it appears that they are the authors of the following false, scandalous, and indecent publication:

"In speaking of Col. Callava's appearance before Gen. Jackson, H. B. ought to have stated, that none of the interrogatories and highly offensive accusations of the General were faithfully interpreted to Colonel Callava, any more than the replies of the latter to the former. It was therefore out of the power of our chief, not knowing what was said to him, to make the auditory understand how innocent he was of the foul charges with which his unsullied honor was endeavoured to be stained. Such, in sum, are the observations we had to make on the statement of H. B. and we hope, that he and the public will be convinced, that we acted upon no principle of pusillanimity; that if, on the one hand, *we shuddered at the violent proceedings exercised against our Superior*, we knew also, what was due to a government which was on the most friendly footing with our own.

"We are, &c.

"*The Spanish officers in this place.*"

And whereas, the said publication is calculated to excite resistance to the existing government of the Floridas, and to disturb the harmony, peace, and good order of the same, as well as to weaken the allegiance enjoined by my proclamation, heretofore published, and entirely incompatible with any privileges which could have been extended to the said officers, even if per-

mission had been expressly given to remain in the said province, and, under existing circumstances, a gross abuse of the lenity and indulgence heretofore extended to them:

This is therefore to make known to the said officers, to withdraw themselves, as they ought heretofore to have done, from the Floridas, agreeably to the said seventh article, on or before the third day of October next; after which day, if they, or any of them shall be found within the Floridas, all officers, civil and military, are hereby required *to arrest and secure them, so that they may be brought before me, to be dealt with according to law, for contempt of this my proclamation.*"

The provisions of the seventh article of the treaty referred to, in this Republican *Letter de Cachet* extend no further, than to provide, that the officers should be withdrawn from the discharge of their official functions within the territory of the Floridas. Their individual right to remain in it, was not, in the slightest degree affected by the treaty. It remained as perfect as that of any other Spanish officer visiting the United States or their territories, and Gov. Jackson had no other legal power over the Spanish officers, than he had over other strangers in the Floridas. The attempt to predicate his proclamation upon the treaty, was as preposterous as the proclamation itself was illegal and unjust.

We have heard much of the arbitrary and oppressive acts of despots, in punishing men for expressing opinions unfavourable to their oppressors. I doubt whether a case can be found, of a more arbitrary punishment for so slight an offence, than this case exhibits. The Spanish officers asserted, that the interrogatories to Col. Callava, and his replies had not been faithfully interpreted: that consequently, he could not make it understood how innocent he was of the *foul charges* urged against him. This character of the charges against Colonel Callava Governor Jackson took to himself, and the assertion that what passed was not correctly interpreted, he considers an impeachment of the candour of Mr. Brackenridge, and he decrees banishment as the punishment of the offenders!! The idea, that the Congress of the United States can confer upon an officer of its own creation, no matter where his functions are to be exercised, a power to banish individuals, for an alleged indecency of language towards himself, is utterly inadmissible. Gov. Jackson derived his authority from Congress. A more INDECENT conception, could not enter into the mind of any man, than that Congress intended to confer such power. None but men whose minds were temporarily deranged, by the exercise of a brief despotic authority, could suppose them competent to do it. Here is an instructive illustration of Gen. Jackson's regard for the liberty of speech and of the press, and a warning example of his manner of obtaining power, by construction to punish the alleged abuse of them, where he is himself made the subject of censure.

The taste of despotic power, is to most men, like the taste of blood to the lion: it sets him ravenous for more.—The rabies generally extends all around him. Subsequent events, in this case, illustrate the truth of the maxim. General Jackson left Florida early in October, when the duties of Governor devolved on GEORGE WALTON, the Secretary, who had taken part in the proceedings against Colonel Callava and others. About the first of January, two of the banished officers returned to Pensacola, when deputy governor Walton, took upon himself to inflict the punishment threatened by principal governor Jackson's proclamation of September 29th preceding, for contempt and disobedience of that proclamation. The following military *Lettre de Cachet* was issued by him, in exact imitation of his Superior:

"To Capt. Wilson, *the officer of the day.*

"You are hereby commanded, forthwith to apprehend and bring before me, at the executive chambers, Marcos de Villiers and Arnaldo Guillemard, that they may be dealt with according to law, for the contempt and disobedience of a certain proclamation is-

sued by his Excellency General Andrew Jackson, on the 29th day of September, 1821, requiring the said Marcos de Villiers, and Arnaldo Guillemard to withdraw themselves from the Floridas.

"Given under my hand, &c. this, 2d day of January, 1822, &c.

GEO. WALTON,
Secretary and acting Governor of W. F.
By the acting Governor,
"SAMUEL FRY, *Private Secretary.*"

It will give the reader some just notion of the influence exercised by Gen. J. over his subordinates, and of the fear he infused into them, to read Mr. Walton's account of his proceedings towards these officers, as given to his superior:

("Extract) *From Col. Walton to Gov. Jackson, dated.*

PENSACOLA, Jan. 7.

"A few days ago, two of the Spanish officers, Col. Marcos de Villers, generally called Col. Coulton, & Arnaldo Guillemard, arrived here in a vessel from Havanna. * * * When arrested, by my order, and brought before me, they declared they had come with the intention of asking permission to attend, in person, to the settlement of their private affairs, and the removal of their families. They solemnly declared, that they had not returned in defiance of the proclamation, which they had promptly obeyed, and that they were ready to submit themselves to any order which should be taken in their case. For the present, I ordered them into confinement; but the Calabouse being in no condition to receive them, for, excepting the officers' room, it has no fire place, and as Coulton is a very old man, and his wife at this time *extremely ill*, I thought it best to confine them in their own houses. The situation of old Coulton was such, that it would have been cruel to confine him in the dungeon with the *common malefactors*, and I could not, with propriety, make a distinction with respect to Guillemard. They then presented the enclosed memorial throwing themselves on the mercy of the Governor."

The arrest of these men was the greatest outrage that had yet been committed. They had departed in obedience to the illegal proclamation, leaving their families and property behind them. They came back divested of their commissions in the character of private citizens. The wife of one was extremely ill. They were arrested for disobedience to the proclamation, having violated no other law by which they could be judged. The poor cringing wretch of a Governor deputy, who had the boldness to do an illegal act, to gratify the vengeance of Gen. Jackson, had not the courage to indulge in an act of clemency, for fear of offending his chief. A strain of miserable whining runs thro' the whole of the foregoing extract, and he finally shelters himself from blame under the sanction of advice from others:

"This course was not adopted by me, until after consultation with Cols. Fenwick, Clinch, Major Dinkins, and Judge Brackenridge, who all concurred in the opinion that this was, under all circumstances, the most proper."

Congress being in session, when this latter arrest took place, a representation was made to the House of Representatives, by a petition from the officers themselves. This petition was referred to the committee of Naval Affairs, and on the 23rd of February, 1822, the chairman moved that the committee be discharged, and the petition referred to the President. A motion was made to lay the resolution on the table, on which a debate arose, that continued for several days, and in which a strong sentiment of disapprobation was manifested towards the conduct of Gen. Jackson, by many, who are now ready to make him President.

"Mr. Floyd could not conceive any powers which the Captain General of Cuba could have to violate the liberties of those who should fall within his jurisdiction. Here were men lingering in confinement—and we were not

now he said, deliberating at the point of the bayonet, but in peace and safety, deciding whether or not to lay the petition on the table. The man who could have the temerity, in this house, to lie by supinely on such a subject, may well tremble should he happen to be within the power of another government. He was opposed to any delay and thought it a subject that required the immediate interference of the House."

"Mr. Randolph thought this House could not, without gross violation of its duty, turn a deaf ear to the man, who says he is in bonds against law, and under our authority. It was not for us to sit here with stoic apathy, under circumstances like the present. It was worse than mockery to turn over the subject to the President of the United States, who is known, if not to approve, yet not to disapprove of the conduct of the Captain General of Florida. The Congress, sat here as the guardians of law and liberty. Were we asked whether we could not yield our confidence to the executive? He answered, no,—for that person was surrounded by a multitude of counsellors, in whom there was no safety, for like Ishmaelites, the hand of each was raised against his brother."

"Mr. Stephenson, (now Speaker,) was in favour of laying the motion on the table, for the reasons that had been assigned by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, and should vote in favor of the motion on that ground: But he protested against voting for it, for the purpose of putting it at rest. He hoped it would hereafter be taken up and fully discussed; and he asked, whether any one, after looking at the volume of documents, would say that the subject ought to receive the go-by."

"Mr. Buchanan was of opinion, that, after what had passed, a full investigation ought to be had on this subject. A charge had been preferred against a public officer, of high character, not only of an intention to violate the laws, of the country, but of having actually violated them; and, said Mr. B., we, the Representatives of the people are bound to investigate this charge.—The most serious consequences might be expected to result, if, after charges of this sort, were made against an individual, the House should avoid meeting the question, should put them to sleep by permanently laying them on the table."

"Mr. Archer said that he believed from public report, and from the documents which had been presented to this body, that there had been misconduct and malversation, either on the part of the Executive, or of some other officer of the Government, in regard to the transactions in Florida; and he told gentlemen of this house, who were the friends of the executive and of Gen. Jackson, that if the inquiry were shrunk from, an inference would be drawn by others, that they wished to suppress all inquiry on the subject. He told this to them, not as an adversary, but as a friend. Some gentlemen had said, that the executive had declared itself satisfied with the conduct of Gen. Jackson. If that was a good reason why no inquiry should be made, let the House say so. He was not of that opinion himself, and he entered his most solemn protest against it."

"Mr. Floyd made a few general remarks. Gentlemen had told the House, that the Executive approved the conduct of Gen. Jackson. It might be so, but Mr. F. enquired of gentlemen, upon what authority they made the assertion." * * "When we are told that *perfect tyranny can be established* in one of the territories, and that the executive approves of it, it is a fit subject for inquiry."

No inquiry took place. The resolution was laid upon the table, and the go-by was given to investigation. No man raised his voice in vindication of Gen. Jackson's conduct. But it was ascertained that the President had issued orders for the discharge of the officers, and a majority wished to get rid of a matter which they could not approve, and did not wish to condemn. Mr. Floyd, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Stephenson, Mr. Buchanan, and Mr. Archer, are all now willing to approve the conduct of Gen. Jackson, and make him

President. Such are the effects produced by political arrangement and combination.

There remains yet to be examined, an important branch of this transaction, growing out of Miss Vidal's acquaintance with Alcade Brackenridge, and his efforts to obtain justice for her, which serve more fully to explain Gen. Jackson's qualifications for the office of civil magistrate. This I now proceed to investigate.

We have seen that the 22nd day of August, 1821, was devoted to proceedings against the Spaniards, Col. Callava, Mr. Fullarat, and Mr. Sousa.—These proceedings had a double object. One to obtain the papers for Miss Vidal, the other to make the Spaniards sensible that they no longer administered the law at Pensacola, but were subject to its administration by others. This latter object was fully obtained, by lodging them all in prison, at midnight. The 23d day of August was devoted to other employments, arising out of the same transaction. Process was issued and persons sent to open Col. Callava's trunks, & obtain the papers; and while this was in progress, new matter was originated for the exercise of Gov. Jackson's judicial functions, and upon which they were promptly exercised.

On the 18th of May, 1821, the President commissioned E. Fromentin, judge of the United States for West Florida. His powers as defined in his commission, were, "*to execute and fulfil the duties of that office, according to the constitution and laws of the United States.*" The commission directs him to reside at Pensacola, where he was resident, when Col. Callava was committed to prison, on the night of the 22nd of August. Upon the 23d, at the request of some of Col. Callava's friends, the judge issued a writ of habeas corpus, directed to Lieutenant Mountz, commanding him to bring the body of Callava before him. To this writ the officer returned, that it had been referred to Gov. A. Jackson, by whose order Callava was confined, and who directed that he should still be detained. By this measure the judge was not only set at defiance, but he was absolutely without the means of enforcing any order, so that his situation was completely ridiculous. This, however, was not the worst consequence to him.

On the same 23rd of August Gov. Jackson issued a citation to E. Fromentin to appear forthwith before him, to show cause why he had attempted to interfere with his authority, in the matter of imprisoning Callava. The judge seems to have taken the ague upon the sight of this citation. He alleged indisposition as an apology for not attending, and cited the 13th and 14th sections of the United States judiciary act of 1789, as the foundation upon which he issued the writ. This explanation was not accepted; but Fromentin was compelled to appear before Jackson on the 24th, and subscribe a written acknowledgement, that he had granted the writ of habeas corpus without affidavit, and upon the request of certain individuals named. Whereupon, he was discharged. In writing an account of these transactions to the Secretary of State, on the 26th of August, Gen. Jackson thus speaks of the proceedings against Fromentin:

"The LECTURE *I gave the judge* when he came before me, will, I trust, for the future, cause him to obey the spirit of his commission and in the execution of the laws and administration of the Government, instead of attempting to oppose me *under Spanish influence.*"

I noted this sentence, because of its evidence of two things discreditable to Gen. Jackson. Nothing but a vulgar spirit of insolence, could have led the General to lecture judge Fromentin; and nothing but an equally vulgar spirit of boasting could have tempted him to vaunt of it, in his letter to the Secretary of State. These, however, are less exceptionable than the direct attack upon the judge's integrity, in charging him with acting "*under Spanish influence.*" It is seldom that an honorable and upright mind attributes base motives to others, upon slight suspicions. This sort of jealousy, is the usual accompaniment of a narrow un-

derstanding; to embody it in direct accusation, is an act of reckless malignity.

After Judge Fromentin's discharge, a rumor was circulated, that he had apologised to Gen. Jackson for issuing the writ of habeas corpus. A fresh fit of courage came upon the judge, and he ventured again to stir up the General's wrath.

On the 3d of September, he addressed a note to Gen. Jackson, noticing the circulation of this rumor, and expressing a hope, that his excellency would not hesitate in enabling him effectually to contradict it. Here the judge was disappointed. His excellency insisted that an apology had been made, and expressed his astonishment at the judge's application for a contradiction. The judge retorted astonishment, and repelled the allegation that he had made an apology, but was careful to use the most respectful language. Nevertheless the Lion was again roused in his lair; and Governor Jackson acting as judge, when occasion required, addressed judge Fromentin in the following terms:

"*Pensacola, Sept.* 22, 1822.

"SIR: I have this moment received your second note of this day. The first created my astonishment it is true, but the second my indignation and contempt; for I did not suppose, until your note now before me furnished conclusive evidence, that you were capable of stating a wilful and deliberate falsehood. That you have done so in your note of this evening I do assert, and the enclosed certificates of Dr. J. C. Bronaugh (who was directed by me to pay particular attention to our conversation) and Mr. Rutledge, fully prove. That you have the hardihood to deny, that when you called at my house, that I did not send for my book to the office, containing the record of my commissions and instructions, and that I did not read the whole of them to you, shews that you are regardless of truth, and in this I do pronounce that you have stated another deliberate falsehood.

"I have barely to add, that I recommend to you to keep within your legal jurisdiction and powers. Whilst you do this, all your proceedings will be supported, and all my aid given that may be necessary to carry them into effect; but when you attempt to transcend them, and interfere with my legitimate powers, recollect the admonition I gave you when before me on the 24th ultimo, and attend to it, or you will be treated and punished as you deserve, regardless of your boasts of blood flowing, &c. &c. which pass by me as the fleeting breeze.

"Here, sir, on this subject, our communication closes, as I am too much engaged to read yours.

"I am, sir, yours, &c. &c.

"A. JACKSON.

"*To Eligius Fromentin, Esq.*"

The language of this letter violates all the civilities and decencies that gentleman and public functionaries usually observe towards each other.—It is equally coarse and insolent, vulgar and abusive:—indeed, it is a very exact specimen of that now generally employed, by those who advocate the General's pretensions to the Presidency. It is inconceivable, how any man, at all acquainted with the comities of good society, could indulge in such a gross departure from the observance of them. Had Judge Fromentin departed from the obligations of veracity to the full extent alleged by Gen Jackson, self respect, and respect for his own official station, as well as that of the Judge, required that he should have been reminded of it, in terms which a gentlemen might use, and a gentleman might hear without degradation. The language used, is in the ribald style of the wharf and the oyster cellar. It partakes of the same contempt of decency, that characterised the charge of acting "*under Spanish influence*," in a grave letter to the Secretary of State, on the 26th of August, when, according to Gen. Jackson's own view of the case, judge Fromentin had expiated his alleged offence, by a submissive apology.

The insults and outrages of this letter, were aggravated by the fact, that it was alike impossible for Fromentin to resent or avenge them. Gen. Jack-

son was Captain General, commanding army, navy, and *posse commitatus*.—Though not the fountain of all law, he placed himself above all responsibility. Fromentin did not venture again to address him, but gave vent to his feelings in letters to the Secretary of State. This fact came to the knowledge of Gen. Jackson, and on the 13th of November, from Nashville, he addressed a letter to the Secretary of State upon the subject. The following are extracts from that letter.

"This expose furnishes a satisfactory view of the whole ground in dispute, and incontestibly proves that judge Fromentin has been guilty of *willfully* and *wickedly* fabricating the most palpable falsehoods. The evidence of such *unblushing depravity* and *corruption* should be placed in the possession of the President, and in strict justice, deserves to be exposed to the execration of the whole American people. When an officer of such high responsibility, under the Federal Government, manifests such *baseness* and *obliquity of heart*, it ought to excite our alarm, and stimulate the proper authority to apply the most speedy and efficient remedy."

* * * * *

"This course of proceeding, may very well comport with the corrupt and inquisitorial system of *former Spanish tribunals*, but they are clearly and palpably unjust, and merit the unqualified reprobation of every honest and intelligent American. I can assure you, that so far as I have been enabled to collect an expression of public sentiment relative to the conduct of judge Fromentin, it has evidently rendered him so *odious and contemptible*, that his name is only mentioned in GENTEEL CIRCLES to be *deprecated* and *despised*. It is considered so *flagrant* and *flagitious* a departure from justice and propriety, as seriously to impair his standing, and rather to produce disaffection, than inspire respect and confidence in the American authorities in Florida."

"Situated as judge Fromentin was, I did not anticipate that he would have had the *hardihood* and *temerity* to revive this transaction, and make it a subject of public investigation. Good sense, as well as the best policy, would certainly have dictated a very different procedure. After his concessions and open acknowledgments that he had acted hastily, and without due consideration of the case, it could not have been expected that the most *abandoned* and *profligate* would have denied the facts, particularly when those declarations were made in the presence of several gentlemen of the most unimpeachable integrity. The man who could thus *prostitute* his signature, for the propagation of such *glaring and barefaced falsehoods*, evinces an *effrontery* almost without a parallel, and a *destitution of principle* very incompatible with the character of one selected to administer the laws as judge of the United States. Elevated as he was, I had hoped that I should meet with a manly feeling and lofty integrity corresponding with his honorable station, but I sincerely regret to say, that he has displayed a *want of honesty and candour only becoming an apostate priest*, and which is enough *to suffuse the cheek of depravity itself with a blush*."

The reader must remember, that the letter, from which these extracts are made, was written more than two months after the events to which it relates. Time was given for the excitement of the moment to pass away; yet does General Jackson work himself again into a most unbecoming passion, and indulge in the use of language, which no circumstance or situation could excuse. It has been said that it is not that which entereth in, but that which cometh out of the man, that defileth him. It is Gen. Jackson, and Gen. Jackson alone, that is defiled by this indecent departure from all that is becoming and respectable amongst gentlemen. What language is this to address to the executive of the nation! How well might I parody a part of it, and say: "The man who could thus prostitute his station, in the employment of such course and vulgar language, in his correspondence with the Secretary of State, evinces an ignorance of propriety almost without parallel, and [illegible] vulgarity very incom-

patible with the character of one selected for high office, under the United States."

We have now disposed of the important collateral matters that arose out of the case of the *fair mulatto*, whose original application was to obtain possession of certain documents, upon which her rights depended. Mr. Brackenridge made the application, in his official character as Alcade, claiming papers that properly belonged to his office. Having effected this purpose, he appeared in a new character, that of attorney for the *fair mulatto* and her co-heirs against John Innerarity.

An application was made to Governor Jackson, as invested with the supreme judicial authority of the country, to proceed in the case, as it was presented by the documents obtained from Callava. This application was in the form of a petition, praying to have Innerarity cited to show cause why a decree previously rendered by Gov. Callava should not be carried into effect. This prayer was allowed, August 28. R. K. Call, the late aid of Gen. Jackson, and H. M. Brackenridge the Alcade, acted as attornies for the petitioners. On the 29th of August Mr. Innerarity appeared, and subsequently filed a plea to the jurisdiction of Governor Jackson, and assigned reasons why there should be no further proceedings against him.—Gov. Jackson, by some process or other, associated with himself, as supreme judge or Captain General of Cuba, one J. C. Mitchel, who figures in the proceedings as one of his excellencies witnesses. And before these two judges, the cause was pressed to final hearing; every plea and argument of Innerarity and his counsel being overruled, and a decree pronounced, on the 17th of September, 1821, in the nature of an interlocutory decree. The two opinions, one over-ruling the plea to the jurisdiction, the other deciding in favour of Miss Vidal, who, it should have been sooner stated, though proceeding in her *maiden name*, appears to have had a husband, are both written out with great solemnity. They are obviously not the work of Governor Jackson, but are nevertheless singular burlesques upon legal and equitable principles. But I do not intend here to review them.

Auditors were appointed under the interlocutory decree, who made a report. Innerarity, on the 8th of October, 1821, petitioned for further time to object to the report. The following is an extract from this petition:

"The defendant again intreats and implores that these sacred oracles may not be disregarded or overruled.—These are the laws in which he has been nurtured. *Hic bonus esse.* They lead to safety and security. They are a pavillion in the time of danger, and the defendant's only refuge in the hour of need. Your Excellency's proclamation solemnly guaranties the boon of the continuance of the Spanish laws; it is a pledge too precious to be parted with; it is the plank to which the defendant clings when he sees all the elements warring around him. It is the ark of safety, a sanctuary in the season of distress. He is now in that extremity. He has been told by your Excellency, that you sit as his judge in the first instance, and en dernier resort ne plus ultra, without any other resource, or means of redress, inasmuch as all power is combined in your Excellency.

"The defendant humbly hopes that he will be permitted to say, with all possible respect, that such a situation is critical; nay, awful indeed! It is without a solitary precedent in modern annals; at least if they do furnish one, it is far beyond his ken, or the utmost range of counsel. He is, in a word, without hope, without confidence, except in the justice of his exceptions to the report, which he will make, if he is granted the privilege of the law; and if not, then he must yield to force, in which case, he most respectfully begs that this may be considered as his reverential protest. It is under all these alarms, and under circumstances of far greater weight, than any which he has hitherto mentioned, but which, through profound respect to your Excellency, remain enshrined in his own bosom, that he most humbly

approaches your Excellency, fervently praying that this appeal may be graciously received.

JOHN INERARITY.

Pensacola, Monday, Oct. 8, 1821."

The petition was overruled, and on the same 8th day of October, a final decree passed, just such as the counsel for Miss Vidal registered, upon the Auditor's report. It decreed Innerarity to pay, upon account of the estate of Vidal, $1027 19 cents; when in truth, there was due to Innerarity from the estate of Vidal, $157. I presume that no lawyer, now reviewing the documents, could adopt any other opinion. But when this decree was pronounced, Gen. Jackson was still under the excitement which had arisen in the case. We have seen already, it had not subsided in November. And injustice is ever the concomitant of prejudice, against a party or his cause. Very soon after this decree was pronounced, Gen. Jackson left the Floridas, though it has been shown that the principles and maxims of his government remained behind him.

I have at length waded through the proposed investigation, and I request every reader, who has accompanied me, to say candidly, what he thinks of Gen. Jackson's qualifications for civil rule? It is urged, as an apology for the violations of law and of individual right, at New Orleans, that the presence of an invading enemy properly subjected the whole country to military law.—Here was no enemy, foreign or domestic, to be apprehended. Here was no power, no occasion to establish military rule. The country was at peace—the inhabitants were orderly. All were submissive to Gen. Jackson. A case of mere civil right was presented for investigation and redress, and it was contrived to engraft upon it a series of violence and outrage, such as are unparalleled in the history of any judicial proceeding in any age or country. Whence did this originate? No cause can now be perceived, but the headlong, impetuous, turbulent and overbearing temper of Gen. Jackson. Let us enumerate and review the facts developed.

1. He commenced by disregarding his own instructions, and by attempting to induce other public officers to do the same.

2. He conceived and propagated unwarranted and unfounded suspicions against the honor of the Spanish officers, and of our own merchants.

3. He meditated the commission of an act of violence against a foreign power, unauthorised by his instructions and contrary to his public duty, which he predicated upon assuming for fact, that which only existed in his own unfounded suspicions.

4. He prostrated the laws of the country and the discipline of the army, in issuing orders to military officers, in civil cases, after his military command was at an end, and when the army was not subject to his controul.

5. He violated the laws of nations in seizing and imprisoning the Spanish Governor, who was under their protection, and so considered by the President.

6. His proceedings against the Spanish Governor and his servants were marked by a most reprehensible and intemperate violence, at once illegal, tyrannical, and oppressive.

7. His banishment of the Spanish officers was a still more aggravated act of the same character.

8. His treatment of Judge Fromentin, was not only unbecoming a judicial officer, but was outrageous and brutal, wholly inconsistent with the conduct of a gentleman.

9. His ordinances were illegal, arbitrary and unwise, and directly violative of his commission and instructions.

10. His judicial proceeding against Innerarity evidence great ignorance of legal and equitable principles, and strongly induce much more unfavourable inferences.

11. His manner of correspondence with the Executive of the nation, is reprehensible for its coarseness, intemperance, and scandalous insinuations.

One thing further must be added.—By looking back to page 364, it will be seen Gen. Jackson was informed that, "for the expenses incident to the services required, he should draw upon the State Department. STRICT

ECONOMY *is to be observed in incurring them,*" was the injunction of Mr. Secretary Adams. Gen. Jackson set out on this service in April, and reached Montpelier in May, where he remained until the first of June, during all which time, he was in the service of the Government as Major General, and was entitled to, and did actually receive from the Government not only his pay, but his subsistence, extra rations, forage, pay for servants, rent of quarters, and fuel; and yet he claimed and was allowed for his expenses as if he were not otherwise in public employ. Capt. Call his aid, and surgeon Bronaugh, also received all their allowances as military officers. Yet the following are the charges for the personal expenses of Gen. Jackson, within the period stated:

W. Harvey, for passage of Gen. Jackson and family, from Nashville to Washington, Mississippi,	238 00
Peabody and Chamberlain, for do. in steam boat Rapid,	170 00
H. Munro, do. in sloop Herald, from New Orleans to Blakely,	270 00
J. Austin, for transportation of Gen. Jackson's baggage from Blakely to Montpelier,	45 00
Do. for board of Gen. J. his family and suite, at Blakely,	275 75
Blue and Shome, bill of stores,	244 31
	$1243 06

This amount of TWELVE HUNDRED AND FORTY-THREE DOLLARS SIX CENTS, is a round sum to be paid for mere personal expenditure in about six weeks, and paid to men, receiving full pay and rations of every descriptions, in their military character. If this was the observance of "*strict economy*," according to Gen. Jackson's notions of it, I do not see how it can be expected that he should reform the government in matters of expense. His whole charge for personal expenses, in this service, amounted to THREE THOUSAND ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FOUR DOLLARS ninety-five cents. He was absent from the Hermitage, about six months. Part of the time he received his Major General's pay and perquisites. For the residue, he received at the rate of FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS per year as Governor. This $3134 95 cents, is in addition to both, incurred, according to Gen. Jackson's opinion, with "*strict economy.*"

There is too much reason to apprehend that at the present moment, a portion of the public mind is closed against a candid consideration of the important facts here presented. It was, nevertheless, a duty to collate & present them. This may be one means of preserving them in a regular connection. If, at some future day, when the present misguided devotion to Gen. Jackson shall have passed away, this paper should fall into the hands of an American Statesman, properly devoted to free institutions and equal laws, he cannot be otherwise than astonished, that the principal actor, in such scenes, should have stood prominent as a candidate for the Presidential chair. Let him be careful that, when filled with astonishment at the political aberrations, of those who have preceded him, he does not himself become the dupe of party, or the victim of passion and prejudice. Heretofore, we, of this generation, have considered our institutions as securely and permanently established. We have prided ourselves in the belief, that they were calculated to endure, and extend the blessings of rational liberty from generation to generation, until time should be no more. But this proud hope begins to be abated. We see with sorrow and with alarm, that the very same causes, which have overthrown all free governments, exist and operate in our own. Love of glory and devotion to military renown, infatuate our countrymen as they have infatuated all others, and with this difference against us: In other countries, public liberty has been surrendered to profound talents, to long public services, to repeated military exploits. We propose to deliver ourselves into the hands of a victor in a single battle;—the sum of whose *whole* talents and public services, that distinguish him from his fellows, is written in four words, "*The Battle of New Orleans!*"

HERO OF TWO WARS.

Act 5, Scene 5th.

Private room at the Capitol. HERO *alone, walking in great agitation.*

This is the very crisis of my fate!
Now Fortune, thou blind Goddess, smile propitious,
As thou art wont to smile upon the brave.
Let my high hopes of power be consummated,
By public choice expressed in legal form.—
[*After a long pause.*
But come what may come, Hero is resolved,
Or fair or foul, to reach the destined goal,
To which his strong ambition long hath looked,
With ardent gaze and scorching thirst for empire.
It shall be seized, if by the last resort.
This has been weighed maturely, and the train,
Is safely laid for action; and to spring it,
Needs but a word from one of desperate fortune.
For what have I to lose, whose days, at best,
Are almost numbered?—Who shall count the gain?
He best can count it, who has keenly felt,
The sweets of deep revenge on hated foes,
Who like the great Archangel fallen proclaims,
The unsubdued and stern resolve of pride,
Rather "*to rule in Hell, than serve in Heaven.*"
So do I feel, and such is my resolve.
And in my mind, exposed as I have been,
Lashed into fury, by the blazoning forth,
Of a long life of folly to the gaze,
Of the astonished multitude, whose stare
Sears my brain with fury uncontrouled.
To reign supreme one single month, is worth
The utmost consequence of life or death.
Then shall these people well repent, that they
Opposed my wishes, or exposed my crimes—
I'll make them fear me, whom they would not love,
And cower beneath the sceptre I shall sway
Supreme, where once this proud Republic stood,
The pride and wonder of the admiring world.
The disaffected spirits of the South,
And East and West, from Maine to Mexico,
Stand ready for revolt. The signal given,
They rush around their chief, and hurl defiance
At all who talk of laws and constitutions.
And shall I pause, when glory points the way,
And deep revenge incites me to the field?
Shall I, who've trafficked human flesh for gain,
Doubt if I barter liberty for power?
Shall I bind slaves, and not bind freemen too,
Who crowd around me, begging to be slaves?
Dark ministers of Fate have whispered oft,
That I shall scourge the land. Then be it so—
I but obey my destiny: the blame
Rests with the Fates, not me:—I yield me to them.
I will, like Alaric, "the scourge of God,"
The ruthless spoiler of Imperial Rome,
Pour forth the furies of my breast, and blast
Like him, the herbage of the earth, where e're
I turn my footsteps through the trembling land.
Oh! glorious thought! My longing soul's on fire,
To burst like Ætna on the astonished world.
To march resistless o'er my prostrate foes,
Making their necks my footstools, as I mount,
The Imperial car that crushes them to death:—
Then shall this hated coalition crew,—
This C***, and all his minions writhing feel,
The tortures that my vengeance dare inflict!—
Who comes to interrupt me there? Avaunt!—
Alas! the spell is broke—the vision fled;
Enter Dictator, Lulestring and Cypher.
LUTE. All, all is lost! Proud with success your rival
Smiles on the courtiers that around him throng,
With gratulations warm. Meantime, your friends
In sullen gloom retire from the crowd,
Despondiog at their fate.
CY. They must be cheered,
With a new enterprise they know not of.
The secret once disclosed, their swelling souls,
Will burn for action, in the high emprise.
DIR. A cast so desperate should be well considered.
HERO. Away with caution and consideration!
They both are dastard traitors to true daring:
Seize the Director! he cannot be trusted.—
Here! this to my Major Domo—this to him,
Who ruled my councils in the field of Orleans—
And this to *Outcast*:—Let no time be lost.
And this—and this—. Observe you the Director.
Here, we've ten thousand men already levied—
With these we'll storm the Capitol, and drive
The Coalition from their ill got seats:—
On—on to action—we all right defy,
We reign triumphant, or we traitors die!—
[*Exeunt Omnes in great confusion.*
Curtain falls slowly—tune, 'The death of Liberty.'

FURTHER ILLUSTRATIONS OF GEN. JACKSON'S TRUE CHARACTER.

Almost every day developes some new fact, illustrative of the true character of Gen. Jackson, and demonstrating the mistakes that have prevailed with respect to his talents and information. It is humiliating to be made certain of the extent of his ignorance: and yet it is a duty to ascertain that fact. The reputation he has acquired, the stations he has occupied, and that to which he aspires, all attach importance to him. We naturally ask ourselves, can it be possible, that a man of very slender capacity, of no learning and of no experience in public affairs, by the mere force of arrogant pretension, could occupy so much space in the minds of an enlightened people?—We feel the reflection cast upon us, by an affirmative answer to this enquiry, and we are therefore reluctant to make it. The fact, however, cannot be negatived by our unwillingness to admit it. No doubt can remain, upon the impartial and the intelligent mind, that General Jackson is, and ever has been, a rash, vain, and presumptuous ignoramus: that it is to a good portion of animal

courage, and to an uncommon share of vindictive fury, united with an impetuous temper, that he has made an impression upon those around him. How discreditable to our country that such a man should be selected, for her highest stations, and held up as a paragon of virtue and of talents! How disgraceful! how pregnant with mischief! should the infatuation of the people place him in that station!

In Gen. Jackson's public correspondence, upon public affairs, there is a decent accuracy of composition, which would indicate a tolerable scholar; and, although the language is very often exceptional for its rudeness and coarseness, his writings might pass for those of a plain, unlettered, but intelligent man. When, however, his correspondence, such as is actually and unquestionably his own, comes to be inspected, it is found of a totally different description. All the rules of composition, of orthography, and of syntax, are disregarded, and a most reprehensible ignorance is made manifest. Only a few specimens have fallen into the hands of those who have deemed it right to expose them. They have been sufficiently conclusive. Still it cannot be amiss to multiply the proofs upon this head, and, for that purpose, I here copy exactly, with the exception of punctuation, two original letters from Gen. Jackson. They deserve to be preserved, in this work, as curiosities, in more particulars than that of their literary pretension. They present, no doubt, a fair specimen of the writer's mind, and of the subjects that occupied it, at the time they were written. He was then forty years of age, in the prime and vigor of manhood, and the medley of crudities which these letters contain, seem to have been the chief pabulem on which his intellect subsisted.

"I recd. your note: its contents duly observed. the receipts as directed I have retained. the negro Girl named, if likely, at a fair price, I will receive. I have recd Some Communications from the President and Secretary of War, and your presence is required, at My house to morrow Evening, or Early Monday Morning to consult on Means & Measure, and to determine the latitude of the authority. it is the merest old woman letter from the Secretary that you ever Saw, your presence on Sunday Evening will be expected, and your presence on monday morning at 9 oclock cannot be dispensed with. you must attend. I have Sent an express to the mouth of Cumberland & to Massac to see and hear, and make observations. I have wrote to Capt. Bissle: but from information recd, at the moment the Messenger was Starting, Gives me reason to believe that Bissle is the Host of A. B. Wilkinson has denounced B. as a traitor after he found that he was implicated. this is Deep policy. he has obtained thereby the Command of New Orleans the Gun Boats armed and his plan can now be executed without resistance. But we must be there in due time, before fortifications can be erected, and restore to our Government New Orleans and the western Commerce. you must attend. Give to those officers that you see assurances that all Volunteer Companies will be Greatfully accepted off. we must have thirty, 35 or 40 Companies into the field, in fifteen or twenty days; ten or 12 in four, I have it from the President, I have it from Dixon that all Volunteers will be gratefully accepted. Tomorrow night Winchester will be with me, I wish you there. the Secretary of War is not fit for a Grany. I fear J. Randolphs Ideas were too Correct; but duberous as he has wrote there are sufficient authority to act. Act I will, and by next mail I will give him a letter that will instruct him in his duty, and convince him that I know mine. If you Convenient bring the Girl with you and Health and respect A. JACKSON.

Compliments to Mrs A. I must tell you that Bonepart has destroyed the prussian army.—We ought to have a little of the Emporers energy."

This letter is without date, but is endorsed as written the 4th and received the 6th of January, 1807, and was addressed to Maj. Wm. P. Anderson. The occasion of writing it, as will be seen, was the receipt of the President's proclamation respecting Burr, and a letter from the Secretary at War on the same subject. And it is certainly remarkable for the cool indifference with which private receipts, a negro-trading bargain, contempt for the Secretary of War, and consultations for the suppression of a supposed wide spreading treason are commingled together.

If we rightly comprehend this document, an express had arrived with letters from the President and Secretary of War, informing Gen. Jackson that a diabolical and treasonable conspiracy was in full action, and that his own neighbourhood had been one theatre of its operations, and himself a dupe to aid it. He is called upon to make immediate efforts to quash it, and this

letter is written to one with whom he wishes to hold immediate conference. But the purchase of a "*negro girl*" is the first matter to be arranged; and that disposed of, state affairs are introduced, and in treating of them, the Secretary at War is ridiculed, suspicion cast upon Capt. Bissel, and the American commander broadly charged with treason. Then comes the promise of great things to be performed for the country by the General himself, in recovering New-Orleans, and restoring Western commerce. The utter ignorance of military affairs manifested in the proposed military arrangements is truly ridiculous. Thirty, thirty-five, or forty companies were to be in the field, in fifteen or twenty days, to reach New-Orleans before the conspirators could fortify it!! How was New Orleans to be fortified? How was an army of 4000 men to be organized, supplied with the necessary arms equipments, provisions and means of transportation in twenty days? All this was to be effected by the single prowess, the mighty talents of Andrew Jackson, in whose estimation "*the Secretary of War was not fit for a granny*," and whom he undertook to "*instruct in his duty*," as a matter for which he was well qualified.

The flippant ignorance evinced in this letter, is only equalled by the spirit of calumny and insubordination that runs through it, and by the silly presumption of proposing to instruct the Secretary in his duty. We have here under Gen. Jackson's own hand, an account of his conduct towards his superiors, in the very first instance of receiving authority to act from the Executive of the Union. The Secretary of War stood in relation to Gen. Jackson as his superior officer. It is a first principle of military discipline, that the inferior shall treat the superior with deferential respect. To apply to him terms of reproach, is a military offence, and punishable, not under the second section, but under the sixth article for the rule and government of the army. To speak of the Secretary of War as a "*mere old woman*," as "*not fit for a granny*," was a contempt and disrespect of that officer, of a highly reprehensible character, and to avow an intention to "*instruct him in his duty*," was in fact to threaten an act of mutiny. It is not strange that this disorderly spirit should have engendered strifes, contentions, and mutinies, whenever its action has been uncontrouled. "*A little of the emperor's* [Napoleon] *energy*," at head quarters, would have soon consigned such braggadocia impertinence to its proper nothingness. I doubt, indeed, if any letter like that threatened, was ever written to the Secretary at War. Mr. Jefferson was not a man to be bearded either in his own official character, or in that of his Secretaries.

The second letter is as follows:

"RICHMOND June 16. 1807

"I am still detained here, and at what time I will be able to leave it is uncertain. Gen. Wilkinson, after detaining the Court 20 days, has at length arrived and the bills against Burr are sent up to the Grand Jury. Whether the Testimony will be sufficient to convince the Minds of the Grand Jury that guilt exist Either as to treason or Misdemeanour is problimatical. I am more convinced than ever that treason never was intended by Burr—but if ever it was you Know My wishes—that he may be hung. I am Still more Convinced that whatever may have been the project of Burr, James Wilkinson has went hand and hand with him, but *Eaton* like, when he found that such was the integrity and virtue of the western citizens that a sufficient force Could not be obtained he became the patriot to save himself from the frowns and indignation of an insulted people, and to bring about that event by a lawless tyrany that which he found could not be caried into effect by force. there are a variety of opinions on the Subject, which a few days will furnish Sufficient light for the impartial mind to act on. all I wish that if guilt ever did exist that all concerned may be punished: if they are inocent that they may be acquitted. but I have no opinion that it is just to sacrifice one as a peace offering to policy, and permit others of equal guilt to pass with impunity. I am Sorry to Say that this thing has, in part, assumed the shape of a political persecution, and for which I refer you to the papers of this place, I am told you Recieve theon. a subpœna has been sent on for the President, with a *Duces tecum*, what may be the return I know not. but it appears Mr Hay, by a change, is placed in the opposite Situation that he acted in when Calender was tried, and his own doctrine is used against him. as soon as the Grand Jury have acted on this thing, I will advise you thereof.—at the race I hope you will see Mrs. Jackson. tell her not to be uneasy, I will be home as soon as my obedience to the precept of my Cuntry will permit. I have only to add, as to the race, that the mare of Williams is thought here to be a first rate animal of her size, but, if she can be put up, she will fail in one heat, it will be then proper to put her up to all she knows at once

"Adieu

"A. JACKSON"

This is, to be sure, a rare medley of tittle tattle, rude insinuation and horse racing instructions. It is impossible to read this epistle, and not perceive in it the writer's strong predilection for Burr. He was well convinced that Wilkinson was as guilty as Burr. He impeaches the integrity of *Eaton* and declares his opinion, that the proceedings against Burr had "*assumed the shape of political persecution.*" All this was the exact slang of the Burrites of that day. And what does it amount to? To neither more nor less, than an assertion that Mr. Jefferson was the persecutor of Burr, Wilkinson perjured, Eaton a scoundrel informer, and Gen. Andrew Jackson a *most* patriotic gentleman, who wished to see traitors hung and innocent men acquitted!!

The horse-racing instructions are in exact character with the rest of the letter. Mrs. Jackson is elegantly jumbled up with the horse race. Information for her, and directions about Williams's mare, are most delicately associated together. "*Put her up to all she knows at once,*" is doubtless the slang of the turf. *The knowledge of a race horse!* How would it compare with the knowledge of Gen. Jackson?

Let the candid reader take these two letters as the index of Gen. Jackson's mind, as a fair specimen of the subjects that occupied it: Let him take them as a sample of his literary acquirements, and who could imagine that the author would ever be thought of for President of the United States? Jack Cade condemned the clerk of Chatham to death, because he had a book in his pocket, with red letters in it, and because he wrote "*court hand,*" and could "*cast accounts.*" It would seem as though we were approaching the same state of ignorance that then prevailed, when a man of Gen. Jackson's qualifications can aspire to the Presidency, with a possible prospect of success.

SPUNK.

Mr. Haille of the state of Mississippi, having made a most shabby poll, at the late election for Congress, has resigned his seat in the present Congress. The public loses nothing by this.—There is one conceited Jackanapes the less on the floor of the House of Representatives.

TO G. W. CAMPBELL, ESQ.

Sir:—You were once known as a distinguished and leading member of the National Legislature. Subsequently as Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and again as U. S. Minister, resident at Russia. I was not a little surprised, when in March, 1827, I discovered your name as one of a Committee of Varnishers, raised purposely to white-wash the character of Gen. Jackson. Every man, whose name has been associated with the fame of his country, owes much to his fellow citizens and something to himself. He is not at liberty to become conspicuous in a discreditable vocation, because his degradation may discredit others, and prejudice his country. It was upon this principle, that Cæsar acted, when he said that his wife must not only be pure, but above suspicion. An individual may consult his own feelings in forming his associations, because they affect no person but himself. A public man must select his course in life, with a reference to his public character. He must avoid improper courses, and unfit associations, lest his example might do mischief. So, a man who has once occupied a large space in the councils of his country, is required never to forget that it imposes a particular rule of circumspection, upon his whole subsequent life. Have you preserved this remembrance in a proper manner?

Associations are reprehensible or commendable, according as their object and organization may be one or the other. What was the object of the association to which you belong, appropriately named the Nashville White-washing Committee? The avowed object was a defence of the character of Gen. Jackson. Whence originated the opinion that an organized body of defenders were necessary to preserve his character from destruction? The friends of no other distinguished man, a candidate for office, had deemed such a resort indispensible. Why should it be anticipated that nothing short of a reputation-body-guard would be sufficient to protect the just fame of a just man?

Had any despotic sovereign, who observed the maxim of justice in administering his government, ever sought a body guard for his protection? Rather does not all experience teach us, that this is the resort of the unjust oppressor, and the cruel tyrant? Was not the world warranted in the deduction that such an organization, as you have entered into, included an admission, that there were many weak points to be defended? In short, was not your association an open proclamation that your hero was vulnerable in many places, which a shield of seven bulls' hides, encased in brass, was scarcely sufficient to defend? I do assure you, sir, that no other legitimate conclusion could be fairly drawn. Did it become G. W. Campbell to assume the character of a gilder of suspected wares, that by artificial polish, a blemished vessel might be passed for a sound one? In my opinion, this vocation did not become him, and by officiating in it, he has done prejudice, both to himself and to the American people.

Independent of your standing, as a man who had occupied high places, there were other reasons that should have forbade you to join this association of white-washers. Your intelligence of a general character, your knowledge as a lawyer, your information as a politician, and your intimate acquaintance with the private history and personal qualifications of Gen. Jackson, made it impossible that you could become his eulogist and vindicator without a reprehensible violation of duty. All his defects of character, his violence of temper, his egregious vanity, his predilection for despotic power, his thirst for speculation, his deficiency of education, were familiar to you. It is well known to you, that he possesses no one of the qualifications for civil rule, that a President of the United States should possess. When, then, you recommended his election in general terms, you did that, which your better knowledge admonished you was wrong: When you engaged in his defence against the various objections which have been urged against him, you then knew you were attempting to impose falsehood upon your fellow citizens, for truth. The imbecility of Overton might be an excuse for *him*. The ignorance of facts, and parasitical credulity of J. M. Hall might form his apology. But you are neither imbecile nor ignorant of facts. When you set your name to sanction misrepresentation; when you lent your talents to make "*the wrong appear the better reason*," you were perfectly conscious what you were about. You distinctly comprehended, that if you obtained credence, the country would be deceived. Your own reflections taught you, that was Gen. Jackson as well known to all, as he was to you, no man would seriously think of him for President. Can you, sir, without bitter emotions of shame, and keen "*compunctious visitings of conscience*," turn your mind in upon itself, and subject your own conduct to the scrutiny of a proper self examination? Can you survey the present state of the country, and witness the personal animosities, which the unwarranted pretensions of a mere pretender, have engendered, and the public degradation which those pretensions have brought upon the country, its intelligence, morality, and institutions, without a sensation of deep remorse? I am deceived, much deceived, in your character, if you can be in concord with yourself. Your strong sense of public duty, and your ready power to discriminate between truth and error, right and wrong, must be at war with your course as a member of the Committee of Varnishers.—Nay, your pride cannot but make you sensible, that the employment, is, in every sense, degrading to you.

At some future day, you may possibly review, in your own mind, the attempt to varnish Gen. Jackson's matrimonial connexion. With what feelings can you recollect that the very event thus *white-washed into virtue*, had been a standing jest for nearly thirty years. A jest of reproach and ridicule, even amongst the very persons, who gravely took upon themselves to purify the transaction from all censure. Did you sir, and your compeers, in this work, feel a just respect for the American people, when you presented to them your effort at vindication? It was

an open declaration that you relied upon their credulity and their prejudices. It was an insult, sir, to the common sense of every unprejudiced mind. It was an expression of contempt; it was solemn irony; it was bitter ridicule. It was holding up your fellow-citizens, at least your devoted partizans, to the scoffs of others, and to the confessed degradation of themselves.—It was requiring them to write fool, or dupe upon their own fronts, and to wear the inscription in naked exposure to the world. That you judged correctly of the devotion of your partizans, I admit. You may make any proposition with impunity, even to a lady, when her passions are excited to a certain point. But when the excitement subsides, and reflection returns, she will know how to estimate you. So, when the mania that has seconded your claims for Gen. Jackson shall be removed, and political health restored, the people must feel, as upright persons should feel, towards those who have insulted both their principles and their understandings.

In all ages of the world, crime as well as vice, when attributed to the idol of a party have found apologists. Of all the dark catalogue of crimes, none has produced more mischief and horrors than the indulgence that violates the seventh precept of the decalogue. Whether we examine its effects upon the affairs of nations, committed by Kings and rulers, or whether we view it only as operating in the scenes of private life, the results are the same. Perjuries, murders, treasons, are but its ordinary consequences. History, sacred and profane, the annals of public and private men, all teach the same lesson. The murder of Uriah, and the rape of Helen are but common instances. Similar ones occur in all ages, and in all countries. Every year we have more than one case of the kind, where murder follows adultery, even in our own country. What then should a virtuous people think of those, who associate together, professedly to make apologies for this enormity committed, under any possible circumstances? Do not deceive yourself. The reflection has sunk deep in the minds of all the virtuous and the good. Like yourself, they may, for a time, permit party views and party excitement, to silence their just reflections. But they cannot be extinguished. Nay, they must be kept fresh in recollection by other events. Do you not know, sir, that since your vindication of this crime has been spread before the world, some of its secret perpetrators have almost thrown off their disguise? Have you not heard of a case very like that of Uriah? Are the perpetrators utter strangers to you? Know you nothing of a man, in high station, whose domestic relations are neither to be seen or named? Is there no instance, even of female aberration, where it would have been thought impossible? I speak to your consciousness, and to your conscience. I cannot be deceived about the response of either.

Have you, sir, dealt candidly with the country, and according to the best of your judgment, in the case of the Six Militia Men? Would you commit your professional reputation, by giving an individual opinion that the law warranted their execution? I cannot believe it. Experience demonstrates, that bodies of men often say and do that, for which no one of them would become individually responsible.

Are you prepared to stand before the nation and vindicate the transactions with the Heirs of Allison?—Would not your moral sense revolt at an effort to reconcile the whole proceeding to the maxims of justice or of equity? Are you not sensible that a studied misrepresentation of facts has been put forth in that case? Are you not thoroughly convinced that the settlers must have prevailed? Do you not know that his conviction, the result of increased information, produced the compromise?

But sir, the principal object of this letter, is to review the latest effort of your association: the attempt to rescue your idol from the consequence of his connexion with Aaron Burr and his conspiracy. This effort is a *chief de ouvre*, even for the Whitewashing Committee. I shall dissect without describing it.

It commences with a scandalous untruth. The charge, such as it is, was not first made, "*nearly at the close of the contest.*" It was not only made, but made known to the party accused, nine months before "*the close of the contest.*" Mixt up with this falsehood, commencing with the first words of the vindication, there runs through the whole paragraph, a tissue of more general misrepresentation, both as to the character of your chief, and the course pursued towards him. Truth, and not calumny, is the weapon with which he has been assailed. He stands before the nation not as a calumniated man, but a man who has recklessly calumniated others. The high and the low, the living and the dead: Henry Clay and John Harris, have alike been the victims of his unjust and unfounded accusations. You, sir, know this, and knowing it, have not been ashamed to put your name to his eulogy, and to an attack upon the integrity of others.

The second paragraph contains certain *premises* unsupported by evidence, and one most palpably violative of truth. It is this: "*That up to the month of November, 1806, nothing like suspicion of treason, or any project unfriendly to the peace or integrity of the United States, had any existence in the country.*" That this assertion is not founded in truth, is susceptible of the clearest proof, and that too, by testimony that cannot err. The WESTERN SUN, of October 14, 1806, printed at Cincinnati, contains an article, from which the following is an extract:

"Fellow-Citizens:—That there is a plan in embryo to dissolve the sacred compact of our Union, is no longer a secret: the principals and their emissaries have thought the moment to be arrived when they may safely declare their nefarious and villainous intentions, when they may sound the alarm, and speciously deceive you to rally round their rebellious standard."

Here is an unequivocal refutation of your assertion, "that up to the month of November, nothing like suspicion had any existence in this country"—Suspicion was broad awake, seventeen days before the first day of November, it was promulgated in a newspaper, and treated as a matter of previous existence. How, sir, should a man of honor feel, thus convicted of a total disregard of truth?

This false assumption, is the basis, the foundation stone of your whole vindication: and it is a necessary consequence, that whatever is predicated on falsehood, must lead to false conclusions. It was material, nay it was indispensible to your case, that Burr should be held unsuspected, up to the first of November. It was on the 3d of that month, Gen. Jackson received from him 3000 dolls. to expend in furthering his expedition. The receipt of this sum from a suspected traitor, to be employed according to his instructions, and to further his plans, could not be an innocent act. This, sir, you knew and felt. That the money was received, and received to be so employed, was too fully proved to be denied: and truth admitted of no escape, from the conclusion, that there was a guilty co-operation. Hence, falsehood is resorted to, in assuming premises, and that is asserted as fact, which has no foundation in truth.—Suspicion did exist on the 3d of November. It not only existed, but had been proclaimed loudly and distinctly, twenty days before this money was received, and its expenditure commenced. Gen. Jackson could not have been unapprised of this suspicion. It was not of a character to remain concealed from him, nor was he a man likely to remain unacquainted with it. But it is useless to enlarge upon this point. It is enough, that you felt the necessity of basing your vindication upon falsehood; and the proof that you did so, is incontrovertible.

In this second paragraph of the vindication, there is another misrepresentation. I might well say falsehood, of a double aspect, that indicates the spirit of the whole article. It is asserted, that Gen. Jackson, whilst in the Senate of the United States, in 1797, became well acquainted with Burr: that then, and long after, Burr stood high in the estimation of the Repub-

lican party, and that he had acquired the good feelings of the West, by his great attention to its interests. From this paragraph, every reader would infer, that Burr was a member of the Senate, or at least a member of Congress, when Jackson served in that body. But the fact is not so, and you, sir, knew it. Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Hobart were Senators from New York, the session that Gen. Jackson served in the Senate. Burr was not a member of Congress, on the contrary, he was a member of the New York legislature, and no opportunity was afforded to Gen. Jackson to become well acquainted with him. The assertion, that General Jackson became well acquainted with Burr when a Senator in Congress, is made for the purpose of accounting for their intimacy in 1805: and it is not true. There can be but one opinion upon this head.

Again:—Burr, it is stated, *then*, (1797-8,) and long after, stood high in the estimation of the Republican party. This is true, but it is a truth so stated as to deceive the reader. In 1800, Burr was the Republican candidate for Vice President. He intrigued for the Presidency against Mr. Jefferson, and from that moment, the Republican party ceased to confide in him. No man knows this better than yourself. He was a candidate for Governor of the state of New York, in May, 1804, against Morgan Lewis, was voted for by a kind of coalition—Lewis receiving the Republican votes. He was defeated—fought a duel with Hamilton, because of his advice to the Federalists not to support him, and from the fatal issue of that duel, was esteemed a desperate man.

The language you have used, conveys the opinion, that in 1805 and 1806, when Burr visited the West, he retained his original standing with the Republican party. You knew the fact was otherwise. You knew that the Republican party had discarded him: that he had been defeated in his attempt to be elected governor of New York, and that he had not even been re-nominated for the office of Vice President. Would you, sir, as a private gentleman, in a private circle, have made these assertions? You know that you would not. Can you, then, justify yourself, as a man of honor, for lending your name to palm them as truths upon the public?

The letter to yourself, which you have adduced to explain Gen. Jackson's conduct, is certainly an amusing document. In the first place, with all the corrections which you know you have bestowed upon it, it is a rare piece of composition. That we will let pass, and only regard it as a document of exculpatory evidence. No man of ordinary capacity can peruse it, without discovering the policy and drift of the writer. A lady who had associated with a notorious rake, until her conduct had become the subject of remark, who *knew* that she was suspected, and who *felt* that there were facts to support suspicion, which the world *did not know*, but probably *might come to know*—and who was moreover, satisfied that she had been deceived, might well be supposed to tell just such a story. Let us suppose her writing a letter to her confidential friend, conscious guilt, and apprehension of detection, both preying upon her mind. Would not the following, be very probably her language?

"I have no doubt, but from the pains that have been taken to circulate reports, it will be rumoured that I have forfeited my good name. This I know you will never believe, until you hear it from myself, or from a source that you know cannot err. Should you ever hear my chastity impeached, believe it not: Should you hear that I had listened to licentious discourses, and been silent, believe it not, or that I would not put any man out of existence who would name such a thing to me before marriage. If B. had any designs against my virtue, he is the basest of all human beings. I will tell you why. He always held out the idea of marriage, except in case of war. About the 10th of November, Capt. ——— called to see me. He rallied me about B. and ridiculed all ideas of marriage on his part. I sternly asked him if he was intimate with B. He said he barely knew him, &

never had any conversation with him, that related to me. I asked him from whom he got his information of B's. opinions on marriage; he replied from N. Knowing that N. and B. were well acquainted it rushed into my head, that he might be a professed rake, and from the colouring he held in conversation with me, and my flirtations with him, I viewed it as base conduct towards me. I wrote B. in strong terms my suspicions of him, and until they were cleared from my mind, no further *intimacy* was to exist between us. Not long after, I received his answer, with the sacred pledges, that he had not, nor never had any dishonorable views."

In the case supposed, does this paragraph wear even the semblance of conscious virtue? Wherein does your exculpatory epistle put a better face upon the case of the writer. Why, sir, it is a mere mockery of common sense to adduce this letter as an evidence of innocence. An honorable, an unsuspected patriot, surmise suspicion of treason against himself, and volunteer a mumbling and crippled apology, a more than half confession that he is obnoxious to the charge!! It must, indeed be a desperate condition where this is the best resort.

I pass by the letters to Smith and Dickson, because I can see nothing in them that bears upon the subject.—Isolated extracts only are given. These cannot be correctly understood, unless in connexion with the whole letters.

Next, the testimony of Gen. Coffee and of Mr. Ward is introduced as "*completely explanatory of all the circumstances.*" This, sir, is the round assertion of the Committee; but in my opinion, it leaves much unexplained. The facts narrated by Gen. Coffee, are in brief to this effect: Burr visited Tennessee, and Gen. Jackson, in 1805. spoke of a settlement on the Washita river, and of a rupture between the U. States and Spain, and made an impression that, in that event, he would have the command of an expedition against Mexico. After this he wrote letters to Gen. Jackson, and Gen. Robertson, requesting them to send him a list of enterprising young men, who would be suitable to serve the country in a contest with Spain. This list, with the aid of Gen. Jackson, was made out and forwarded.

Here, Gen. Coffee throws in his account also, of Burr's standing in the Western country, "having lately filled the second office in the Government." Consequently, no idea could be entertained that his measures were without its approbation. The truth, however, is, and it is well known both to you & to Gen. Coffee, that Burr had not the confidence of Mr. Jefferson or of the Government. Why he had not, has already been explained, not for your information, but for that of the reader. This remark of Gen. Coffee, is gratuitous and deceptive: You, sir, knew it to be so. You possessed too fully the confidence of Mr. Jefferson, to be uninformed of the estimation in which Burr was held by him. You were too fully acquainted with the sentiments of the country, not to know that Burr did not possess the confidence of the Republican party, at any moment after Mr. Jefferson was elected President.

After the transactions already narrated, Burr transmitted, at different times, through Gen. Jackson, to Gen. Coffee, four thousand dollars, to be expended in boats and provisions. Subsequently, suspicions arose of Burr's intentions and the General's agency ceased, except to discharge the contracts on hand. The account was settled, and the money not expended returned to Burr.

This explanation, sir, is far too general to be satisfactory. Gen. Coffee tells us, the particulars detailed, were founded upon papers written at the time, and in his own hand writing. Dates then must have been in his power. Why not give them? At what date was the money received? When were contracts first made for building boats? When did the agency cease? The particulars which these interrogatories would have elicited, ought to have been stated. They would have enabled every man to judge, whether Burr was suspected when the agency commenced: whether it ceased as soon

a suspicion was spread abroad against him:

When a witness,—when a friendly witness, gives ex parte testimony, and substitutes his own general assertions for the particular details upon which they are founded, the testimony is to be received with great caution. You well know, sir, that in ordinary cases, it is entitled to little weight. Would these details have fortified and confirmed the general statement of Gen. Coffee, they ought to have been given; I have no doubt they would have been given. The omission to give them, warrants the inference that they would conflict with his own conclusions. The evidence derived from other sources, assures us this money was received in November and December. General Coffee may persuade himself—you and your confederates may persuade your partizans, that Burr was not then suspected; but notorious facts are against you, and independent men could not concur with you. This you well knew, and, therefore, Gen. Coffee omitted the particulars which every searcher after truth would call for, as indispensible to the formation of a correct judgment.

Gen. Coffee proceeds to state, that when Burr came to Tennessee in December, 1806, his last visit to that place, he lodged at a tavern at the Clover Bottom, and was coolly received. That he was visited by Jackson and Overton, and informed of the suspicions attached to his movements. Burr protested that he contemplated nothing illegal or hostile to the Government, and soon after left the country. Young Mr. Huys, a relative of Mrs. Jackson, and a kind of protegee of the General, accompanied him, with instructions from the General to leave Burr should he discover his designs to be illegal!!!

The latter part of this statement discloses a very extraordinary and unnatural proceeding. Gen. Jackson entrusts a young relative to the protection and guidance of a suspected traitor, relying, for his safety, upon an admonition to leave him when his treason should be ascertained. Was there no fear that, in such hands, the young man might be corrupted? Was there no fear that he might be deceived, or coerced into guilt? What would the world say of one, who should confide a young female to the direction and society of a suspected procuress, with instructions to *leave* it, should she find herself in a brothel? If Gen. Coffee be correct, in his statement Gen. Jackson's conduct to young Huys was equally reprehensible.

The account given of the cool reception of Burr, at Nashville, in December, 1806, is at variance with the fact, established by other proof, that he was invited to a ball, at that time, and introduced by Gen. Jackson. And this fact you have neither attempted to controvert or to explain. Mr. Ward is introduced to repeat the hearsay of Overton. "*So soon as rumor reached this country*, that Burr had treasonable designs against the Government," Jackson and Overton waited upon Burr at Clover Bottom, informed him of the rumor and required him to state his views. He protested upon the honor of a gentleman they were not inimical to the Government, and showed a commission in blank with Mr. Jefferson's signature to it. Let me assure you, Sir, that this is a very awkward piece of testimony. It was a great oversight, in able counsel like yourself, to introduce it. Burr it seems, was at the Clover Bottom when the first *rumor* came. It did not precede, it followed him to Tennessee, in December, 1806. There is some discrepancy between this assertion, and your fourth established proposition, that suspicion had been *allayed*, by the last proceedings in Kentucky. That which had no existence could not well be *allayed*. But, if, as you assert, suspicion was allayed—if "*so soon*" as renewed rumor reached Tennessee, Jackson and Overton visited Burr, at Clover Bottom, to demand explanations, why was he "*met coolly*," upon his first arrival, by his former friends? According to the testimony of Ward and your fourth position, there could be no reason for this "*coolness*." Suspicions were allayed, and rumor silenced. It is somewhat unfortunate that the stories of two witnesses, so "*full and decisive*," should stand in direct contradiction, upon an important point.

This testimony of Ward is in discrepancy with another piece of your evidence. Look at it again, Sir, and you will find it capable of but one interpretation. "*So soon* as rumor came Jackson and Overton called upon Burr, stated the rumor, and required explanations." All this was new and fresh. The instant impulse of patriotic feeling, upon the first suggestion of doubt—I repeat it; this is the sense in which Ward must be understood. Now, my good Sir, look at Jackson's letter to yourself. Captain ———. Why not give us the real name? Capt. ——— called upon Jackson about the 10th of November. From his conversation suspicion "*rushed like lightning*" into the mind of Gen. Jackson against Burr. This suspicion was conveyed to Burr "*in strong terms*" by letter, and a written answer was received with strong pledges. This previous suspicion and explanation is at variance with the statement of Ward. It would require some legal skill to reconcile them.

You are at length brought to the statement of Judge Williams, and great pains are taken to demonstrate that his memory at least, cannot be relied upon. There is no circumstance attending this transaction more suspicious than the attack upon the veracity of Williams. You have admitted, you have proved, that Gen. Jackson corresponded with Burr, and that he furnished him a list of the names of young men, fit to be employed in an expedition against Mexico. This you insist was all done in the simplicity of innocence. Whilst the impressions prevailed, under which this list was furnished, where is the improbability that Gen. Jackson should suggest to Mr. Williams that he might advance himself, by taking a commission under Burr? Where the criminality of making such suggestion? Beyond all doubt it were as innocent to make the suggestion to Williams, as it was to furnish the list to Burr.

Again. It were very easy, innocently to make a mistake as to time. Suppose the recollection of judge Williams to be incorrect, as to the time of the conversation, in presence of judge Stuart; that in truth, it took place, after suspicions of Burr and his confederates were generally entertained, no impropriety could attach to the language attributed to Gen. Jackson.—The declaration that many, even members of Congress, looked to a dissolution of the Union, was but a natural sentiment, resulting from the accusations against those, alleged to be associated with Burr. It were much more likely that an honest man should mistake the time, than that he should fabricate the whole conversation. The one *might* be innocent, the other *must* be criminal. It seems to me, that prejudice cannot mistake this argument; that sophistry cannot elude its force.

If your position be correct—if Gen. Jackson gave countenance to Burr—if he listened to his suggestions—if he officiated as his agent, in furnishing a list of names, and in making purchases, with an unquestionable integrity of purpose, and with a full persuasion that the Government approved his movements; what would have been his conduct, upon hearing of the statements made by Williams? It would, I should think, be impossible to mistake it. His language would have been this: "I do not recollect the facts that judge Williams states. As to the commission, I doubt not I recommended it. I thought Burr's plans were legal; under that impression I gave him countenance and assistance. I recollect sending him a list of names, with a view to the parties being engaged by him. Quite likely Mr. Williams was amongst them, and that I spoke to him about it. As to the conversation about dissolving the Union, and a new Government in the West, it no doubt took place. But he is mistaken as to the time. I never thought of such a thing until Burr's projects were developed. I spoke freely of it afterwards."

This language, sir, would have been in perfect accordance, with the facts you admit, and the grounds upon which you vindicate them. But this was not the course pursued by Gen. Jackson. That which he did pursue, is not compatible with the defence you set up for him, is in fact, indicative of conscious criminality. Gen. Jackson pronounces the suggestion or as-

sertion, that he had offered Mr. Williams a commission in Burr's service, a gross calumny. He well knew that he had furnished Burr a list of names for officers for two regiments, from Colonels down to ensigns. Surely, if it were innocent to correspond with Burr, and name to him individuals for officers, it would not be criminal to inform an individual that a commission was in his power, and recommend him to take it. Why then, should General Jackson denounce the assertion of Williams a calumny? There can be but one answer. Either he was conscious of guilt, or conscious that his own conduct had been so equivocal, as to fairly subject him to the imputation of guilt. He wished, for one of these reasons, to silence enquiry, and therefore took such ground, as he trusted, would intimidate Williams into a retraction. If any other rational exposition can be given, I shall be ready to hear it. It is this denial, this denunciation that most strongly attaches suspicion to Gen. Jackson. Many acts abstractly considered are innocent, or indifferent. Guilt can only be attached, by the circumstances under which they were committed, or from the conduct of the party when accused. Denial and concealment, are ever regarded as characteristic of crime. In respect to the facts stated by judge Williams, such has been the course of General Jackson. He has denied and denounced them, though resting upon the testimony of a witness, fortified by the pregnant probability arising out of his own admissions.—This exposition cannot be further pursued, though many points of importance remain untouched.

Upon what principle, sir, do you hold yourself justified, in attempting to pass upon the public, extracts from documents, and glozings of their contents, for satisfactory proofs? Suspicion must ever attach to such a course. You have a letter from the conspirator Burr. Do we not know that its whole contents would be published, were they favourable to your argument?—Sir, we cannot receive your garbled proofs as evidence of any thing but guilt. The correspondence is acknowledged, and a part of it is concealed. The first principle of evidence applies:—He who offers secondary proof, when that of the first order is in his possession, confesses that he is afraid to produce it, and cannot be allowed to use any other.

There remains yet one topic to which I must call your attention. You are thoroughly acquainted with Gen. Jackson, and fully apprised of his illiteracy, and utter incompetence to write with decent correctness upon any subject. You know that he is no jurist, no statesman, no politician; that he is destitute of historical, political, or statistical knowledge: that he is unacquainted with the orthography, concord, and government of his own language. You know that he is a man of no labour, no patience, no investigation, in short, that his whole recommendation is animal fierceness and organic energy. He is wholly unqualified by education, habit and temper, for the station of President. All this you know, and you know too, that were the people possessed of your knowledge of him, his pretensions would be laughed to scorn, held in absolute contempt and derision. Do you not practise an imposition upon the country, by countenancing pretensions so unfounded, against your better knowledge? Let the application be made to a case in private life. Would you address to your friend a written recommendation to receive into his family as the teacher of his children a man whom you knew to be rash, violent tempered and illiterate, totally incapable of teaching to advantage? You cannot but feel the mere suggestion as an insult to your honor. Is it not even more dishonorable to underwrite an imposition upon your country?

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GOV. SHELBY & GEN. JACKSON.

Gen. James Shelby, a son of the late Gov. Shelby, has applied to Gen. Jackson to give his consent that certain individuals acquainted with the facts connected with the Chickasaw treaty, should relate all they know respecting it. Gen. Jackson has refused:—Yet he seeks no concealment.

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